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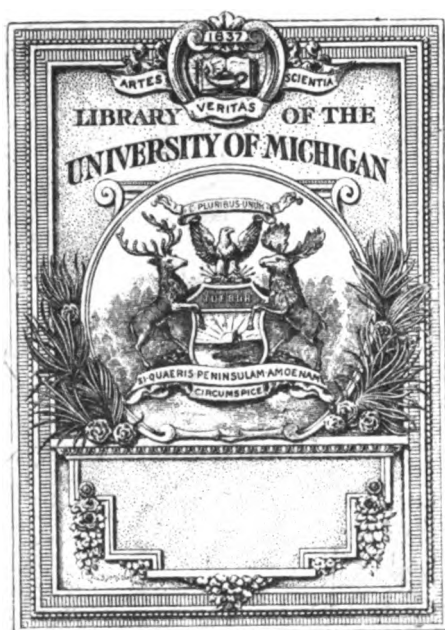
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Under the Direction of
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, RT. REV. MGR. J. F. LOUGHLIN, D. D., REV. JAMES P.
TURNER AND MR. JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas
vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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VOL. XXVII.—JANUARY, 1902—No. 105.

THE ANCIENT CATHEDRALS OF SCOTLAND.

PART I.

THE contrast, apparent at the present day, between the condition of the Scottish Cathedrals and those of England illustrates the difference in the spirit which animated the leaders of the Reformation in the two kingdoms. England retained episcopacy and the ancient buildings connected with it; for Henry VIII., though he broke loose from Rome, changed no doctrine except that of the Pope's supremacy, and those who completed his work, amid much havoc of tenets and practices, left some outward semblance of the old order. Scotland, on the other hand, became rigidly Presbyterian, and rejected everything pertaining to prelacy, ceremonial or beauty of surroundings in public worship. Hence it has come to pass that while in the southern kingdom the ancient buildings still stand in much of their original beauty—silent witnesses indeed to the faith for which they were reared—in Scotland it is far otherwise. Out of the thirteen Cathedrals which were once the glory of Scottish Catholics, only one remains in its entirety; as to the others, where puritanical fury has not utterly destroyed them, considerable portions, at least, have perished through persistent neglect and the ravages of time. Yet even in their ruins they give evidence of the

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beauty and glory which once were theirs, while the noteworthy facts of history which cling to their desecrated ruins render them still more attractive to the Catholic student of antiquity.

It is not the purport of these pages to give a complete history of each of these ancient landmarks; as to some of them it would be impossible, for both buildings and records have all but entirely vanished. Still something can be gleaned about all, and much about some of them to make (as the writer hopes) some sufficiently interesting papers. The fragments of their buildings still remaining, the patient research of antiquaries and the testimony of historical documents enable us to reconstruct to some extent the old Scottish Cathedrals and to tell something of their story, and that is all that will be attempted here.

The first in importance, because of its connection with the primatial see, was the Cathedral of St. Andrews, in Fifeshire.¹ The ecclesiastical supremacy of the see as well as its name rested on the presence there of considerable relics of St. Andrew the Apostle, who became recognized in succeeding ages as the primary patron of the whole country. Much that was long cherished with regard to the history of these relics is now regarded as legendary. The labors of critical enquirers have brought about the discarding of long accepted traditions as contradictory to historical facts and fixed dates, yet the possession of such relics by the city has never been denied. The early legends relate that a certain Abbot Regulus, or Rule, who lived in the fourth century, when engaged in his duties as custodian of the shrine of the Apostle at Patras in Achaia, received a divine command to convey certain of the relics to a country "towards the ends of the earth," and having set sail with them, in company with many fellow-voyagers, was wrecked at the spot where St. Andrews now stands and where the King, Ungus, built a church for the sacred treasure. That a St. Rule lived at St. Andrews is undoubted; a cave by the seashore bears his name and the earlier church was dedicated to him; but that he brought the relics there from the East at that early date is now called in question. Dr. Skene, the late Historiographer Royal, after a thorough discussion of the subject, inclines to the opinion that St. Rule was an Irish monk of the eighth century, and that the relics were brought to St. Andrews from the Cathedral of Hexham at about that date, but by another hand.²

With the early Bishops of St. Andrews it is unnecessary to concern ourselves here; the episcopate of Bishop Robert (1128-1159) introduces us to the commencement of the buildings whose remains

¹ To avoid the multiplication of foot notes it may be stated here that the authority chiefly relied upon by the writer with regard to this cathedral has been Rev. C. J. Lyon's "History of S. Andrews." ² For the entire treatment of the matter the reader is referred to Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Vol. II., p. 261-277.

are still extant. That prelate had formerly been Prior of the Austin Canons of Scone, and when raised to the Bishopric resolved to establish a community of those canons in connection with his Cathedral. To house them he made some commencement of the priory buildings and seems at the same time to have erected the tiny little Church of St. Rule³ in connection with the tall square tower, over 100 feet high, which, according to certain authorities, existed previous to his time. Some, indeed, have thought the whole building anterior to Bishop Robert.⁴ Though standing some hundred feet to the southeast of the later erection, St. Rule's may be regarded as belonging to the Cathedral group, and though earlier in date, has survived the other buildings by reason of the strength and solidity of its construction.

The commencement of the Cathedral proper was the work of Arnold, Robert's successor in the see. He had been Abbot of Kelso, one of the most ornate of the Benedictine houses, and was accustomed to the stately grandeur of that noble pile, so worthy of the sacred rites carried on therein with such solemn dignity. Instead of enlarging St. Rule's, Arnold began an entirely new structure towards the northwest of the old church. It took 160 years to complete this "new" or "great church," as it got to be called, and the works went on under eleven successive prelates. In most of the mediæval churches the building began at the east end, and the sanctuary and choir were the first portions to be completed, in order that the sacred rites might as soon as possible be celebrated. The remainder of the structure would be carried on by degrees towards the west end. It is to this gradual process that so many of the ancient churches owe the variety of style often to be seen in their component parts; each portion as it proceeded became stamped with the particular style which prevailed at the time or which was preferred by those who directed the works. Evidence of this is to be found in St. Andrews, as will be seen later.

The choir, at least, was finished before 1233; for Bishop Malvoisin, who died in that year, was laid at rest, as Wyntoun relates, "in the new Kyrk."⁵ Bishop William Wishart, in his episcopate of less than eight years, built the nave almost entirely, defraying the whole expense out of his revenues.⁶ He died in 1279. It was not until 1318 that the finished building was ready for consecration; in that year Bishop William de Lamberton solemnly dedicated the Cathedral in presence of King Robert Bruce, seven Bishops and fifteen abbots taking part in the function.⁷ The King on this occasion

³ Robertson, *Quarterly Review*, Vol. lxxxv., p. 120. ⁴ Lang, "St. Andrews," p. 34 (note). ⁵ "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland," b. vii., c. ix. ⁶ Ibid, b. vii., c. x. ⁷ Ibid, b. viii., c. xxii.

endowed the new erection with a yearly revenue of a hundred marks in gratitude for the victory of Bannockburn.

Although the ascertained measurements make it at most some 385 feet in length and 62 in breadth, yet the most extraordinary statements have been made at various times as to the size of the church when completed. Lockhart, in his "Life of Scott," says: "I believe there is no doubt that the metropolitan Cathedral of St. Andrews had been the longest in Europe."⁸ He quotes as his authority the old Scottish writer Volusene, or Wilson. Another author goes more into detail; Slezer, in his "Theatrum Scotiæ," calls it the largest in Christendom and gives its dimensions as "seven feet longer and two feet broader than St. Peter's at Rome."⁹ The only explanation seems to be that both writers refer to the old St. Peter's; for Wilson lived in the sixteenth century before the present Vatican Basilica was completed, and Slezer settled in Scotland only forty years after its consecration in 1626. In any case the statement is inaccurate; for, although old St. Peter's is said to have measured 340 feet exclusive of the apse, its width was three times that of St. Andrews.¹⁰ Moreover, many of the English Cathedrals exceeded the Scottish metropolitan church in length. All that can be said with certainty in this matter is that St. Andrews had the largest Cathedral of Scotland.

Only sixty years after its dedication the Cathedral suffered severely from fire, which originated, it is said, from the carelessness of a plumber, who suffered some burning lead to fall into the dry twigs which composed the nest of a jackdaw. So serious was the damage that at least £18,000 (\$90,000), at present money value, were expended in repairs. Further benefactors enriched the building by windows, pavements and carving during the centuries which followed, until it merited by its beauty the proud title of the "Canterbury of the North."

Exteriorly the Cathedral seems to have been very imposing. Its warm red stone formed a pleasing contrast to St. Rule's gray walls and tower, hard by. Martine, writing more than a century after its destruction, but while the remains must have been more considerable than at present, speaks of "five pinnacles and a great steeple on the top of the church, . . . the chief steeple . . . erected a great deal larger and higher than any of the rest."¹¹ The entrance at the west end was through a fine "Galilee" porch, whose interior walls were richly arcaded; this was flanked exteriorly by a turret 110 feet high.¹² The arch which led to the church was known from its beauty as the "Golden Gate."¹³ A "Galilee" was not an uncom-

⁸ Vol. IX., p. 125 (note). ⁹ P. 38. ¹⁰ *Vide*, Barnes, "St. Peter in Rome," p. 254.
¹¹ Quoted by Lang, "St. Andrews," p. 55. ¹² Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 80. ¹³ *Ibid.*

mon feature in a conventual church. It seems to have derived its name from the angel's words to the holy women: "Behold, He will go before you into Galilee; there you shall see Him."¹⁴ The appropriateness of the title lay in the fact of the porch being the only recognized part of the church where women were permitted to converse with the religious who served it.¹⁵

A visitor entering by the western door would find himself in a nave of twelve bays and measuring 200 feet in length. Its arches were supported on unusually massive octagonal pillars and above them ran a triforium opening into the nave by smaller arches, and higher still another passage through the clerestory. At the eastern extremity of the nave was the rood-screen; beyond it, under the great tower supported by lofty arches on massive pillars, stretched to north and south extensive transepts, while towards the east was the choir, its roof resting on beautiful clustered pillars. Thus the ground-plan formed a Latin cross. From the eastern wall of the choir a lady chapel was built out and was entered by an arch behind the high altar canopy. The transepts had each an eastern aisle of the same width as the choir aisles and running at right angles with them. The effect of the forest of pillars must have been wonderfully beautiful. The style of the windows varied with the date of their erection. Those towards the western end were pointed; the earlier ones, semi-circular. In the south transept a flight of stone steps led to the dormitory of the canons, for convenience in celebrating the night office.

The interior decorations added to the charm of the building. Prior Bisset, superior of the monastery (1393-1416), enriched the choir with new stalls after the fire.¹⁶ Prior John de Haldenstane (1418-1443) placed the large window in the east gable and adorned the church with carved stalls and images of saints. The same generous donor supplied the beautiful windows and polished pavements of the nave, choir and transepts.

There were as many as thirty altars in the Cathedral; six of these stood in the transepts and two others at the eastern extremity on either side of the arch leading into the lady chapel. The altar of St. John the Baptist was founded by Archdeacon Inglis in 1494, with chaplain's stipend for a daily Mass; Andrew, Bishop of Moray, in like manner endowed the altar of St. Martin for the benefit of the souls of the Kings James I., James II., James III. and James IV., and of the Queens Joan, Mary and Margaret, wives of the first three. Other altars stood in various parts of the church. Among

¹⁴ S. Matt. xxviii., 7. ¹⁵ *Vide*, Walcott, "Church and Conventual Arrangements," p. 80. That author gives other derivations of the name in addition to the above. ¹⁶ Fordun, "Scotichronicon," lib. vi., c. 55.

their dedications were the Holy Cross, the Precious Blood, Our Lady of Pity, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. John, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Nicholas, St. Ninian, St. Antony, St. Lawrence, All Saints, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Anne, St. Catherine, St. Barbara and others. Many of these altars were also endowed in perpetuity. A statue of Our Lady was known as the "Douglas Virgin," probably because it had been given by that family. Archibald, Earl of Douglas, endowed it with two marks annually to maintain a light before it.¹⁷ It is sad to think that all such pious benefactions are now of no avail; no Masses are offered, no lights burn.

Many interesting historical memories are grouped around the Cathedral of St. Andrews. That was a red-letter day for the city when in presence of King Malcolm IV. Bishop Arnold laid the foundation stone—the most notable act of his short pontificate of four years (1159-1163). More glorious still was that on which Bishop Lamberton solemnly dedicated the church to God, some 160 years later. During the centuries that followed, its Bishops often took a prominent part in the affairs of the kingdom. Thus Hugh (1178) was the chaplain of King William the Lion, and was so special a favorite of that monarch that he obstinately refused to allow any other cleric to be placed in the see. Roger (1188) was ex-Chancellor of the kingdom; William Malvoisin (1202) both baptized and crowned King Alexander II.; David, Great Chamberlain to Alexander II., anointed Alexander III.; William Wishart (1272) had been Chancellor of the kingdom, and Alexander III. assisted at his consecration; William Fraser (1279) was both Chancellor and Regent of the kingdom; William Landells (1341) crowned Robert II.; James Kennedy, nephew of James I., was one of the Regents for James III.; James Stuart (1497) was son of James III.; Cardinal Beaton, its most famous Archbishop, the greatest figure in the history of the Scottish Reformation, was the special friend and councillor of James V. and the bulwark of Catholicity as long as he lived. It was a Bishop, Henry Wardlaw, who founded, in 1141, the University of St. Andrews, while Bishop Kennedy, in 1451, founded St. Salvador's College. Other prelates did much towards the improvement and beautifying of the Cathedral city. Thus Bishop Roger and Bishop Trail built the famous Castle of St. Andrews, which played so important a part in later ages, and Bishop Wardlaw was the donor of the guard bridge over the Eden.

The priors of St. Andrews ruled over the canons in the monastery and presided at the choir offices. They ranked before any of the abbots of the kingdom and occupied a seat in Parliament.¹⁸ Many of

¹⁷ *Vide*, Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 77. The writer gives original authorities for the information concerning altars. ¹⁸ Fordun, "Scotichronicon," lib. vi., c. xlix.

them were notablemen. John de Haldenstane, already mentioned, obtained from Pope Martin I., for himself and his successors, the privilege of using the mitre, so that after his time the priors were able to celebrate pontifically in the absence of the Bishop. The Church offices were always carried out with much solemnity; for the Austin Canons were renowned for their devotional singing. Prior Hepburn founded St. Leonard's College and began, about the year 1520, the magnificent boundary wall round the precincts of the priory. This splendid piece of work was 870 yards in length and in some parts as much as 22 feet high. It was adorned with about sixteen turrets and with many statues and shields bearing coats-of-arms.

In 1537 St. Andrews was the centre of rejoicing, on the occasion of the marriage of James V. to Mary of Guise. The bride was lodged in the New Inn, the hospice of the priory, which had been specially fitted up for her at great cost. At the "new gate" a triumphal arch had been erected, and here took place one of the pageants so much in favor at that period. Sir David Lindsay, we are told, "caused a great cloud to come out of the heavens above the gate and open instantly, and there appeared a fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the Queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive Her Grace."¹⁹ The marriage was solemnized in the Cathedral by Archbishop James Beaton, and the celebrations lasted for forty days, "with great merriness and games, as jesting, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with singing and dancing in maskery and playing and all other princely game, according to a king and queen."²⁰ Only twenty years later St. Andrews witnessed far different scenes. Knox and his "rascal multitude" arrived in the city on June 9, 1559, and not only were the monasteries of the Dominicans and Franciscans overthrown by these violent "reformers," but, according to the generally received tradition, the glorious cathedral also was, at least partly, demolished. Whatever mutilated remnants may have escaped their fury were more completely wrecked by order of the Protestant leaders in the year following, when the Earls of Argyll, Arran and Glencairn roamed about the country destroying what they were pleased to style "monuments of idolatry." Later on the devastation was completed by the carting off in great quantities of the stones which had formed the building, for the purpose of constructing the pier of St. Andrews. All that can be seen now are portions of the west front, of the wall of the south aisle, of the south and west walls, of the transept and other scattered fragments. Even in their ruinous con-

¹⁹ Lindsay of Pitacottie, quoted by Lyon, "History of S. Andrews," Vol. II., p. 273. ²⁰ Ibid, p. 274.

dition they form an imposing group. It is but just to say that they are now duly cared for and protected from further molestation.

The cathedral next in importance to St. Andrews was that of Glasgow, which, like the primatial see, was later on in history raised to archiepiscopal rank.²¹ Tradition points to St. Kentigern (popularly known as Mungo, or "the well-beloved") as the first Bishop of this see. There, after a long life of apostolic labor, he was laid to rest in 612. The humble wooden church and monastery of the saint, built on ground hallowed for Christian burial by St. Ninian²² in the fifth century, formed the site of the more substantial erection placed there through the munificence of David I., son of St. Margaret, in 1123. This later building, however, was destroyed by fire about fifty years after its completion, and it was left to Bishop Jocelin, a former abbot of Melrose, to commence a more spacious cathedral, which devotion to St. Kentigern, the apostle of Glasgow, led him to erect over the tomb of that saint.

To rouse interest in his project Jocelin persuaded his namesake Jocelin, Cistercian monk of Rievaulx, to write the life of St. Kentigern, which is still extant. To obtain funds for the building expenses the Bishop established the Guild of St. Kentigern, whose members, protected by royal warrant, collected alms in every quarter of the realm for the pious work. It is a proof of Bishop Jocelin's untiring zeal and energy that sixteen years after, in 1187, a new church was finished and ready for consecration. It is a matter of doubt as to whether any portion of this building yet remains, though some authorities think that at least a part of the lower church may be ascribed to him. The present Cathedral was probably commenced by Bishop William de Bondington (1223-1258). That prelate procured from the Provincial Council of the Scottish Church, which met at Perth in 1242, an enactment which required every parish priest in the realm to urge upon his parishioners every Sunday and holy day between Ash Wednesday and Low Sunday the duty of contributing towards the building; pastors were enjoined to expound to the people plainly, in the vulgar tongue, the indulgences granted to those who should give alms for the proposed work.²³ By means of these collections the lower church and choir were probably completed. A bell tower and the transepts were added during the twenty years that followed, and after this nothing more was done for a considerable period. About the beginning of the fourteenth century the present nave was commenced; early in the following century the chapter house, with the sacristy above it and the present

²¹ Except where other references are indicated, the information here given regarding this Cathedral has been obtained from Mr. Eyre-Todd's splendid "*Book of Glasgow Cathedral*," published in 1896. ²² *Vide*, "*Vita S. Kentigerni*," Pinkerton's *Lives*, c. ix. ²³ *Regis. Epis. Glasg. Bannatyne Club*, p. xxviii.

stone spire, were built. Archbishop Blacader finished the under-croft of a south transept which was destined never to be completed, and built the rood-loft and the staircases to the lower church about 1508. Since that time nothing has been added, but, as will be seen later, much has been removed.

Glasgow Cathedral is the only one on the mainland which was suffered to stand unmolested, as far as its main buildings were concerned, during Reformation troubles. Its western towers, to the indignation of antiquaries of the present day, were removed in 1846 and 1848, on the plea that they disfigured the building, although they are considered to have dated from the period of Bishop de Bondington. But for this the church, as a building, would be as complete now as it was before the Reformation.

Considered as a cathedral, it is not of large dimensions. Its nave measures 155 feet in length and 30 in breadth, and rises to the height of 90 feet. The aisles are lofty, but narrow. Over them runs a triforium of pointed arches with clustered pillars. The transepts are very short, extending scarcely at all beyond the width of the nave and aisles; this construction was rendered necessary by the nature of the ground on which the church stands. The choir is 127 feet long and 80 feet high, and an aisle runs all round it, even behind the high altar; the square end of the church, behind this aisle, is taken up with four small chapels for altars. The architecture of the nave is pointed and is symmetrical in style, as it was built on one design; it consists of eight bays. While the aisles are groined in stone, the roof of the nave is of wood. A richly decorated closed screen separates it from the choir, and forming part of it are two stone altars, standing one on either side of the entrance. It is remarkable that these altars escaped all "reforming;" they are probably unique in Scotland.

Beautiful as the church undoubtedly is, it cannot claim extraordinary distinction as regards its upper portion. The gem of the building is the splendid under-croft, which though it is commonly called the crypt, is in reality a distinct church. In its southeast corner is St. Kentigern's Well, now covered up by a wooden cap. This vaulted building rests on more than thirty beautiful clustered pillars of various dimensions and design. In the centre the groining of the roof converges towards the spot, where, under the high altar of the church above, four slender columns support the "catafalque," as it is called, over the flat slab which covers the remains of St. Kentigern and his mother, St. Thenog. At the northeast corner of this lower church stands the fine chapter house, its vaulted roof supported on a massive central pillar. Above it is the sacristy, a building almost exactly similar. Even in its present bare state the

lower church with its fine pillars of varied design and its small pointed windows with graceful tracery is strikingly beautiful. When it was fitted up with altars, together with hangings and the various requisites for Catholic worship it must have been truly magnificent. A distinguished architect who visited the Cathedral with a friend of the writer characterized the style of the exterior as of third-rate merit, the interior as only second-rate, but the lower church as a building of unique beauty. Other authorities have spoken of it as unrivaled in Europe.

In the days of its glory the Cathedral contained about thirty altars. One stood against each of the great clustered pillars of the nave, so disposed that the celebrant faced east. The dedications of most of these have been identified with painstaking research by the present Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, whose lecture on the subject, delivered before the Glasgow Archæological Society, is incorporated in Mr. Eyre-Todd's fine volume. There were thus sixteen altars in the nave, besides the two at the rood-screen, which still exist; the latter were dedicated to the Holy Rood and Our Lady of Pity. In the choir were the high altar, dedicated to St. Kentigern, and three others behind the eastern aisle. Two others in the upper church brought the number to twenty-four. The lower church had St. Kentigern's altar over his tomb, another Lady altar and four others. Thus there were in all thirty altars for the use of the thirty-two canons who formed the chapter. The undercroft, built by Archbishop Blacader towards the close of the fifteenth century, is also a vaulted building of great beauty. It extends at right angles to the under church and seems to have been intended as a crypt to an extension of the south transept.

The ornate ritual of the ancient Sarum Rite, carried out amid such surroundings, must have presented many a gorgeous spectacle of mediæval splendor.²⁴ The fittings of the church, including the vestments and altar furniture, were on a scale of great magnificence as extant inventories show. The high altar was surmounted by a carved and gilded canopy hung with silken curtains and the altar itself was adorned with more or less precious frontals in accordance with the rank of the feast. Many such pieces of furniture appear in the inventories.²⁵ It was from the contents of the presses in which such decorations were stored that Bishop Robert Wishart (1272-1316) was accused of providing material for Bruce's coronation robes before he crowned him King at Scone.

Many of the Bishops of Glasgow held high offices of state. No

²⁴ A description of some of these functions was given in a previous article of this *Review*. *Vide*, October, 1898. ²⁵ *Vide*, Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 182.

less than ten were Chancellors of the kingdom. Several were in other respects men of mark. Thus Bishop Jocelin, besides his labors in building the Cathedral, obtained for Glasgow from King William the Lion the grant of a burgh with a market on Thursdays. In 1182 he journeyed to Rome and obtained from Pope Lucius III. the absolution from censure of the same King William. He received from Pope Clement III. the assurance of the dependence of the Scottish Bishops upon the Apostolic See alone. William Malvoisin was Bishop of Glasgow before being translated to St. Andrew's. Bishop Walter (1208-1232) took part in the Fourth Lateran Council. William Rae (1335-1367) built part of the original Glasgow bridge, which was removed in 1850 only. Walter Wardlaw was made Cardinal and Papal Legate in 1385. Bishop John Cameron besides being Chancellor was made by James I. in 1424 Secretary of State. James Beaton, uncle of the celebrated Cardinal, was Archbishop of Glasgow before his translation to St. Andrews. He was at one time Lord Treasurer. Archbishop Gavin Dunbar (1524-1547), nephew of the Aberdeen Bishop of that name, was tutor to James V. He advised that King to establish the College of Justice, now the Supreme Court of Scotland. Besides giving two bells to the western tower of the Cathedral, he founded the collegiate churches of St. Thenog's Gate, Glasgow and Biggar, in Lanarkshire. James Beaton (1551-1603) was the last Catholic Archbishop and was nephew to Cardinal Beaton. He was present at the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin in 1558. At the Reformation he retired to France, carrying with him the treasures and archives of his Cathedral, which he deposited in the Scots College at Paris. Queen Mary restored to him the revenues of his see in 1598, but he never returned to Scotland, which by that time had, as a nation, wholly renounced Catholicity.

In 1490 King James V. petitioned the Holy See to raise Glasgow to archiepiscopal rank, stating as a reason that it "surpassed all the other cathedral churches of his realm by its structure, its learned men, its foundation, its ornaments and other very noble prerogatives."²⁶ His request was granted in 1492.

Glasgow's evil day came with the advent of Puritanism. "The altars," says Archbishop Eyre, "the stalls with their canopied work, the sculptures and the painted glass, were destroyed in 1559. At this time of general destruction an order was given for the destruction of the altars and sculptures, but with the proviso that 'you take good heed that neither the desks, windows or doors be anywise hurt or broken, either glasswork or ironwork.' Lord Glencairn conducted the work here, and when a mob is let loose, how vain are

²⁶ *Vide*, Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 190.

provisos or restrictions as to sparing windows or doors! All the other cathedrals on the mainland were wrecked and destroyed during that convulsion. Glasgow alone remained."²⁷

To the credit of the city be it said, the beautiful building is now well cared for and regarded as the pride of Glasgow. The choir is used for Presbyterian worship and fitted up with pews and a hideous reredos behind a communion table, but the nave is free and unencumbered and presents a beautiful picture of pure Gothic architecture. The lovely under-croft, like the nave, is left undesecrated by heretical services; the windows have been filled with modern stained glass and the whole structure is kept clean and neat. To the Catholic heart it is a subject of rejoicing that one can freely visit and pray beside the body of Glasgow's apostle, who amid all the changes that have gone over his burial place, has been left undisturbed in the tomb in which he has reposed for thirteen centuries.

Following the accepted order of the various sees during the middle ages, the Cathedral of Dunkeld, in Perthshire, now claims our notice.²⁸ This see was founded at about A. D. 1127, but the church, dedicated to St. Columba, which forms the subject of this sketch, was not commenced until quite a century later. The choir, as was often the case, was the first portion completed; traces of early English architecture are to be distinguished there. It was, however, reconstructed in 1320 by Bishop William Sinclair, and restored, after being given to the flames by English invaders, by Bishop John de Peebles. In 1406 Bishop Robert de Cardeny began the nave. Bishop Railstone built the aisles with stone carried from Burbane quarry in baskets on the backs of horses, owing to the absence of roads. Bishop Lauder finished the church and consecrated it in 1468.

When completed the Cathedral consisted of a building 224 feet in length. Its nave was 120 feet long, 60 broad and 40 high. Its choir, without aisles, measured 104 feet. A square chapter house stood on the north side of the choir. The architecture was chiefly of the pointed order; the pillars of the nave, which was seven bays in length, were massive, circular shafts measuring 13 feet round—an instance of an earlier style combined with a later, a not unusual feature in Scottish churches. The windows of the aisles were particularly beautiful, combining no less than eight distinct patterns of tracery. The great west window was a very fine specimen of French flamboyant style with remarkably intricate forms.

Besides a large tower at the west end of the north aisle, there was

²⁷ Eyre-Todd, "Book of Glasgow Cathedral," p. 323. ²⁸ For reasons already given, it may be as well to state that the chief authority followed with regard to Dunkeld is Walcott's "Ancient Church of Scotland."

a small octagonal turret which ran up above the height of the gable of the nave, on the south side of the main doorway. It had the appearance of a watch-tower, being pierced with loop-holes to light the staircase within and surmounted by a parapeted gallery. Two of the bells in the large tower bore the names of St. George and St. Columba.

A visitor to the Cathedral in the fifteenth century would have found at the entrance to the choir, as at Glasgow, the two altars of Our Lady and the Holy Cross. At the latter was preserved a relic of the sacred wood. Around the church were altars dedicated to St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, SS. Andrew, Stephen, Martin, Ninian, Holy Innocents and others. The reredos of the high altar, dedicated to the titular, St. Columba, was beautifully painted with representations of twenty-four miracles of the saint. It was the gift of Bishop Lauder, who presented other rich ornaments also to this altar. Among them were images of angels, massive candlesticks and fifteen chandeliers for wax tapers. In the sanctuary was a lectern of brass, from which the Gospel was sung by the deacon. It was decorated with statues of the four evangelists and upheld by the figure of Moses with arms outstretched. The choir screen bore painted representations of apostles and saints and over the stalls were figures of Kings, Bishops and others—a reminder to the canons to remember the benefactors of the church in their prayers. The sacristy was well furnished with rich vestments and hangings.

The Bishops of Dunkeld seem to have suffered considerably from time to time from the incursions of hostile clans upon their territories. It was for defense against such that Bishop Cardeny (1396-1436) built for himself and his successors a fortified palace near the Cathedral. It has now disappeared, though the name of "Castle Close" still designates its site. An idea may be gained of the troubles of ecclesiastics in lawless times by the fact that Bishop Lauder (1450-1476) was celebrating Mass on the feast of Pentecost, when an armed band, led by an Athol chief, broke into the church. To avoid their arrows the unfortunate prelate was forced to leave the altar and climb up aloft to hide among the beams of the roof. The chief had been previously imprisoned by the Bishop and thus took his revenge.

It had not been considered safe, previous to Bishop Lauder's time, to attempt to hold a diocesan synod at Dunkeld. Prudence dictated the Carmelite church at Perth as more secure. But when, at length, towards the end of the fifteenth century, more peaceful days dawned, it was possible to hold the assembly in the newly erected chapter house. Even as late as 1516 a scene of violence attended the installation of Bishop Gavin Dunbar. A rival claimant, Andrew

Stewart, opposed the entrance of the rightful prelate by a shower of shot from the Cathedral tower and palace. The whole country, however, was soon aroused in defense of their Bishop, who at length gained access to his Cathedral.

Some of the Bishops of Dunkeld are worthy of note. Bishop John Scott, an Englishman, was a special favorite of King Alexander III. The zealous prelate petitioned the Pope for the erection of part of his diocese into the See of Argyll, since he understood not the language of the inhabitants "called Irish"—in other words, the Celtic tongue. He became a monk and was buried at the Cistercian Abbey of Newbattle in 1203. Bishop Hugh de Sigillo was so kind and charitable to the poor that he acquired the name of "Poor Man's Bishop." He died within a year of his consecration in 1214. Bishop Geoffrey Liverance (1236-1249) introduced the Sarum Rite into his Cathedral. William Sinclair was styled by King Robert Bruce his "own Bishop" on account of that prelate's gallantry during an invasion of the English in 1317. The Bishop rallied a band of retreating Scottish cavalry under the leadership of the Sheriff of Fife, by the inspiring cry: "All you that love Scotland's honor, follow me!" At the same time he taunted the craven Sheriff with the wish that the King would hew off that faint-hearted dignitary's gilded spurs. The result of the Bishop's action was the thorough rout of the English. Bishop George Brown (1485-1514), who had been consecrated at Rome by Pope Sixtus IV., was a thoroughly pious prelate and a strict observer of discipline. "He wrought no small reformation in all parts of his diocese,"²⁹ appointing Gaelic preachers for the Highlanders who knew no English. Bishop Gavin Douglas (1516-1522) is held in renown in Scotland as a distinguished scholar. He wrote many poetical works and was the first to translate Virgil into English.

The troubled days of the Reformation left their mark on the venerable Cathedral. The Lords of the Congregation despatched in 1560 the following letter to their "trusty friends the Lairds of Amtuby and Kinwalyd." The writing is believed, from its similarity to his signature, to be that of Lord James Stewart:

"Trusty Friends,

"After most hearty commendation, we pray you fail not to pass incontinent to the Kirk of Dunkeld, and take down the whole images thereof, and bring down to the kirkyard and burn them openly; and likewise cast down the altars, and purge the kirk of all kinds of monuments of idolatry; and this ye fail not to do as ye will do us singular pleasure; and so commit you to the protection of God. Fail not but ye take good heed, that neither the desks, windows nor doors be any ways hurt or broken—either glasswork or ironwork.

(Signed)

"ARGYLL,
"JAMES STEWART,
"RUTHVEN."³⁰

²⁹ Keith, "Scottish Bishops" (ed. Russel), p. 92. ³⁰ "New Statist. Account of Scotland," Vol. X., p. 976. The spelling has been modernized.

The latter part of the injunction, as Archbishop Eyre has remarked concerning Glasgow, was disregarded, for the Cathedral was completely sacked, the windows smashed and doors torn from their hinges. Tradition affirms that what these emissaries of the congregation had left undemolished was destroyed by the Laird of Cardeny, the lateral descendant of one of Dunkeld's most worthy Bishops who had done much in his time to beautify the building which his degenerate relative was to desecrate. The Laird, among other unholy deeds, unroofed the whole church.

In 1600 the Cathedral was fitted with a new roof that it might serve as a parish church. It had not yet seen the last of violence and bloodshed. After the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie, his troops engaged at Dunkeld with the Cameronians, 1,200 in number. From 7 o'clock in the morning of August 21, 1689, until 11 o'clock at night the inhabitants of the town took refuge in the Cathedral. When the troops had retired it was the only building which had not been destroyed by fire.³¹

The venerable pile still forms a picturesque feature in the landscape lying by the banks of the Tay. Its gray tower rises from among the trees which shade its ruins, beautiful still in their decay. The choir is still used for Presbyterian worship. More than £5,000 (\$25,000) were spent on its restoration during the last century.³²

An interesting relic of the old Cathedral is still preserved among the MSS. of the University Library, Edinburgh, in the shape of some of the music books once used in its choir.³³

The first authentic record of the See of Aberdeen occurs in 1150, when the name of Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, occurs in a grant of King David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline.³⁴ There seem to have been at least three churches erected at different times on the site of the Cathedral whose remains are still to be seen. Of the first, or original church, no record exists; the second, built by Bishop Matthew de Kyninmund in the twelfth century, gave place to another erected by Bishop Hugh de Benham and Henry le Chen, and which the latter prelate consecrated towards the end of the thirteenth century. Finally Bishop Alexander de Kyninmund in 1357 demolished the old church and began an entirely new erection. He died before the walls were 18 feet high. Bishop Lichtoun (1422-1440) built the north transept and commenced other portions. In 1445 Bishop Lindsay roofed the church and paved it. Bishop Elphinstone completed the great central tower in 1489 and presented the fourteen bells. Bishop Gavin Dunbar finished the western towers and south transept in 1522. Bishop Stewart built the chapter house in 1532.³⁵

³¹ "New Statist. Acct.," Vol. X., p. 978. ³² "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot." ³³ Keith, "Scottish Bishops" (ed. Russel), p. 93 (note). ³⁴ "Regist. Dunferm.," Bannatyne Club, p. 8. ³⁵ Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 97.

Thus it was only entirely completed about thirty years before the Reformation storm broke upon it. The church was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Machar.³⁶

So full an inventory is still extant of the ornaments and treasures of the Cathedral that it is possible to give a tolerably correct picture of this noble building as it must have appeared in Catholic ages. Instead of a description of mere dry details, it will, perhaps, be more agreeable reading if the writer gives a picture of Aberdeen Cathedral as it would have met the eye of a sixteenth century pilgrim. Let the reader, then, imagine himself as one of a pious group of travelers arrived in the old city late in the evening of July 1 in the year of grace 1557. It is the vigil of one of the chief feasts connected with the Cathedral—the Visitation of Our Lady, which is celebrated in that church with more than wonted solemnity.

By 6 o'clock on the following morning St. Machar's Church is as'ir with a large throng of devout Christians. At 5 o'clock and twice again during the hour the bells have pealed in festive fashion to announce the Matins office, which always commences at 6. The church is unique in one respect—so say the townsfolk with much pride—it is the only Cathedral in the world built entirely—*i. e.*, from its western extremity as far as the transepts—of gray granite. Its quaint western towers and the severe simplicity of style seen in the west front are accounted for by the hard nature of the material. Yet there is much rugged grandeur in the building as the bright beams of the early sun light up its solid masonry on the July morning in question. The visitor enters by the north porch, which is known as the "marriage door;" for here is usually commenced the marriage ceremony, the bridal train passing on into the church afterwards for the Nuptial Mass. Entering the nave, he finds himself in a severely plain building. Its massive round pillars have very little carving, and its clerestory windows are almost devoid of ornament. Yet there is a wealth of wood carving in wainscot and screen work and in the beautiful pulpit. The oaken ceiling, too, is glowing with gold and colors, decorated with shields bearing the arms of Kings, Bishops and nobles belonging to many Christian countries.

Through the screens which shut off the altars in the aisles burning tapers glimmer in honor of the feast. Before the altar of St. Catherine hangs the pendant chandelier wrought with nine flowers each holding a taper. The generous benefactor of the church, Canon Clatt, presented it many years ago, as well as the beautiful triptych which is to be seen outspread at the back of the altar. St. Columba's altar, and St. Michael's and St. Andrew's, and all the other side altars in their respective chapels are adorned for the feast. But that of Our

³⁶ This was the apostle of the city, an old Celtic saint, one of St. Columba's disciples.

Lady in the nave attracts the special attention of visitors to-day. Before it stands the large candelabrum given to the church by Bishop Elphinstone of saintly memory. It is filled to-day with lighted tapers in countless number. High above it are the statues of Our Lady of Pity and her Divine Son, both of them adorned with crowns of silver gilt set with precious stones, while the altar itself is resplendent in its gorgeous frontal of blue and yellow satin brocade.

Beyond the rood-screen, in the choir, the nineteen canons with the vicars and choristers are singing Matins. At the conclusion of the office the Mass of Our Lady, sung here every day at this hour, is solemnly celebrated. The celebrant and his ministers wear rich vestments of white velvet wrought with gold; their amices are adorned with collars and their albs "appareled"³⁷ with the same material. Four cantors in copes standing abreast near the screen and holding their staves of office lead the chant; the canons in choir copes, the vicars in surplices and furred hoods and the boy choristers in blue cassocks with surplices join in the Gregorian melodies of the "Mary Mass."

But the Solemn Mass of the day is celebrated later with much more splendor. The fourteen bells in the steeple ring out a tuneful peal at intervals during the hour between 8 and 9. At the summons our pilgrim again repairs to the Cathedral. The office of Tierce is just over and preparations are being made for the procession before Mass begins. A precious cross of silver is borne first, and the clergy and canons follow in due order. Immediately before the Bishop, who brings up the rear, is carried a costly silver image of Our Lady, the gift of the Treasurer, Andrew Lyall, in 1499, and ordained by Bishop Elphinstone to be borne in procession on all the chief feasts. After making the round of the church the procession enters the choir. The celebrant and his ministers, clad in rich white silk vestments, their embroideries thickly set with pearls, enter the sanctuary as the cantors intone the Introit of the day.

The altar is decked as for a festival. Rich carpets cover the pavement and leaves of sweet-scented bay are strewn in the choir. The walls are hung with tapestry depicting the life of Our Lady. Twenty-four chandeliers of brass, bearing lighted tapers, stand around. On the north side stands a low altar, upon which are placed silver statues of Our Lady and St. Machar, the precious relic of the arm of St. Fergus in a silver shrine, crystal reliquaries containing other sacred relics and much of the rich plate belonging to the well-

³⁷ An "apparel," in mediæval phraseology, meant an oblong piece of embroidery or rich stuff stitched near the hem of the alb, both behind and before; smaller pieces adorned the cuffs. Such ornaments are still to be seen in churches where Gothic vestments are worn.

furnished sacristy. The high altar is surmounted by a carved and gilded canopy, known as the "sacrament house," and from it depends the golden pyx, shrouded in costly veils of blue and gold and containing the Blessed Sacrament. It is a scene of solemn splendor befitting the house of God.

Contrast such a pilgrimage as this with a recent visit paid by the writer to St. Machar's on a bleak March day. The gray old towers and granite walls had doubtless changed but little; for their solid material does not readily lend itself to ruin. The startling change was to be found in the interior of the building. There are the massive pillars still, and the glowing roof has been retouched; but in the spot where once stood the rood-screen and the altar of Our Lady of Pity a great organ rears its carved front and gilded pipes, with pulpit and precentor's pew before it, while a large window of poor design forms a background in place of the former opening into the canon's choir. No altar, no carved screens or side chapels, no statues or stained glass windows are to be seen as of old, but everywhere comfortable cushioned pews fill up the available space. All the building that remains is there precisely because it was too strong to be hewed down. Lady chapel and transepts, formed in softer stone, have gone. Choir proper there never was; the stalls were placed under the central tower between the transepts.

The change was wrought here, as elsewhere, by a rabble of so-called "reformers," who swarmed into the Cathedral in January, 1560, spoiled it of its ornaments, stripped the lead from the roof and battered down all they could. The bells they shipped off to Holland, but by Divine judgment, as it seemed, the vessel with its freight perished in sight of land.

Bishop Gordon had foreseen the coming peril and had placed in keeping of some of the canons the treasures of his church, though they seem to have eventually disappeared—possibly seized by some of the spoilers. In the inventory,³⁸ drawn up on the occasion, is mentioned among other costly pieces of plate, "a chalice of pure gold, with the patten (paten) thereof, 3 pointed diamonds in the foot thereof and 2 rubies of B. Dunbar's gift of 52 ounces." Many fine vestments, hangings and adornments of the altar appear in the same list.

Before proceeding to relate the after events of the Reformation, it may be well to allude here to some of the Bishops of this see who were distinguished among the prelates of their day and have not yet

³⁸ It is this inventory, printed in the "Registrum Episc. Aberd." (Spalding Club), that has furnished matter for the above description. The other authorities followed are Walcot, "Ancient Church of Scotland" (pp. 97-100), and "Collections for the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff" (Spalding Club), Vol. I. (pp. 150 *seq.*).

been mentioned. Ralph de Lambley (1247), formerly Benedictine Abbot of Arbroath, is said to have traveled through his diocese on foot to preach to his people and to have lived as a monk in his episcopal palace. Henry le Chen, besides building a great part of his Cathedral, erected a fine bridge over the Don 72 feet in length and 60 in height. Gilbert de Greenlaw (1390-1424) was sent on an embassy to Charles VII. of France. He was made Chancellor of the kingdom in 1396. Henry de Leighton (1424-1441) was one of the commissioners sent to London for negotiating the ransom of King James I. Thomas Spens (1459-1480) was Keeper of the Privy Seal and envoy in several legations. He erected a hospital for the poor in the city of Edinburgh. The most distinguished of all, William Elphinstone, held many offices of state, such as Chancellor and Privy Seal. Besides doing much for his Cathedral he founded the University of Aberdeen. This prelate built a fine bridge over the Dee, for which he bequeathed £10,000 (\$50,000). He was one of the most learned and pious Bishops of his time. Bishop Gavin Dunbar (1518-1532) carried out Bishop Elphinstone's bequest regarding the bridge, and endowed a hospital at Aberdeen for twelve poor men in the very year in which his death occurred.³⁹ One of the statues placed by him in the Cathedral was an image of Our Lady which he removed from a chapel near the "Brig of Dee." When the Cathedral was desecrated this statue was rescued and conveyed to the Continent. It is still honored as "Our Lady of Aberdeen" or "Our Lady of Good Success," in the Church of Finisterre, Brussels.⁴⁰

The finishing touches to the spoliation of Aberdeen Cathedral are related by a seventeenth century writer. His account, which could scarcely be improved upon, shall be given *verbatim*: "Wednesday, the 5th of August (1640), the Earl of Seaforth," with others whom he mentions by name, "came all riding up to the gate to St. Machar's Kirk, ordained Our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ His arms to be cut out of the forefront of the pulpit thereof, and to take down the portraiture of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Our Saviour in her arms, that had stood since the upputting thereof, in curious work, under the ceiling at the west end of the pend (*i. e.*, arched space) whereon the great steeple stands, unmoved till now; and gave order to Colonel Master of Forbes to see this done. . . . He caused a mason strike out Christ's arms in hewn work, on each end of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's tomb (this stood in the south transept), and siclike (likewise) chizel out the name of Jesus, drawn cypher ways (*i. e.*, the monogram I. H. S.), out of the timber wall on the foreside of

³⁹ Keith, "Scottish Bishops," pp. 107, etc. ⁴⁰ *Vide*, Waterton, "Pietas Mariana Brit.," pp. 296, etc.

Machar's aisle." Two years later the same writer chronicles another outrage: "Upon the 16th day of December Dr. Guild and Mr. William Strachan yoked William Charles, wright (*i. e.*, carpenter) in Aberdeen, to the down-taking of the back of the high altar, standing upon the east wall of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's aisle, as high nearly as the ceiling thereof, curiously wrought of fine wainscot, so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece. The craftsman would not put his hand to the down-taking thereof till Mr. William Strachan, our minister, laid first hand thereto, which he did, and syne (*i. e.*, afterwards) the work was begun. . . . Now our minister devised a loft (probably a gallery, so dear to the Presbyterian heart), for ease of the people at sermon, going athwart the kirk south and north . . . and with this back of the altar and haill (*i. e.*, the whole of the) ornaments thereupon he decorated this beastly loft; whereas forty pounds would have cost as meikle (*i. e.*, much) timber as would have done the samen, if they would have suffered the foresaid ornament to stand."⁴¹

The "loft," which seems to have been built across the transepts, was not long suffered to adorn the building; for the English soldiers in 1652 carried off the softer stone of the east end, which they thus wholly demolished, to build a fort. This weakened the central tower, which fell with a crash in 1688, burying in its ruins all that remained of that portion of the building. Thanks to the stable material and solid masonry of the remainder, it still survives—a relic of the former glories of a holy shrine. Amid the trees of the churchyard beyond stand the richly decorated tombs of Bishop Lichtoun and Dunbar with that of another prelate, name unknown. Except the traces of groining which may still be discovered outside the present eastern extremity, these tombs are all that can be seen at the present day of that portion of the Cathedral. Yet the granite building with its nave and aisles and quaint twin towers with stunted looking spires—a prominent object from the railway which passes close by it—stands firm and compact as ever, and in its stable endurance typifies the unchanging and undying faith in whose honor it was reared.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O. S. B.

St. Benedict's Abbey, Fort Augustus, Scotland.

⁴¹ Spalding, "Troubles in Scotland," pp. 192, 316.

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY.

"I may safely say that I never came from your house without thinking how good he is; what a tender and affectionate nature the man has! It did me good simply to see him."—(*Leslie Stephen.*)

"His was the most beautiful and the most manly intellect I ever knew of."—(*Professor A. Hudrecht, of Utrecht University.*)

"There has been no man or woman whom I have met on my journey through life whom I have loved and regarded as I have him, and I feel that the world has shrunk and become a poor thing now that his splendid spirit and delightful presence are gone from it. Ever since I was a little boy he has been my ideal and hero."—(*Professor E. Ray Lankester.*)

"Looking back across an interval of many years and a distance of half the circumference of the globe, I have never ceased to be impressed with the manliness and sincerity of his character, his complete honesty of purpose, his high moral standard, his scorn of everything mean or shifty, his firm determination to speak what he held to be truth at whatever cost of popularity. And for these things I loved the man, and do honor to his memory, on this side of idolatry, as much as any."—(*The late Jeffery Parker.*)

"Of all the men I have ever known, his ideas and his standards were, on the whole, the highest. He recognized that the fact of his religious views imposed on him the duty of living the most upright of lives; and I am very much of the opinion of a little child, now grown into an accomplished woman, who, when she was told that Professor Huxley had no hope of future rewards and no fear of future punishments, emphatically declared: 'Then I think Professor Huxley is the best man I have ever known.'"—(*Sir Spencer Walpole.*)

"The surest-footed guide' is exactly true, to my feeling. Everybody else among the great used to disappoint one somewhere. He—never!"—(*Anon.*)

"He was so splendidly brave that one can never repay one's debt to him for his example. He made all pretense about religious belief, and the kind of half-thinking things out, and putting up in a slovenly way with half-formed conclusions, seem the base thing it really was."—(*Anon.*)

THE life of Huxley is one of those problems which the modern Christian moralist is bound to confront, and for which he must find an honest explanation if he is able. Catholic theology tells us that no man can remain long in ignorance or doubt of the existence of God and at the same time be sincere. It implies, moreover, that the life of such a man, if closely examined, will reveal the cause of his unbelief. To each and every human being who has arrived at the use of reason, so many theologians teach us, God gives a sufficiency of grace to attain belief sufficient for salvation. If belief and salvation are not attained, the blame rests on the side of man alone. Yet here we seem to be confronted with one whose single aim throughout was the manifestation of truth as opposed to falsehood, and whose whole life showed itself, to those who knew him best, as a life beautiful, and true, and lovable, at the same time that the man himself grew from greater to greater doubt as to the reality of the existence of God and of all the supernatural order. Is not such a life a flat contradiction to the doctrine of the theologians?

Before attempting an answer to this question two important points must be borne in mind. The first is, that no matter how well we may know the outward life of a man, and no matter how far we may think we have entered into his soul, there must always remain, even

in the most transparent, an inner depth which no human power can reach, and which is known to himself and God alone. Not even the angels, St. Thomas tells us, can read the heart of man, much less a fellow human being. And if this is true even of the most intimate of friends, much more so must it be of those who are not known to one another in life, but who must build their acquaintance up, either from the accounts of others or from the works which they have performed. In making an estimate of the motives of a man's life and action there must always remain unfathomed a depth of both good and evil, which may, and often will, contain the very essence of the matter of inquiry.

The second point is connected with the first. It is that the present examination is intended in no way to lead either to the condemnation or to the vindication of Huxley's life and principles. Its object is, so far as he is concerned, purely negative. Attack has often enough been made upon the doctrine of the Church concerning confirmed unbelievers; it has been, tacitly at least, repeated in the case of Huxley by his admirers, and openly by himself when he was yet alive. To repel this attack it is not necessary to condemn Huxley; it is enough if reason can be given for supposing that the expression of the man in his letters and writings does not compel us to free him from all blame. The question, then, comes to this: Is the life of Huxley such as to force the Church to modify her teaching with regard to the culpability of unbelief?

Whatever may be the ultimate conclusion of our inquiry, it must be acknowledged at the outset that there is much to be admired, and much to be praised, in Huxley's work and character. He possessed a rare talent; he had an indomitable will, and he was ruled by a laudable ambition to do his best, and to tolerate nothing in himself or in others which might savor of falsehood. The fruit of his work was the natural outcome of these qualities. Whatever he did he did thoroughly, whether it were in original scientific research or in retailing the results of his labor to his pupils. His field of knowledge was ever widening; he seemed to consider nothing amiss, nothing alien to his one main subject. He never stood still, never went back; it is to his credit that he could say that—perhaps with one single exception—at the end of his life he could look back upon all he had written on science and not wish a single word unsaid. As a teacher, too, he stands preëminent. Patient, clear, convincing in his exposition, he nevertheless refrained from pressing his own views on the minds of those who sat under him.

"One day," writes Fr. Hahn, S. J., once his pupil, "when I was talking to him our conversation turned upon evolution. 'There is one thing about you I cannot understand,' I said, 'and I should like a word in explanation. For several months now I have been attending your course, and I have never heard you mention evo-

lution, while in your public lectures everywhere you openly proclaim yourself an evolutionist."

Now it would be impossible to imagine a better opportunity for insisting on evolution than his lectures on comparative anatomy, when animals are set side by side in respect of the gradual development of functions. But Huxley was so reserved on this subject in his lectures that, speaking one day of a species forming a transition between two others, he immediately added:

"When I speak of transition I do not in the least mean to say that one species turned into a second to develop thereafter into a third. What I mean is that the characters of the second are intermediate between those of the two others. It is as if I were to say that such and such a cathedral, Canterbury, for example, is a transition between York Minster and Westminster Abbey. No one would imagine, on hearing the word transition, that a transmutation of these buildings actually took place from one into another."

But to return to his reply:

"Here in my lectures (he said to me) I have time to put the facts fully before a trained audience. In my public lectures I am obliged to pass rapidly over the facts, and I put forward my personal convictions. And it is for this that people come to hear me." (*Life and Letters* II., 405; *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, Oct., 1895.)

Perhaps nothing proves the thoroughness of Huxley so well as the pains he took to make his language a worthy medium for the conveying of scientific knowledge to others.

"I have a great love and respect for my native tongue," he says in one place, "and take great pains to use it properly. Sometimes I write essays half a dozen times before I can get them into the proper shape, and I believe I become more fastidious as I grow older." (*Life and Letters* II., 291.)

The result of this painstaking was a command of language which put him easily at the head of the writers of his school. All looked up to him as their spokesman. Darwin himself spoke of him as the champion of evolution before the reading world. And he deserved the title. No writer has ever made science so attractive as has Huxley. Every page of his essays contains something that is characteristic and winning. He is musical, he is vivid, he is detailed; no pains are spared to say what he has to say, and to say it well, and clearly, and with attraction. The sentences are balanced, there is alliteration in plenty; and no one who has read much of his works can think of his manner without recalling that subdued irony—sometimes not subdued—which is always with him. As a specimen, notice the freshness, the vividness, the musical rhythm helped out by alliteration, the evenness of balance in such a passage as the following:

"By way of escape from the metaphysical will-o'-the-wisps generated in the marshes of literature and theology, the serious student is sometimes bidden to betake himself to the solid ground of physical science. But the fish of immortal memory, who threw himself out of the frying-pan into the fire, was not more ill-advised than the man who seeks sanctuary from philosophical persecution within the walls of the observatory or of the laboratory. It is said that 'metaphysics' owe their name to the fact that, in Aristotle's works, questions of pure philosophy are dealt with immediately after those of physics. If so, the accident is happily symbolical of the essential relation of things; for metaphysical speculation follows

as closely upon physical theory as black care upon the horseman." (*Nineteenth Century*, April, 1879, p. 597.)

Equally fascinating is his power of telling a story or of illustrating his theory by a well-drawn simile. The explanation of his reasons for religious doubt by means of the clock is an excellent example. It runs:

"If the evolution theory is correct, the molecular structure of the cosmic gas stands in the same relation to the phenomena of the world as the structure of the clock to its phenomena.

"Now, let us suppose a death-watch, living in the clock case, to be a learned and intelligent student of its works. He might say, 'I find here nothing but matter and force and pure mechanism from beginning to end,' and he would be quite right. But if we drew the conclusion that the clock was not contrived for a purpose, he would be quite wrong. On the other hand, imagine another death-watch of a different turn of mind. He, listening to the monotonous 'tick! tick!' so exactly like his own, might arrive at the conclusion that the clock was itself a monstrous sort of death-watch, and that its fixed cause and purpose was to tick. How easy to point to the clear relation of the whole mechanism to the pendulum, to the fact that the one thing the clock did always and without intermission was to tick, and that all the rest of its phenomena were intermittent and subordinate to the ticking! For all this, it is certain that kitchen clocks are not contrived for the purpose of making a ticking noise.

"Thus the teleological theorist would be as wrong as the mechanical theorist among our death-watches, and probably the only death-watch who would be right would be the one who should maintain that the sole thing death-watches could be sure about was the nature of the clock-works and the way they move, and that the purpose of the clock lay wholly beyond the purview of better faculties. Substitute 'cosmic vapour' for 'clock,' and 'molecules' for 'works,' and the application of the argument is obvious." (*Science and Culture*, p. 306.)

To fight with Huxley a clever writer was needed, and one trained in science to boot; such a rival it was not easy to find.

Each of these qualities was a great power for good; and as such in great measure he used them. Nevertheless, in each was contained a germ of evil, which nothing but careful watch and discipline could prevent from growing into full vigor. He was clever; but his talent did but seem to increase his natural restlessness. Not that this restlessness implied any wavering; from the first he accustomed himself to set his goal before him, and to leave nothing untried until that goal was attained. If tenacity of purpose is to be considered the highest ideal in character, then Huxley was great indeed. In this respect he would often compare himself to a bull-dog, and he was worthy of the comparison. But this is quite consistent with what is here meant by restlessness—a chafing at every curb, a refusing to be hampered or fettered in anything that concerned himself, an impatience of opposition to his own ideas and theories, an excessive tendency to make light of and scorn, perhaps even to condemn as liars, those whose knowledge seemed to be inferior to his own, a straining in work which, however admired among men in these days, nevertheless marks a mind that does not find rest and peace in that order of life which nature has disposed for man.

For this restlessness and for its consequences, it is true, Huxley was not himself wholly to blame. His education was not such as to

teach the need of subjection ; his circumstances throughout life did but foster confidence in himself.

"From boyhood up," writes his son and biographer, "vaguely conscious of unrest, of great powers within him working to find expression, he had yet been to a certain extent driven in upon himself. He had been somewhat isolated from those of his own age by his eagerness for problems about which they cared nothing, and the tendency to solitude, the habit of outward reserve imposed upon an unusually warm nature, were intensified by the fact that he grew up in surroundings not wholly congenial. One member alone of his family felt with him that complete and vivid sympathy which is so necessary to the full development of such a nature." (*Life and Letters I.*, p. 35.)

Huxley's own account of his early days confirms the impression here given.

"Kicked into the world a boy without guide or training, or with worse than none," he writes to Charles Kingsley, "I confess to my shame that few men have drunk deeper of all kinds of sin than I. Happily, my course was arrested in time—before I had earned absolute destruction—and for long years I have been slowly and painfully climbing, with many a fall, towards better things." (*Life and Letters I.*, 223.)

The real significance of this restless spirit, allowed in the beginning to have full play and never duly brought into subjection, was made apparent as time went on. "I went upon my principle of having a row at starting," he wrote on one occasion to Tyndall (cf. *Life and Letters I.*, p. 120); and this principle he maintained to the end. It won him eminence in his own field of learning; but it also carried him further. In spite of his own professions and protestations, it is impossible not to write him down as overruled by a spirit of intolerance. The wider his influence reached the more intolerant he became. And with this intolerance there grew up a violence of language never wholly wanting to him, but more apparent in his personal comments. No man must cross his path or he must pay for it, be he Bishop or nobleman, statesman or philosopher. No religion or religious practice shall be tolerated which does not conform to his views, be it of the severe type of the Scotch Presbyterian or the all-embracing breadth of the Church of England, or the elaborate but time-honored ceremonial of Rome. No principles shall be propounded which do not appeal to him and conform to his practice, whether it be in matter of a nation's education or an abstruse point of metaphysics, or the meaning of an author's writings. In each of these ways his restlessness under restraint revealed itself from the beginning. As time went on the outer man learnt to conform to a certain normal calm; but to the end the inner combative spirit remained, and death caught him in the midst of a last polemic on a subject both philosophical and theological.

It is easy to illustrate this at various periods of his life.

"It is clear to me," he had written at the beginning of his career, "that for a man of my temperament, at any rate, the sole secret of getting through this life with anything like contentment is to have full scope for the development of one's faculties. Science alone seems to me to afford this scope—law, divinity, physics

and politics being in a state of chaotic vibration between utter humbug and utter skepticism." (*Life and Letters I.*, p. 93.)

"Utter humbug!" He hit upon this word early in life, and it rang through everything he wrote for the rest of his days. It was a good catch-word, and it served its purpose well on many an occasion. To the world he defined it as whatever was opposed to truth; but by truth he meant whatever did not tally with his own ideas. The use of the word did not only deceive the many; it deceived himself still more and was the cause of many a false conclusion.

In the same spirit we find him later in life acknowledging allegiance to no master, ranking with no school.

"Not among fatalists," he says, "for I take the conception of necessity to have a logical and not a physical foundation; not among materialists, for I am utterly incapable of conceiving the existence of matter if there is no mind in which to picture that existence; not among atheists, for the problem of the ultimate cause of existence is one which seems to me to be hopelessly out of reach of my poor powers. Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read, the demonstrations of these philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if they were not surpassed by the still greater absurdities of the philosophers who try to prove that there is no God." (*Life and Letters I.*, p. 412.)

This last sentence contains several points which are typical of Huxley's method. It opens with characteristic intemperance and violence—"Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read." One sometimes is inclined to wonder how much of them he did read; for he seldom quotes them except to refute them, and at times almost brags of his want of familiarity with them. But there is more yet that is noteworthy. The sentence goes on to speak of "philosophers—who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God." Huxley knew as well as we do that no philosopher nor school of philosophers had ever attempted anything so impossible; but it would not suit his argument to say so. He tells no lies; he accuses no one; he does not even assert that such a school of philosophers does exist. Nevertheless, among his hearers and readers there were few who would not have included in this condemnation all those who professed belief in a personal God, and Huxley knew it. By a sweeping exaggeration he has succeeded in confounding truth with falsehood—this paragon of veracity who can boldly describe himself as "almost a fanatic for the sanctity of truth" (*Life and Letters II.*, p. 46), and who can say: "So far as I know myself . . . my sole motive is to get at the truth in all things." (*Life and Letters II.*, p. 281.)

Similar instances of unfair representation of the position opposed to him are not wanting. Mr. Gladstone, in the "Genesis" controversy, had to complain of this treatment.

"While acknowledging," he writes, "the great courtesy with which Professor Huxley treats his antagonist individually, and while simply listening to his denunciations of the Reconcilers as one listens to distant thunders, with a sort of sense that after all they will do no great harm, I must presume to animadvert with considerable freedom upon his method; upon the sweeping character of his advo-

easy; upon his perceptible exaggeration of points in controversy; upon his mode of dealing with authorities, and upon the curious fallacy of substitution by which he enables himself to found the widest proscription of the claims of the Book of Genesis to contain a divine record upon a reasoned impeachment of its scientific accuracy in, as I shall show, a single particular." (*Nineteenth Century*, Jan., 1886, p. 2.)

The writer proceeds to justify his complaint in detail. Similarly speaks another antagonist, the Duke of Argyll. Examining Professor Huxley's use of the word "science," he says:

"In common parlance this word is now very much confined to the physical sciences, some of which may be called specially experimental sciences, such as chemistry, and others exact sciences, such as astronomy. But Professor Huxley evidently uses it in that wider sense in which it includes metaphysics and philosophy. Under cover of this wide sweep of his net, he assumes to speak with the special authority of a scientific expert upon questions respecting which no such authority exists either in him or in any one else. It seems to be on the strength of this assumption that he designates as pseudo-science any opinion, or teaching, or belief different from his own." (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1887, p. 771.)

To the same effect is the accusation of Dr. Wace, another rival in the arena. At the close of an article written in self-defense after an attack made by Huxley he writes:

"Perhaps I need say no more for the present in reply to Professor Huxley. I have, I think, shown that he has evaded my point; he has evaded his own points; he has misquoted my words; he has misrepresented the results of the very criticism to which he appeals, and he rests his case on assumptions which his own authorities repudiate. The questions he touches are very grave ones, not to be adequately treated in a review article. But I should have supposed it a point of scientific morality to treat them, if they are to be treated, with accuracy of reference and strictness of argument." (*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889, p. 368.)

A striking instance of Huxley's method of making a controversy his own by exaggerating a mere detail is exhibited in one of his disputes with the late Dr. Mivart. The latter asserted in his book on the "Genesis of Species" that evolution was consistent with Catholic theology, and quoted St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas and Suarez to his purpose. Suarez was unknown to Huxley.

"I confess," he writes with characteristic irony, "that this bold assertion interested me more than anything else in Mr. Mivart's book. What little knowledge I possessed of Catholic doctrine"—these words are worth bearing in mind with respect to Huxley's other statements of being open to all sides—"and of the influence exerted by Catholic authority in former times, had not led me to expect that modern science was likely to find a warm welcome within the pale of the greatest and most consistent of theological organizations.

"And my astonishment reached its climax when I found Mr. Mivart citing Father Suarez as his chief witness in favor of the scientific freedom enjoyed by Catholics—the popular repute of that subtle theologian and learned casuist not being such as make his works a likely place of refuge for liberality of thought. But in these days, when Judas Iscariot and Robespierre, Henry VIII. and Catiline have all been shown to be men of admirable virtue, far in advance of their age and consequently the victims of vulgar prejudice, it was obviously possible that Jesuit [*etc*] Suarez might be in like case. And, spurred by Mr. Mivart's unhesitating declaration, I hastened to acquaint myself with such of the works of the great Catholic divine as bore upon the question, hoping not merely to acquaint myself with the true teachings of the infallible Church and free myself of an unjust prejudice, but, haply, to enable myself, at a pinch, to put some Protestant bibliolater to shame by the bright example of Catholic freedom from the trammels of verbal inspiration." (Critiques and Addresses, p. 255; *Contemporary Review*, 1871.)

The length of this quotation needs no apology. It is another comment on the method of him who was "almost a fanatic for the

sanctity of truth," and whose "sole motive" was to "get at the truth in all things." In the result of his inquiry into Suarez he was, as he informs us, "disappointed." From passages in his writings he satisfied himself that Suarez could not be said to countenance the doctrine of evolution. This was his opportunity. The assertion of Mivart had been that evolution was consistent with Catholic theology in general. He had quoted Suarez as one author among several; even if he were wrong in regard to him, his main thesis still stood intact. But Huxley knew better than to enter on the larger topic. He had, as he thought, loosened one stone in the wall; so weakened, the whole castle must be made to fall to the ground. This, then, is the almost bombastic way he sums up his argument:

"Until responsible Catholic authority—say, for example, the Archbishop of Westminster—formally declares that Suarez was wrong, and that Catholic priests are free to teach their flocks that the world was *not* made in six natural days, and that plants and animals were *not* created in their perfect and complete state, but have been evolved by natural processes through long ages from certain germs in which they were potentially contained, I for one shall feel bound to believe that the doctrines of Suarez are the only ones which are sanctioned by infallible authority, as represented by the Holy Father and the Catholic Church." (*Critiques and Addresses*, p. 270.)

But it is not only in such hasty and false deductions that his intemperance of language appears. He is still more unsparing in the epithets he attaches to those with whose opinions he is at variance. In them all one sees the same spirit; and however much he may have succeeded in hiding it in ordinary life, the spirit remained within him to the end.

Here are some instances. Of Bishop Butler he says:

"Read Butler and see to what drivell even his great mind descends when he has to talk about the immortality of the soul! I have never seen an argument on that subject which, from a scientific point of view, is worth the paper it is written upon." (*Life and Letters I.*, p. 242.)

Of some philosophers of this century:

"I believe in Hamilton, Mansell* and Herbert Spencer as long as they are destructive, and I laugh at their beards as soon as they try to spin their own cobwebs." (*Ib.*, I., p. 244.)

Of some of an earlier time:

"Cabanis and Berkeley (I speak of them simply as types of schools) are both asses, the only difference being that one is a black donkey, the other a white one." (*Ib.*, I., p. 244.)

Bacon he describes as "that sneak Bacon." (*Life and Letters II.*, p. 14.) Of Mr. Gladstone, when in the height of the "Genesis" controversy, he says:

"Seriously, it is to me a grave thing that the destinies of this country should at present be seriously influenced by a man who, whatever he may be in the affairs of which I am no judge, is nothing but a copious shuffler in those which I do understand." (*Ib.*, II., p. 122.)

In a similar vein he speaks of Mr. Balfour, on finding that the

*The spelling is Huxley's. It is commented on in the volume.

latter had severely censured agnosticism in his "Foundations of Belief."

"I am inclined to think," he says, "that the practice and the methods of political leaders destroy their intellect for all serious purposes." (Ib., II., 398.)

Newman, of course, he condemns.

"I have been reading some of his works lately," he writes, "and I understand now why Kingsley accused him of growing dishonesty. After an hour or two of him I began to lose sight of the distinction between truth and falsehood." (Ib., II., 225.)

And again:

"I trust you have properly enjoyed the extracts from Newman. That a man of his intellect should be brought down to the utterance of such drivel—by Papistry—is one of the strongest arguments against that damnable perverter of mankind I know of." (Ib., II., 227.)

The late Henry George fares no better of him, and of a predecessor of his he says:

"Did you ever read Henry George's book, 'Progress and Poverty?' It is more damnable nonsense than poor Rousseau's blether. And to think of the popularity of the book! But I ought to be grateful, as I can cut and come again at this wonderful dish." (Ib., II., 245.)

So he treats individuals—the student and subject of none, the judge of all. In the same way he handles schools of thought, particularly of religion. Something has already been said to show his attitude towards Christianity in general. His controversy with Dr. Wace emphasizes his virulence and blindness. Under the garb of freedom of thought he is everywhere intolerant and merciless. For the Catholic Church he has never anything beyond a sneer. His abhorrence of her is so emphatic as to make him draw conclusions too ludicrous to be insulting in regard to her influence upon civilization. Two passages shall illustrate the spirit in which the "fanatic for the sanctity of truth" visited Rome.

"We are just back from a great function at St. Peter's," he writes. "It is the festa of St. Peter's chair, and the ex-dragon, Cardinal Howard, has been bugleman in the devout adorations addressed to that venerable article of furniture, which, as you ought to know, but probably don't, is enclosed in a bronze double and perched up in a shrine of the worst possible taste in the tribuna of St. Peter's. The display of man-millinery and lace was enough to fill the lightest-minded woman with envy, and a general conceit—some of the music very good—prevented us from feeling dull, while the *ci-devant* guardsman—big, burly and bullet-headed—made God and then ate Him. I must have a strong strain of Puritan blood in me somewhere, for I am possessed with a desire to rise and slay the whole brood of idolators whenever I assist at one of these ceremonies."

Again, two days later:

"I begin to understand old Rome pretty well, and I am quite learned in the Catacombs, which suit me, as a kind of Christian fossils out of which one can reconstruct the body of the primitive Church. She was a simple maiden enough, and vastly more attractive than the bedizened old harridan of the modern Papacy, so smothered under the old clothes of paganism which she has been appropriating for the last fifteen centuries that Jesus of Nazareth would not know her if he met her.

"I have been to several great Papistical functions—among others to the festa of the Cathedra Petri in St. Peter's last Sunday—and I confess I am unable to under-

stand how grown men can lend themselves to such elaborate tomfooleries—nothing but mere fetish worship—in forms of execrably bad taste, devised, one would think, by a college of ecclesiastical man-milliners for the delectation of school girls. It is curious to notice that intellectual and æsthetic degradation go hand in hand. You have only to go from the Pantheon to St. Peter's to understand the great abyss which lies between the Roman of paganism and the Roman of the Papacy. I have seen nothing grander than Agrippa's work—the Popes have stripped it to adorn their own petrified lies, but in its nakedness there is a dignity with which there is nothing to compare in the ill proportioned, worse decorated, tawdry stone mountain on the Vatican." (*Life and Letters* II., p. 90.)

There is a method of warfare which, for a man who makes profession of honesty and open-mindedness above all things else, is, to say the least, unworthy. One has met rival disputants—Newman was one, the late Henry Sidgwick was another, Jowett was a third, Mr. Balfour is a fourth, and there are many more—who, with all their disagreement and with all their aloofness, nevertheless have been slow to condemn their adversaries as lunatics or their position as unbecoming a rational man. Much less have they sought, except by argument or by ignoring, to weaken the position of a rival creed; to endeavor to prejudice it, still worse, to endeavor to warp the judgments of others against it without reason given, worst of all, to use the language of derision in speaking of it, is a practice which they could never have stooped to adopt. Not so Huxley. He tells us again and again he is open to conviction; for all that, it is hard to find a single passage, in his life or in his works which gives any evidence that he has sat down to face the position of an adversary and to allow himself to be influenced by his arguments. And not only this, but with a seeming dread of the possible effect an adversary may produce upon others, he does not scruple to use terms of abuse and ridicule in speaking of them in a way calculated, and intentionally calculated, to poison the minds of all whom his words may reach.

What, then, may be said to be the conclusion at which one arrives after a close study of Huxley's life and works? That he was a master in a special branch of science, that he was thorough in research into everything that pertained to his subject, that he was possessed of a brilliant and rapid intellect and a strength of will which nothing could daunt, that as student, teacher, professor, he proved himself to be among the first, if not quite the first, of the men of his time—all this one may allow him at the outset. His bitterest enemy will not deny him this; those who wish him well may with fairness allow him more. They will allow him the credit which belongs to one who has won for himself, in spite of terrible odds, a worthy place on the rôle of honor. They will allow him a broad margin in the development of his ideas because of the evil circumstances of his up-bringing, whence sprang much of his mistrust of the aid of men, scorn of reputed but sham knowledge, confidence in

himself as the one being upon whom he may safely rely. They will allow much, too, because of the defects of his mental training, which had failed to direct aright his "ambition of youth," which had fostered where it should have curbed "a fiery temper, which ought to (but unfortunately does not) get cooler with age," and which had ill prepared his prompt, quick judgment to face the problems lying before him and most congenial to his nature. Lastly, they will allow him much because of the nature of the adversaries to which he was opposed. Not that, as men, they were weak, but that their cause was often unable to sustain the shock of Huxley's attack. If there is any one fact more than another which proves the hollowness of modern Protestantism, it is the weak front it is compelled to oppose to the onset of modern infidelity. To prove this point would be to reopen a new discussion. For the present it must be enough to say that at times, though by no means always, Protestantism gave way and broke before Huxley's charges. Thus was he led on to despise religion; for beyond Protestantism he knew no other champion.

Still, when all has been said and when every allowance has been made, the case for Huxley cannot be declared to be proved; and this is the whole of our contention. Granting all that is here claimed for him, there still remains much that may lie at his door. There still remain a violence of action and of word, a sweeping of method and of manner, a scorn of the good and true whenever it was offered to him under a form which did not suit his fancy, a determination to win regardless of consequences in every controversy, a reckless flippancy in treating of matters supernatural, even while he acknowledged the possibility of their existence, an assumption of knowledge which none but himself would recognize, a restlessness of life, mixed with a desperate contentment, which gives ground for belief that the old thesis of the scholastics concerning unbelievers has not yet been proved untenable.

A. GOODIER, S. J.

St. Asaph, North Wales.

THE COMMENCEMENTS OF THE NORMANS.

JUST as in the fifth and sixth centuries, so in the ninth an influx of pagan barbarians threatened to destroy Christianity in Europe, only to ensure new and lasting triumphs for the Church of God. But unlike the barbarians of the fifth and sixth centuries, those of the ninth appeared as disorganized hordes, and not with some appearance of national polity; and unlike the Arab invaders of the seventh century, the barbarian Men of the North hurled themselves on Christian Europe with no definite religious object. With the sole exception of Hungary, no new kingdom resulted from the new avalanche of paganism; even in England and in that portion of the Land of the Gaul which was soon to be known as Normandy there ensued merely a change of governmental authority. As for the origin and the early history of the Northmen or Normans, but little in the way of precision can be given. We know that when Western Europe was invaded by that branch of the Indo-European race which ethnologists term the Teutonic, one portion or band established itself in the regions north of the Danube and east of the Rhine; and that the Romans spoke of them as "Germans." Shortly after the meeting between the Romans and these "Germans," the Quirites became masters of Gaul; and then they learned that along the coasts of the Northern Sea, between the mouth of the Rhine and the Baltic, there roamed other Teutonic tribes. Finally it was learned that still other Teutonic bands inhabited those Baltic regions which we know as Sweden, Norway and Denmark; and ere long the civilized peoples became more or less familiar with the names of such hordes as the Suiones (Swedes), the Jutes and the Goths, who, since they inhabited the regions around Scania—the sole portion of the Swedish peninsula known to the Romans—came in time to be designated as Scandinavians. In the first century before our era a later immigration of Asiatic stock overran these "regions of snow," acquiring political and social supremacy and originating the Scandinavian family, a mixture of the Teutonic and the later Asiatic. The Scandinavian traditions narrate that about 70 B. C. one of the barbarian allies of Mithridates, becoming dismayed at the victories of Sylla over that prince, induced an immense number of his tribesmen to emigrate into the far north in order to escape the imminent Roman yoke. This chieftain, whose name was Siggæ, soon came to be styled Odin or Wodan, either because he had taken the name of the Germanic god of war, in order to impress the Germanic tribes whom he was subverting, or because his exploits

caused his deification under that name. It must be noted, however, that there are other traditions which assign the advent of Odin to the third or fourth century of our era, and that some of these accounts speak of several different Odins. But it is probably true that Sigga subdued the peoples then inhabiting Southern Russia, and finally became master of Jutland, Denmark (the March or Frontier of the Danes), Sweden and Norway. Sigga, or Odin, assigned his western conquests to his three sons, Skiold receiving Denmark, Niorder Sweden and Seming Norway. Then Odin fixed his residence near Lake Mœlar, in Sweden, and when he perceived that he was growing decrepit he assembled his surviving companions in arms, wounded himself with nine stabs in the form of a circle on his breast, and announced that he was going to Scythia, there to feast eternally with the other gods, and there to await the coming of all good Scandinavians who would die bravely on the field of battle. Few years had elapsed ere the empire of Odin found itself parcelled among scores of petty kings, because of the custom of dividing a ruler's states among his surviving sons; each of these kings was supposed to be obeyed by numerous *jarls* (earls), who were simply leaders of robber bands; over all, both kings and earls, there were "over-kings" at Upsal in Sweden and at Seeland in Denmark, but the authority of these monarchs was nominal. There were, of course, several attempts at a concentration of authority, but none succeeded until the end of the sixth century, when Ingvald, king of Upsal, treacherously murdered twelve of the petty kings, and thus obtained the sovereignty of nearly all of Scandinavia. Conquered in his turn by Ivar, a son of one of his victims, Ingvald made his surviving soldiers dead-drunk in the great hall of his palace, and then firing the building, he went with them to join Odin. Sole monarch of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, Ivar subjugated the regions afterward known as Pomerania, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg, and he even invaded Britain, then dominated by the Anglo-Saxons. Harold, a grandson of Ivar, gave Sweden and Ostrogothia to his nephew, Sigur; and when Sigur revolted in 740, in order to obtain the rest of Scandinavia, the monarch fell in the consequent battle. Sigur was unable to preserve the unity of the monarchy, and he was assassinated by a friend of Harold. Siegfried, one of the petty kings who now reigned in Jutland, was a constant ally of Witikind, the Saxon, in his struggle with Charlemagne. Another, Gottfried, who reigned in Holstein, defied the power of Charlemagne by a grant of asylum to those of the Saxons who refused to submit to that prince.¹

¹ Cantu, "Storia Universale," Book X., Turin, 1862; Capefigue, "Les Invasions des Normands," Paris, 1860; Coquerel (C), "Resumé de l'Histoire de Suède," Paris, 1825; Du Meril, "Prolégomènes à l'Histoire de la Poésie Scandinave, Paris, 1859; Wheaton, "History of the Northmen From the Earliest Times to the Con-

The religion of the Scandinavians differed little from that of the pagan Germans. As with the Germans, Odin was their chief deity, although he was adored under different names as the god of cunning, of triumphant force, of mendacity or of death; he always designated, before a battle, those whom his messengers, "Dyses," were to summon to the banquets of the gods. Among the chief companions of Odin were his wife, Frigga, the beneficent goddess; Niord, the god of storms; Freyr, the god of wealth; Freya, sister of Freyr, the goddess of beauty, the Venus of Scandinavia, to whom the sixth day of the week, *Freytag*, was dedicated; Thor, the eldest son of Odin, and the god of force and of the thunder, who is to kill the great serpent and source of evil at the end of the world, but is to perish because of the exhalations of that monster.

In reference to the characteristics of the Scandinavians, it may be sufficient to state that all of their ferocious customs were derived from their supreme contempt for life, which was itself the very essence of their religion. Their poetry is even more redolent of blood and of cruelty in general than it is of lust; the "Chant of Lod-brog" is representative of all the "Sagas." Thus we hear:² "We have fought with the sword; the eagles and yellow-footed birds (vultures) screech with joy; virgins are weeping continually; the hours of life are passing, but we smile as we die. . . . When I was a mere boy I went to the East in order to give a bloody meal to the wolves; and in battle I sent all the men of Elting to Odin. One day I caused hundreds to bite the dust on the cliffs of England; dewes of blood dropped from our swords; my heart was as joyful as though I were sitting at the side of a lovely girl. Another day I butchered a youth with beautiful hair who on that very morn was gay in the company of maidens and was chatting with the widows. We have fought with our swords; and now I perceive that man is a slave of

quest of England by William of Normandy," Philadelphia, 1831; Munch, "Det Norske Folks Historie," Christiania, 1863. ² In the ninth century there appeared a Latin version of this chant, from which we cull the following passages:

"Pugnavimus ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper.
Quod Bolderi (Odin) patris scamna
Parata scio in aula;
Bibemus cervisiam brevi
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum;
Non gemit vir fortis non contra mortem.
Magnifici in Odini domibus
Non venio desperandis
Verbis; ad Odini aulam
Fert animus finire.
Invitant me deæ,
Quas ex Othini aula
Othinus mihi misit.
Lætus cervisiam cum Asis
In summa sedē bibam.
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ
Ridens moriar."

destiny. . . . But I laugh, and laugh again ; for I know that I shall soon sit in the hall of Odin, there to quaff my beer out of human skulls."

It is interesting to compare these verses with those of Lucan as he sings of the fighting Northmen in his "Pharsalia," I., 59:

"Certe populi quos respicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum reddituræ parcere vitæ."

The reader of this chant is not surprised when he learns that since a natural death was a disgrace for a pagan Northman, he transfixed his old or sick relatives with his lance. When the Scandinavians burned the body of a father, all of his burnable property was thrown into the flames, so that his sons would be forced to procure wealth of their own by war and by rapine. Nothing pleased a Northman more than to fling a living babe from the point of his sword to the expectant point of another's weapon. Perhaps we should not regard as cruelty the Northman custom of exiling, at certain periods, their younger sons from a region where food was not always abundant, and where a large population would have been at least an inconvenience. It was a woman, Gumborg, who devised this scheme, and to it was principally due the success of the Scandinavian "sea-kings," and primarily also the impulse to those invasions which now claim our attention. The first piratical essays of the Normans were conducted in their *holkars* (skiffs), fashioned from hollowed logs, boats which were adapted only to short cruises along the coasts of the Baltic. In 515, however, they had improved so much in the art of shipbuilding that they were able to undertake an expedition in force to the shores of Brittany ; but so severely did they suffer at the hands of Thierry, son of Clovis, that three centuries elapsed before they again ventured to the coasts of France. In the eighth century we find them plying their villainous trade on the eastern shores of the Baltic and impudently conveying their spoils to Constantinople for sale. It was then that the term "Varangian," or Corsair, a designation which was soon to be applied to all the barbarian mercenaries in the Byzantine service, became familiar to the Constantinopolitans. In the latter part of the eighth century the shores of Ireland were visited, and Norman kingdoms were founded at Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick. At this time England was no stranger to the "sea-kings," and frequently they preyed on the Orkneys, Hebrides, and the Shetlands. That they made inroads on Greenland and Iceland is certain ; and it is not improbable that they sailed as far as our Newfoundland, which they termed Vineland. Expeditions such as these

might well have inspired the "gentlemen-rovers," as their English successors were styled eight centuries afterward, to make a venture on the richer kingdom of Charlemagne. Eginhard tells us that one day while staying in a Mediterranean port, Charlemagne espied in the offing some vessels, the shape of which indicated that they were Norman freebooters; that the sight of the robbers so near to the shore of France brought tears to the Emperor's eyes, and that he told his attendants that he did not fear that in his time the Normans would dare to attack any part of his dominions, but that he anticipated trouble for his people in the near future from that source.

While it is true that piracy was the very life of these Men of the North on whom the light of history was first cast, it is also true that in time there emigrated from the lands of snow and ice many blonde "heroes" who were neither pirates nor their accomplices for any length of time. Thus a number of Normans had been long settled in Novogorod, the great Slavic city which was to become the nucleus of an empire which was destined to be feared, after the lapse of a thousand years, as the "Russian Colossus;" and these offshoots of the Scandinavian stock were the most influential of all the inhabitants of that strong republic, of which the surrounding peoples then said that "no one would dare to attack either God or Novogorod the Grand."

Olden writers tell us that in 839 some merchants of Novogorod, having been on business in Constantinople, accompanied to France an embassy which the Emperor, Theophilus, sent to Louis the Débonnaire, and the Frenchmen discovered that the peaceful traders were Normans. This settlement of the Normans in what is now Russia was productive of important results, for it was by means of the daughter-in-law of a Norman chieftain, of him who became the first "grand duke" or "grand prince" of Russia, and who founded a dynasty which lasted until the end of the sixteenth century, that the work of Christianizing the Russians was initiated. About the year 850 Rurick, a Norman chieftain, aided by two of his brothers, founded the city of Ladoga; and when the perennial discords of the Novogorod Slavs induced them to seek protection from the "Varangian," he responded so efficaciously that the republic became his own, its lands and its strong places being partitioned among his followers, and the sovereignty falling, as it were, into his hands. The domination of Rurick soon extended over the south of what we now know as Russia, and in 865 two of his companions, Askold and Dir, crossed the Black Sea with the intention of carving an empire for themselves out of the territories then subject to the Constantinopolitan sovereign, Michael the Drunkard, and they would have succeeded had not a tempest put an end to their project. After the

death of Rurick in 879 his infant son, Igor, remained under the tutelage of a relative named Oleg, and the work of Norman aggrandizement was continued. Kief was reduced, and after a raid which carried him to the gates of Constantinople, Oleg made a treaty with Leo the Philosopher, and returned laden with spoils.

From 911 to 945 Igor extended his empire; twice he appeared at the walls of Byzantium, but a treaty of alliance saved the lower empire. When he was killed by the Slavs of Lithuania, whose tribute he had tried to augment, his widow, Olga, satiated her vengeance by the treacherous massacre of 5,000 of the Lithuanians during a feast. Olga became a Christian soon after the commission of this crime, receiving the name of Helena at her baptism; but the faith made little progress during her lifetime, and it was not before the baptism of Vladimir, the great-grandson of Rurick, in 988, that the masses of the Russian people entered into the fold of Christ. It may be well to note here that the fact of Vladimir's marriage with Anna, sister of the Greek Emperor Basil II., is responsible for the mistake of the authors who have assigned the conversion of the Russians to the ninth century. These authors confused the reign of Basil II. with that of Basil the Macedonian. And the reader will also note that at this time the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, priests of which were the missionaries of the faith to the Russian pagans of the day, was in full communion with the Holy See. The Photian Schism had been dead for a century. Not until nearly two other centuries had elapsed did the Constantinopolitan patriarch, Cerularius, again segregate most of the Orientals from the Church of Christ; and not before the fifteenth century were the Russians almost totally and definitively dragged into the gulf of schism and of its inevitably consequent heresy.³

Giving our attention now to the influx of the Normans into the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, we would remark, in the first place, that some knowledge of the teachings of Christianity seems to have been acquired by the Men of the North when certain of their more enterprising rovers, having visited the nearer Christian lands of Europe, returned to their homes. Some of these travelers even received baptism in the lands which they visited, and although they generally returned to the religion of Odin, they frequently persisted in their abandonment of many of the customs of Scandinavian paganism—for instance, polygamy, the eating of horseflesh and birds of prey, etc. The efforts of the Saxon, St. Willibrord, for the conversion of the Normans were futile; but the labors of St. Anscarius,

³ Cantu, *loc. cit.*; Chantrel, "Cours d'Histoire Universelle," Paris, 1887; Nestor, Edition Bykkoft, St. Petersburg, 1873, and Schlozer's commentary in his "Nestors Russische Annalen," Gottingen, 1809.

a monk of Picardy, were more fruitful. About the year 826 Harold Klak, King of Southern Jutland, having been dethroned, sought and obtained the aid of Louis the Débonnaire. Probably policy, more than conviction, induced him to receive baptism, and he permitted the Archbishop of Reims to send missionaries to his recovered kingdom.

It was then that St. Anscarius left his monastery of Corbie, in the hope of becoming for the Northmen that which St. Boniface had been for the Germans. After many years of fair success he was made Archbishop of Hamburg, and when the Pontiff sent the *pallium* to him it was accompanied with an appointment as Papal Legate for Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Greenland. Much of the opposition experienced by St. Anscarius and his associates proceeded from the kings of Scandinavia, both petty and superior. These monarchs dreaded the political consequences of an adoption of the religion of the more southerly nations, and their ire found vent in numerous expeditions against the coasts of France and Lotharingia. In 845 Hamburg was sacked, and soon afterward the marauders penetrated to the interior of Saxony. Everywhere the destruction of churches and monasteries left tokens of their visits, and for many years there was not a great river of France or of Northern Germany, the mouth of which did not serve as a "station" or base of operations from which the worshipers of Odin would, from time to time, pounce on the lands bordering the stream, in order to appropriate whatever of value had been accumulated since the last visitation. Strange to say, several of the Carolingian Emperors deemed it prudent to legalize certain Scandinavian domiciles in their dominions. Thus the Débonnaire accorded an establishment in Batavia to Harold Klak; and ere long a Norman colony, or rather "station," was permanent on the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Meuse. During the reign of Lothaire another band settled in Louvain. Baldwin I., Count of Flanders and son-in-law of Charles the Bald, repelled the Normans from his territory, but at the same time they devastated Lotharingia, Frisia and much of Neustria. In 870, just when the Norman, Rurick, was founding what was to become the Empire of Russia at Novogorod, another Rurick subjugated Frisia. In 876 Rollo ravaged Holland, and then settled permanently on the banks of the Seine, and very soon Godfrey, just repulsed by Alfred the Great in England, took possession of Nimegen and sacked and burned Tongres, Metz, Cologne, Juliers, Coblenz, Treves, and Aix-la-Chapelle. In 882 Charles the Fat granted to Godfrey a large district in the north of what is now Holland, on condition that the Norman should embrace Christianity; and probably Godfrey would have developed his territory into an independent kingdom, had he

not been assassinated by Henry, Count of Franconia, in 885. In revenge for this murder Siegfried, brother of Godfrey, marched on Reims; and it required much money to save the city from the flames. However, in 891 that part of the Empire was delivered from the Normans. In 843 Hasting, chief of some Normans who had appropriated the island of Her in the Loire, after their burning of the grand Benedictine monastery which St. Philibert had founded in the seventh century, made Angers his headquarters; and during the following twenty-three years he pillaged Amboise, Nantes, Tours, and Blois, together with all the lands bordering on the Charente and the Garonne. This indomitable freebooter's career was not checked by the crushing defeat which Robert the Strong inflicted on him at Brissarthe in 866. He immediately embarked his followers on a hundred vessels, sailed to Italy, sacked Pisa, and took possession of Luna in Tuscany, being under the impression that it was the Eternal City, the capital of Christendom. Having discovered his mistake, Hasting proceeded to Britain in order to aid those of his blood who were then resisting the patriotic efforts of Alfred the Great; and when that monarch had forced him to return to France, he became a Christian, in 879, in order to receive the investiture of the County of Chartres.

The banks of the Seine were very familiar to the Normans. As early as 820 they had ascended the river, and in 841 they had pillaged Rouen, while Charles the Bald had saved Paris from their torches only at the cost of much of his treasure. In 885 Siegfried appeared before Paris, which then was of no greater extent than that of the portion which in modern times was to be termed "the city." His force consisted of 30,000 warriors and 700 vessels, and with all the military science of the day he endeavored to reduce the place. But the Parisians, filled with courage by the exhortations and example of their Bishop, Gozlin, and of the abbot of Saint Germain des Prés, and worthily guided by Eudes and Robert, the sons of Robert the Strong, were indomitable. The siege had endured thirteen months without any progress on the part of the Normans, when Charles the Fat appeared at the head of an army; but instead of falling on the besiegers of his faithful subjects, he bought them off with 700,000 pounds of silver and with full permission to ravage Burgundy. So indignant were the Parisians because of this proof of an ignoble mind on the part of their monarch, that they blocked the Seine, thus compelling the Normans to draw their ships on the land for many miles.

The most interesting as well as the most important phase of Norman history is that of the domicilization of this sturdy stock in France, and of its consequent assimilation with the Celtic and Gallo-Roman races. Among the Norman besiegers of Paris in 885, one of the most distinguished for strength, courage, and personal appearance was Hrolf or Rollo, a Norwegian who had already commanded

large bodies of his own men of Norway, and also of Danes, in the English wars. When the siege of Paris was raised, Rollo spent three years with his countrymen in England; but finding that the spoils of the Anglo-Saxons were less valuable than those of France, he soon became a thorn in the side of Louis le Bègue. When Charles the Simple, who had occupied the throne conjointly with his father, became sole King in 898, he realized his inability to cope with Rollo; and he deemed it wise to recognize the Norman's authority in regions which could not be taken from him, but on the condition that he should embrace Christianity, and should avow himself a vassal of the French crown. The event proved that the Simple had judged wisely. The Treaty of Saint Clair sur Epte secured to Rollo all that portion of Neustria which then came to be known as Normandy, and also the sovereignty of several cantons of Brittany; and from that day the new vassal of France became an impassable barrier for all outside Normans.

The quondam pirates of the North soon became excellent Christians and worthy Frenchmen, who added an immense force to the then decrepit Carolingian monarchy—so great, indeed, a force that for years there was to be a bitter enmity between the successors of Rollo and the House of Capet which supplanted the derelict successors of Charlemagne. The sincerity of the conversion of Rollo and his companions soon asserted itself; everywhere in Normandy there ensued intermarriages with the old Gallo-Roman-Frankish stock, and a new Christian French family presented itself with none of the baneful characteristics of the devotees of Odin. Theft and brigandage soon became so much a mere tradition in that Neustria which had been so long their victims, that the olden chroniclers could record, as an instance of the prevalent honesty, the fact that in one of the Norman forests a lost golden bracelet hung from a branch for three years without being disturbed. Under the successors of Rollo, the duchy of Normandy became a powerful State which now protected the kings of France, and then caused those monarchs to tremble; some of the subjects of these dukes will be met by us as they found Norman principalities in Italy. The immediate successors of Rollo were: William "Long-Sword," son of Rollo (926-942); Richard I. (942-996); Richard II. (996-1026); Richard III. (1027); Robert "the Magnificent" or "the Devil," whose fame is rather legendary (1027-1035), and, finally, the celebrated William the Conqueror, a natural son of Robert.⁴

Approaching now the subject of the first Norman invasions into

⁴ Cantu and Chantrel, *ubi supra*; Muratori, "Annali d'Italia," at years 1006-1198; Licquet, "Histoire de Normandie," Rouen, 1855; Depping, "Histoire des Expéditions des Normands et de leur Etablissement en France," Paris, 1826.

England, we must remind the reader that nearly all the olden English historians designate as "Danes" those Northmen from whom their ancestors suffered during the early Middle Age; probably they knew more about Denmark than they knew of Sweden and Norway, since the first was then the most powerful of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The reign of Egbert, sometimes termed "the Great," was somewhat troubled by "Danish" invasions, but the first serious incursion occurred during the reign of Ethelwulf, the son of Egbert (836-858). In 851 London and Canterbury were pillaged and many monasteries and convents were destroyed. As a rule, during all these invasions the Britons, who were Celts, experienced very little of the Danish ferocity; the terrible horrors of Pagan warfare were the lot of the Anglo-Saxons, although they were ethnological cousins of the Northmen of that day. The reason for this discrimination can be found in the fact that the British Celts hated the Anglo-Saxons as their oppressors, and that therefore, whenever they could, they made common cause with the enemies of the *Sassenach*, even though those enemies also were of Teutonic stock. Between the years 841 and 851 the Northmen were too well occupied in France to pay any attention to their English quarry, and when they pounced upon it in the winter of 851, Ethelwulf so severely defeated them, that ten years elapsed ere they again tempted fortune in England. Ethelwulf took advantage of this period of tranquillity to make a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he had already sent his youngest son, Alfred, with a prayer that Pope Leo IV. would confirm the young prince and confer upon him the royal unction. Returning from the Eternal City, Ethelwulf visited Charles the Bald, and won from that monarch the hand of his twelve-year-old daughter, Judith. After the repression of a revolt on the part of Ethelbald, his eldest son, Ethelwulf prescribed the order of succession to his crown in the persons of the pardoned Ethelbald and his brothers, Ethelbert, Ethelred and Alfred. Ethelbald (858-860) had an uneventful reign, if we pass in silence his sad mistake of espousing Judith, the young widow of his father—an error which he rectified in consequence of the protestations of the Bishop of Winchester and the indignation of his people. Judith soon married Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and became the ancestress of Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror. The reigns of Ethelbert and Ethelred (860-871) were devoted to combat against the ravaging Danes, and the monarchs displayed steadfastness and courage. But in every part of their dominion churches and monasteries were continually sacked and burnt; priests, monks and nuns were slaughtered and towns were held for ransom. Ethelred indeed defeated the enemy in one great battle, but he was mortally wounded in a second and indecisive contest, leaving the throne to the great

Alfred, the last of the sons of Ethelwulf. The two years which Alfred had spent in Rome, and the visit of several months which he had made at the court of Charles the Bald, had imparted to him a refinement and a taste for learning which were seldom perceptible in an Anglo-Saxon of that day. In fact, the culturing projects of the twenty-two-year-old King of Kent and Wessex offended the immense majority of his co-nationals; and it is not improbable that only the fear of the Northmen prevented a revolution which would have sent Alfred from a throne to a library. Within a month after his accession the young monarch inflicted severe losses on the Northmen, rendering them but too willing to retire from Reading to London, a city which then belonged to Mercia rather than to Wessex, and which was to remain for several years in the hands of the invaders. In 877 the lands of Mercia were divided among the "Danes," and again Wessex was penetrated. As an old chronicler says: "Mickle of the folk over sea they drove, and of the others the most deal they rode over; all but King Alfred, who with a little band hardly fared after the woods and in the moor-fastnesses." With the exception of a few of the Anglo-Saxons of Hampshire, Wiltshire and Somerset, none of Alfred's subjects regarded a further struggle against the Pagans as aught but hopeless, and even the sanguine spirits expected to merely postpone the day when all Wessex and Kent would share the fate of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. However, amid the marshes bordering the Parret and the Tone a bit of firm ground was found by Alfred to be fit for the purposes of an inland fortress; and with this spot as a base of operations, he began a guerilla warfare which in a few weeks developed into an open-field campaign. The Danes were even besieged at Eddington, with the result that their leader, Guthrun, declared his willingness not only to abandon Wessex forever and to give Alfred as many hostages as the king would demand, but also to become a Christian, and to aid the propagation of the faith among his followers. A definitive treaty was concluded at Wedmore, whereby boundaries were fixed between the English and the Danish possessions, and whereby it was agreed that Anglo-Saxons and Northmen should be equal in the face of the laws of the contracting parties. This treaty gave, on parchment, the city of London to Alfred; but it was only in 886 that its possession was attained, and that its control enabled the Anglo-Saxons to hold the Thames, thereby protecting Kent, Wessex, and Anglo-Saxon Mercia. One of Alfred's first cares when he assumed the rule of London was the repairing of the old Roman walls which had been allowed to fall into decay; and he showed his good judgment by erecting a tower which, two centuries afterward, William the Conqueror so well approved that on its site he built the

famous Tower of London. The last years of Alfred, however, were not free from anxiety on account of the Northmen. In 893 the celebrated Hasting, son of a Norwegian earl, landed in Britain at the head of a large force, and with the aid of the Northmen of East Anglia contested with Alfred until 897 the domination of what was commencing to be known as England. But the Norwegian was finally repelled and proceeded to France, where he was to become a vassal of Charles the Simple as Count of Chartres. When his mother's crime placed Ethelred on the throne in 979, England again became the prey of the Northmen. Among the means which were devised in order to secure the integrity of the kingdom was a marriage of the monarch with Emma, the daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy. The union was solemnized in 1002; but the repeated infidelities of Ethelred alienated the affections of Queen Elgiva, as she was named on the day of the marriage, and the Norman duke could feel nought but resentment toward the insulter of his blood. Then Ethelred bethought himself of a measure which has covered his name with infamy. He gave secret orders to all his officers in the various towns and counties to organize for a given day a general massacre of all the Danes in their respective jurisdictions. "Of the motives which prompted this bloody tragedy," says Lingard, "and of the extent to which it was carried we are ignorant. In all probability it was confined to the Danes who had settled in England since the king's accession, among whom were chieftains whom he had allured by grants of lands to his service, and inferior adventurers who, in consequence of his frequent treaties with the invaders, had mixed with the natives and remained among them under the protection of his *grith* or peace. Of the first class we know that Palig, though he had received a princely inheritance and sworn allegiance to the English monarch, had joined his kinsman Sweyn in the last invasion; and it is probable that many others, both chieftains and private individuals, frequently acted in the same manner. Hence there can be no doubt that Ethelred had recourse to this dreadful expedient as a punishment due to their past disloyalty and a measure of precaution to prevent its recurrence on some subsequent occasion." Neither sex nor age were spared in this horrible massacre; in London many were struck down in the churches, wherein the unfortunate Pagans had thought that the Christians might be inclined to mercy. The slaughter was well avenged; during four years Sweyn, King of Denmark, whose Christian sister, Gunhilda, had been one of the victims, ravaged and murdered in all the counties of the coast, and when his thirst for blood had been quenched, he desisted only on the payment of 36,000 pounds of silver. But in 1013 Sweyn again appeared and became master of Wessex, Mercia

and Northumberland, and when he proclaimed himself as King of England, he was recognized by London, and Ethelred found refuge in the Isle of Wight. The death of Sweyn in the following year permitted Ethelred to return to his capital; he was able to repel Canute, who had succeeded Sweyn; but the Dane soon returned, and Ethelred died, leaving to his brother Edmund "Ironside" the task of defending the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.⁵

The reader will have perceived that in the period of which we are treating there were three families of Northmen or Scandinavians; firstly, those resident or quasi-resident in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which were the Scandinavian territories, properly so called; secondly, those Scandinavians who had acquired a permanent home in the Slavic lands which they were soon to erect into a commencement of the Russian Empire; and thirdly, those Scandinavians who had domiciled themselves and become naturalized, as it were, in France, and whom alone the average English-speaking student designates as Normans, probably because of the preëminent interest excited in his mind by their conquest of the Anglo-Saxons. Having noted how the Pagan Northmen plied their piratical trade for centuries, and how some of them settled permanently in the countries to the south, only to be thoroughly Christianized and civilized, we must now observe how the home-remaining Northmen formed stable nationalities in the form of kingdoms, and how they also were drawn into the fold of Christ. I. SWEDEN.—In the years 829 and 830 St. Anscharius made his first efforts for the conversion of the Sueones; and when he returned to civilization in order to occupy the newly-erected archiepiscopal see of Hamburg, he sent Gauzbert to continue his work. In 853 he resumed the apostolic task in person, and induced King Olaf to grant permission for a free presentation of the faith in those regions. Having erected a modest church, Anscharius returned to his special charge; but until his death in 865, he took care that some priests should labor in Sweden. After the death of Reinbert, the successor of St. Anscharius, there ensued an interval of seventy years, during which no priest seems to have risked his life in the great work. In 935 Unni, Archbishop of Bremen, labored for a time at Birka, and he was followed by several other missionaries, some from Bremen, others from England. In 964 Eric the Victorious, one of the few early Swedish monarchs concerning whom we have much knowledge, mounted the throne and during the next thirty years subjugated Finland, Esthonia, Livonia and Courland. At first a bitter persecutor of Christians,

⁵ Cantu, Chantrel, Capefigue, *ubi supra*; Michel, "Chroniques Anglo-Normandes," Rouen, 1856; Mallet, "Histoire de Danemark," Geneva, 1777; Lingard, "History of England," London, 1832; Wheaton, *ubi supra*.

he finally received baptism. The next monarch, Olaf III. (995-1026), at the beginning of his reign called Siegfried, an English priest, to Sweden, and was baptized by him. Siegfried continued his apostolate for many years, finally dying at Werens Harad, in Smøland. Siegfried and his associates had great success in Westrogothia, whereas upper Sweden continued pagan for many years. In Westrogothia Olaf founded the Diocese of Skara, and he chose that province for himself when his Pagan subjects insisted that he should select one region as a home for Christianity, leaving the rest of the country to the worship of Odin. Under King Stenkil (d. 1066) the faith advanced greatly in Westrogothia; but this monarch rejected the advice of the Bishops, Adelward of Skara and Æginus of Lund, who wished him to destroy the great temple of Upsal, the chief sanctuary of Scandinavian idolatry. After the death of Stenkil, war ensued between the Christians and the Pagans, and many English priests were martyred; but when Halstan and Inge, sons of Stenkil, regained the royal power, Christianity again began to advance. We find Pope St. Gregory VII. writing an encouraging letter to these joint kings, praising their zeal and piety. During the reign of Swerker (1133-1155) monasteries and convents were first founded in Sweden, and chiefly by means of monks sent thither by St. Bernard. In 1152 Sweden was visited by a Papal Legate in the person of that English prelate, Nicholas Breakspeare, who afterward became Pontiff as Adrian IV.; and we note that one of the results of his mission was the establishment of the custom of sending "Peter's pence" to the Holy See from Sweden. Under the successor of Swerker, St. Eric (d. 1160), the faith was firmly established, even in Upsal; and when Eric undertook his successful crusade against the freebooting Finns, it was with the aid of St. Henry, the first Bishop of Upsal, who afterward became the apostle of Finland, and there received his martyr's crown. St. Henry was constituted the patron saint of Sweden, and his banner was in Catholic days, carried by every Swedish army; the city of Stockholm placed his image in its coat-of-arms, and the Cathedral of Upsal (now Lutheran) still preserves his relics. II. NORWAY.—Harold, called the *Haarfager*, or the "Fair Haired," first consolidated Norway as a kingdom (885-933) by his subjugation or expulsion of the underkings. His son, Eric, styled the "Bloody Axe," endeavored to secure his patrimony against all sub-division by the murder of all his brothers; but one of these escaped, and afterward dethroned him, whereupon he fled to the protection of King Athelstane of England, who had already been the host of his rival. Hakon, or Haquin I., called "the Good" (938-963), had become a Christian in England, and his first endeavors tended toward a propagation of the faith;

but when he urged the representatives of the nation, in an assembly which he had convened in 940, to abandon idolatry for the Gospel of the Crucified, the fury of the people impelled him to a virtual apostasy by eating food which had been offered to the gods of paganism. Mortally wounded in battle in 960, he expressed his repentance for this act; and when some of his friends offered to convey his remains to England, so that they might repose in consecrated ground, he declared that he did not deserve the privilege. In 957 King Harald essayed violence in order to further the progress of Christianity; but his successor, Haquin Yarl, destroyed every vestige of the faith, and even sacrificed his own son to the idols. Olaf I. (995-1000) had been a wanderer from his youth, and while dwelling among the "Varangians" of Russia, he had embraced the faith. From the day of his accession he adopted every means, instruction, promises, menaces and, unfortunately, violence, in favor of a religion to which, he said, he owed several miraculous escapes from mortal danger; and his success was considerable. Olaf II. (1017-1033), termed at first "the Fat" and afterward venerated as "the Saint," had been a pirate during the occupation of Norway by the Danes and the Swedes; but when he mounted the throne he manifested much zeal in the propagation of Christianity. De-throned by Canute the Great in 1030, he tried to recover his power in 1032, admitting among his soldiers none but Christians, all of whom bore the sign of the cross on their helmets and shields, and whose motto was: "Forward, soldiers of Christ, of the Cross, and of the king!" He fell in battle, and very soon his tomb at Drontheim became a shrine for all Northmen, although the Church has never formally recognized his sanctity by canonization. Iceland was converted during his reign, and a few years afterward Greenland followed her example. The sons of Harald II., aspiring to the throne, incited Sweyn, King of Denmark, to war on Olaf in the year 1000, and for a few years Norway was divided between Sweyn and one of his Norwegian allies. III. DENMARK.—Of the three Scandinavian kingdoms Denmark was the most powerful at this period. Its unity had been effected by Gorm, called "the Old," a son of Knut or Canute, King of Seeland. Between the years 873 and 935 he had subdued Scania and Jutland, and had forced all the Danish underkings to recognize his suzerainty. Gorm was a zealous worshiper of Odin, and he tried not only to undo the work of St. Anscarius in Jutland, but also to ruin the cause of Christianity among the newly-converted Saxons of Germany—a proceeding which entailed a war with Henry the Fowler, and resulted in the loss of Sleswig by Denmark. Harold (935-991), called *Blaatand*, or "Black Teeth," continued the anti-Christian policy of his father; but when he had been

conquered by Otho I., the first Holy Roman Emperor of the German line, he received baptism, and ever afterward aided in the propagation of the faith. Toward the end of his life he was dethroned by his son, Sweyn; but the powerful arm of Richard, Duke of Normandy, restored him. However, he was soon killed in battle while resisting a second enterprise of Sweyn. This prince, called *Tinkesbeg*, or "Forked Beard" (991-1014), was ferocious and impetuous, and a Christian only in appearance; in fact, his revolts against his father had been supported only by those Danes who remained attached to idolatry, and as King he persecuted the Church with all his power. Otho III. having taught him that he could not satisfy his paganizing tendencies in the Empire, he began those expeditions which we have noted as troubling the reign of Ethelred, and which eventuated in his proclamation as King of England in 1013. He died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son, Canute the Great. Although Canute had received baptism in his infancy, it was natural that very little regarding the significance of Christianity should have been known by a son of the "Forked Beard." Hence it was that the early years of the reign of Canute were a period of suffering for the English. But in proportion with his gradual attainment of Christian knowledge the reign of this King of Denmark, Norway, and England entered on the way of justice and of prudent kindness; and ere long he acquired the love of the English, especially because of his restoration of the churches, monasteries, and convents which he had destroyed. As a further means of conciliating his insular subjects he espoused the French Norman princess, Emma (Elgiva), the widow of Ethelred, with the understanding that the crown of England, after his death, should be inherited by their offspring. Having vanquished the Swedes and having subjected Norway to his sway, Canute furnished to his subjects and to the world an eloquent object-lesson in regard to the efficacious taming of the Northmen by the Church. He took his crown from his head, placed it on the brows of the image of the Crucified in the Cathedral of Winchester, never again to resume it, even for the most solemn ceremonies of state; and then, in the dress of a pilgrim, he set out on a journey of respect to the tomb of the Apostles in Rome. The sentiments of this practically newly-fledged Christian, as they were developed in the atmosphere of the Pontifical throne, are indicated in the letter which he sent to the prelates and people of England as he was about to leave Rome for Denmark:

"Canute, King of all Denmark, of England, of Norway, and of part of Sweden, to Egelnoth, the metropolitan, to Archbishop Alfric, to all the Bishops and chiefs, and to the entire nation of the English, nobles and commoners, greeting! I write to inform you that I have

recently visited Rome, there to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, as well as for the security of the nations subject to my sway. Long ago I vowed to make this pilgrimage, but state affairs and other impediments prevented the fulfilment of the promise; now, however, I thank God most humbly for His having allowed me to visit the tomb of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and to personally venerate that spot, together with the other holy places which are within and outside the city of Rome. This visit was made by me because I had learned from my teachers that the Apostle Peter had received from Our Lord the keys of the kingdom of heaven and the great power of binding and loosing; therefore it was that I deemed it right to bespeak the intercession of that Apostle with Almighty God. I would have you know also that on Easter Day a great number of exalted personages waited on our lord, Pope John; namely, Conrad, the Emperor, and many chiefs of nations dwelling in the regions between Mount Gargano and the nearest sea; and all of these personages received me most honorably, especially the Emperor, who presented me with some gold and silver vases and several valuable garments. I availed myself of this occasion for a presentation of the grievances of both my Danish and English subjects to the Pope, as well as to the Emperor and the assembled princes, to the end that my people, while journeying to Rome, might not be harassed by so many unjust exactions. Most of the barriers at which these exactions are perpetrated belong to the Emperor and to King Rudolf, and they granted my requests, agreeing that in future my subjects should have free transit, whether they be pilgrims or merchants, on their way to Rome, no detention at barriers and no payment of unlawful tolls being demanded. I also represented to the Pope that when my Archbishops applied for the *pallium*, according to custom, they were obliged to pay exorbitant sums; then the Pontiff decreed that this abuse should end. In fact, in the presence of four Archbishops, twenty Bishops and a multitude of dukes and nobles, all that I requested for the good of my people was accorded by the Pope, the Emperor, and those other princes through whose dominions the road to Rome passes; therefore I thank God for the successful issue of all the projects that I had formed in this regard. And now let you all know that my life has been dedicated to the service of God, to the proper government of my dominions, and to an exact observance of justice. With the help of God I shall make full restitution in all cases where, owing to my youth or to negligence, I have ever violated the rules of justice; and I entreat and command all to whom I have entrusted my government that they do no injustice to either poor or rich, if they prize my friendship or desire to save their souls. Let all persons, both nobles and commoners, find

their rights in the law; and let that law suffer no exceptions, either through fear of the King or out of consideration for the great, or because of the needs of my treasury—I want no money which is procured by injustice. I am about to start for Denmark in order to make peace with the nations who have done their utmost to deprive me of my crown and my life. God has deprived them of power, and I trust that in His goodness He will protect us and humble our foes. When this peace shall have been effected, and when the affairs of my eastern dominions shall have been arranged, I shall return to England as soon as fair weather permits; but I anticipate that return with this letter, so that all of you may rejoice in my prosperity. All of you know that I have never spared myself, and that I never shall spare myself, if the good of my subjects is at stake. And now finally I entreat all the Bishops, as also the Sheriffs, by their allegiance to me and to God, to see that before I return to you all the church dues be paid according to ancient custom; that is, the plough alms, all cattle tithes of this year, the Peter's Pence, the fruit tithes for mid-August, and the Martinmass kirk shot for the parish churches. Should these be omitted, when I arrive the delinquents shall be punished with an exaction of the fine decreed by law. Fare ye well!"

Canute died at Shaftesbury in 1035, leaving two children by Queen Emma, namely, Hardicanute (Canute the Hardy) and a daughter, Gunhilda, who became the wife of Henry, a son of Emperor Conrad, who afterward became Emperor as Henry III. Before his union with Emma, and before he had even dreamed of a Christian life, Canute had begotten two sons, Sweyn and Harold, by his paramour, Alfgiva, the daughter of Alfhelm, Earl of Northampton. The elder was for a time King of Norway, after the death of Olaf II. Harold, called "Hare's Foot," took advantage of the absence of his legitimate brother, Hardicanute, in Denmark, to seize the English throne. The chief event of his reign was the brutal murder of Alfred, son of Ethelred, who had defied him as a usurper. Concerning the religious sentiments of Harold, we are told by Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, who had been a secretary of William the Conqueror, that he was a benefactor of the Church; but other quasi-contemporary chroniclers assert that he ostentatiously absented himself from all religious functions. Hardicanute was recognized as King of England in 1040, after the death of Harold; but he reigned for less than two years, and with him the Danish dynasty in England was extinguished.*

We need not dilate on the conquest of England by William the Norman. Our present object is the presentation of features of Nor-

* Lingard, Wheaton and Munch, *ubi supra*.

man history which are not familiar to the average reader, and the chief enterprise of the Conqueror is not one of those features. Certain observations, however, will not be foreign to our intention. Fortunately the prime consequence of the Norman conquest of England was the introduction of the Gallo-Romano-Franco-Norman or French element into the Anglo-Saxonico-British stock as a dominating factor in all matters of refinement and of general culture. The incipient and still rude English language was replaced by the French in all public documents—a system which continued for three centuries, with the result that all literate Englishmen soon read only French or Latin, and that not until 1363 was Parliament opened with a speech in English. But unfortunately for the two nations, with this conquest began that rivalry between the monarchs of France and those of England which was the cause of so many cruel wars during the following four centuries. As Dukes of Normandy, William and his successors were vassals of the Kings of France; but as Kings of England the same princes were independent. The Norman royal vassals of France were ever prone to reflect on their kingship in England rather than on their original obligations; while, on the other hand, the French monarchs ever pointed to the duties of their Norman vassals, in order to lessen the growing importance accruing to those vassals as English sovereigns—*hinc illæ lachrymæ*. The lamentable succession of wars began when Robert, son of the Conqueror, advanced pretensions to Normandy, and was quite reasonably supported by the French King, Philip I. William lost the Vexin, but nevertheless marched on Paris to obtain satisfaction from Philip for that monarch's sneer at his increasing *embonpoint*. He reduced Mantes and gave it to the flames, but received a wound which caused his death, shortly afterward, in Rouen (1087). His body was interred in the Church of St. Stephen, in Caen, and in 1562, when the Huguenot, Coligny, reduced that city, his soldiers rifled the tomb and appropriated the bones, some of which found their way to England. The contemporary and apparently impartial "Saxon Chronicle" draws a quaint picture of William:

"We will describe him as we have known him; for we looked on him. . . . No man durst do anything against his will. . . . Yet among other things we must not forget the good *frith* (the King's Peace) which he made in this land; so that a man that was good for aught might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation. . . . If he might have lived yet two years he would have won Ireland by the fame of his power, and without any armament. . . . His rich men moaned, and the poor men murmured; but he was so hard that he recked not the hatred of them all. For it was need 'hat they should follow the

King's will withal if they wished to live or to have lands or good or his favor."⁷

While the Saracens were besieging Salerno in 1006, among the defenders were forty Norman knights who had returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and so well did they perform their duty that the infidels were forced to retire. The gratitude of the Salernitans loaded their deliverers with presents of such value and beauty that when the knights returned to France many of their countrymen yearned for the acquisition of similar objects. Accordingly, ten years afterward, three hundred Normans, led by Drengod, Osmond and Rainulf, tendered their services to the Italians of Magna Græcia against the Byzantines and the infidels; and ere long the Emperor, Henry II., gave them valuable fiefs, and in 1025 Conrad II. invested Rainulf with Aversa and its territory. In 1037 another Norman noble, Tancred d'Hauteville, finding that his patrimony would scarcely bear sub-division among his twelve sons, counseled three of them—Guillaume, Drogon and Humfroy—to seek their fortunes in the South. Followed by their retainers, they entered the service of the Greek Emperor against the Saracens of Sicily, but they found that the Greeks insisted on all the booty which they gained. They revenged themselves by a seizure of the Puglia in 1041, having defeated, if we may credit the writers of the day, 60,000 Greeks with their pitiful 700 combatants. Guillaume, surnamed "the Iron Arm," became count and suzerain of the Puglia, and his brothers bore the title successively after his demise. It was soon seen, however, that many of the exploits of these Normans accorded sadly with their professions of Christianity. Rapine, sacrilege, and murder seemed to be scarcely less familiar to them than they had been to their forebears of the previous century.

When Pope St. Leo IX. mounted the Pontifical throne in 1049, the celebrated Robert Guiscard had turned his terrible arms against the Roman Campagna, and had even usurped the Papal Duchy of Benevento. Moved with pity for the oppressed populations, Pope St. Leo IX. remembered that he was a King as well as a Pontiff; and he called upon his own subjects and upon the other Italians for volunteers with whom he might hope to repel the Norman invaders. He besought Henry III., one of those holy Roman Emperors whose sole reason for being was their obligation to protect the Holy See, to strengthen the Pontifical army; but the German sent only five hundred soldiers. At the head of his forces St. Leo advanced against Guiscard, and the Norman sent an embassy to meet him,

⁷ Capefigue, Lingard and Wheaton, *ubi supra*; Thierry, "Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands," Paris, 1825; Licquet, "Histoire de la Normandie," Rouen, 1856.

offering to become a vassal of the Pope-King; but the reply was that the Normans should evacuate Italy. Then ensued the battle of Civitella, or Dragonara, in which the Pontifical troops were routed, and which resulted in the capture of the Pope, who had watched the combat from a neighboring eminence. But as St. Leo, preceded by the cross, went forth to meet his captors, the Normans prostrated themselves at his Pontifical feet, begging for pardon; and in a few days Guiscard, reflecting on the advantages which would accrue to the Norman power in Italy if the Pope were to recognize it, restored His Holiness to liberty and swore perpetual vassalage to the Holy See on the part of himself and his successors.

In 1057 Robert Guiscard succeeded Humfroy as Count of the Puglia, and renewed his act of vassalage to the Holy See; and in 1057, when he had taken Calabria from the Greeks, Pope Nicholas created him Duke of the Puglia and of Calabria, thus according to him supremacy over all the Normans in the ancient *Magna Græcia*. Not satisfied with the domination of Salerno, Benevento, and of all the Italian territories which had belonged to the Lower Empire, Guiscard captured Corfu from the troops of Alexis Comnenus in 1084; and he would probably have carried his standard into Constantinople had he not been called to save Pope St. Gregory VII. from the troops of Henry IV., the excommunicated King of the Germans. He delivered the Pontiff and afforded him a refuge in the Norman dominions.

In 1061 Roger, a brother of Robert Guiscard, had begun the conquest of Sicily from the Islamites with less than three hundred knights. In 1089 he had driven the Saracens from the entire island, excepting a few mountain fastnesses of the interior, thus saving Sicily not only from Mohammedanism, but from the Greek Schism which had been revived by Cerularius in 1053. Roger governed the island as Grand Count, under the suzerainty of the Holy See, until his death in 1101.

In 1127 Roger II., having mastered the Puglia and Calabria, assumed the title of Roger I., King of the Two Sicilies, a term which now appears for the first time in history and which was borne by his successors of the Norman dynasty—William I., called "the Bad" (1154-1166); William II., called "the Good" (1166-1180); Tancred (1189-1194), and William III. (1194-1198). All of these Norman sovereigns avowed themselves vassals of the Roman Pontiff, declaring to the world that they held their dominions as a fief of the Holy See; and from their time all the Kings of Naples and of Sicily (or of the Two Sicilies), whether they were Suabians, Angevines, Aragonese, Austrians or Bourbons, always acknowledged the Pope as their suzerain. It must be noted, however, that when Robert Guis-

card recognized the right of the Pope alone to confer upon him and his successors the investiture of the Neapolitan and Sicilian territories, he was not actuated by feelings of mere veneration. The Norman knew that since the year 773 the Roman Pontiff had been the lord-paramount of the Duchy of Benevento, which then included all the peninsular territory south of Terracina, excepting only the Duchy of Naples and Gaeta; and that in the Pontificate of John VIII. (872-882) Gaeta also had become a fief of the Holy See. The convictions of the Norman were plainly indicated in the oath of fealty which he took to Pope Nicholas II. in 1059:

"I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, Duke of the Puglia and of Calabria, and by the same protection Duke-elect of Sicily, will henceforth be faithful to the Holy Roman Church, and to thee, my liege lord, Nicholas. I shall take no part in any act or scheme against thy life, limbs or liberty; nor shall I knowingly disclose to thine injury the plans which thou mayest entrust to me, and which thou mayest forbid me to reveal. . . . I shall not try to invade, to acquire or to seize, without certain license from thee or thy successors in the dignity of St. Peter, any possessions other than those which may be granted to me by thee or by thy successors. I shall try in good faith to pay annually to the Roman Church the tribute fixed for the lands of St. Peter which I hold or may hold. . . . I shall observe fidelity to thee and to thy successors in the dignity of St. Peter who may confirm to me the investitures which thou hast granted to me. So help me," etc.^a

REUBEN PARSONS.

Yonkers, N. Y.

^a Cantu, Wheaton and Muratori, *ubi supra*; Rosario di Gregorio, "Discorso intorno alla Sicilia," Palermo, 1826; Falcando, "Scriptores Rerum Italicarum," in Muratori; Borgia, "Istoria del Dominio Temporale della Sede Apostolica nelle Due Sicilie," Rome, 1789; Gosselin, "Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age," Paris, 1845.

SAINT COLUMBANUS AT LUXEUIL.

WHAT were the original plans of Columbanus and his brethren while they rested in "Brittania" after their quick and pleasant journey from Ireland? Is it possible that the thought of a mission among the Slavs entered his mind, if only vaguely, and was dismissed to be taken up again at a later date? As he looked over the map of Europe, in his little missionary council, was he tempted to take up the rôle that was really reserved for Cyril and Methodius two centuries later? In the "*Vita Sancti Columbani*" of his North Italian biographer and quasi-contemporary disciple, Jonas, it is related that the saint thought once of going to the land of the Wends, who are also called Slavs, in order to illuminate their darkened minds with the light of the Gospel and to open the way of truth to those who had always wandered in error. But when he purposed to take a vow to that effect,

An angel of the Lord appeared to him in a vision and showed him in a little circle the structure of the world, just as the circle of the universe is usually drawn with a pen in a book. "You perceive," the angel said, "how much remains set apart of the whole world. Go to the right or the left, where you will that you may enjoy the fruits of your labors." Therefore Columbanus remained where he was until the way of Italy opened before him. (Jonas, c. 56.)

From the mention of Italy and the fact that this vision is related just before the curious vision of the battle of Tolbiac (612), it seems probable that the idea of a mission among the Slavs occupied Columbanus in the interval between his expulsion from the domains of Theuderich and his acceptance of the call of Theodelinda. In his letter "*ad discipulos*" he seems to refer to this Slav project: "*Mei voti fuit gentes visitare, et Evangelium a nobis praedicari; sed fel modo referente eorum teporem, pene meum tulit animum.*" (Migne, PL. LXXX., col. 271.) Who does not recognize here that root of romanticism the intimate personal role of the mediæval Kelt? The Slavs in question may have been those hordes who had seized after 568 on the ancient seats of the Lombards—modern Styria, Carinthia and Carniola—and by the time of Columbanus' arrival had penetrated the mountainous regions between the Wiener-Wald and the Ems, where the topography yet recalls their colonies. Here their further progress was stopped by the Bavarian tribes. Other Slav tribes had seized by the end of the sixth century on the lands of Friuli and Istria or the modern Tyrol. Contemporaneously, too, the lower Drave and Save had been taken up by Slavs. To the north, Old-Keltic Bohemia had been passing from the Teutonic Marcoman into the possession of Slav Tcheks, whose kinsmen were

already settled in Moravia and along the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The Ruthenians had spread east to Hungary, and other Slavs had made their way into Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia and even Switzerland. If the Emperor Justinian himself was not a Slav, several of his generals were. Greece proper was soon overrun by them so thoroughly that many historians maintain the complete disappearance of the Hellenic blood.¹ These golden-haired Cossacks of the sea were as adventurous on water as on land, and their rude pirogues were already the terror of the Byzantine coast-line and the islands of the Ægean and the Ionian. In time they will retreat before the Avars of Asia, as these will give way to the Bulgars. But from the days of Columbanus they belong to Christian history, for they already are constituted by Providence as a wall of protection between the savage and disintegrating Orient and the Teutonic tribes called to the hegemony of mediæval Europe. Curiously enough, it was at this very time that the Frank merchant Samo (623-668) established a temporary authority over the Tcheks of Bohemia, and reigned from the Elbe to the Oder. Is it not possible that the vision of Columbanus was in some way connected with a certain openness to foreign influences that this incident suggests and that has been always characteristic of the Slav peoples?

The arrival of Columbanus and his band in Wales coincides, very probably, with the career of the great Welshman, Saint David, and the transfer from Cæleon-on-Usk to Menevia of the (so-called) Archbishopric of the Welsh.² It was also the period of the renewed Saxon invasion and final overthrow of the Keltic peoples gathered on the western seaboard for a last resistance. The little band of exiles may probably have wintered in the growing port of Menevia, to take passage in the early spring for Nantes in Armorica, whither so many Old-Britons had already gone before the irresistible Angles and Saxons. There was a certain fitness in their Welsh sojourn. From these churches of Wales had come over to Ireland, not so long before, the good missionaries, David, Gildas and Cadoc. Saint

¹ "Vers la fin du VII. siècle, la grande migration des Slaves vers l'ouest peut être considérée comme terminée. Depuis lors ils n'ont guère fait que perdre du terrain de ce côté. Refoulés par les peuples Germains, ils se sont retournés vers le nord et vers l'est. La colonisation de la Russie orientale et septentrionale a dédommagé la race, et elle reste le fait le plus considérable de son histoire. Au VIIe siècle ils étaient maîtres d'un immense territoire qui s'étendait de la Baltique et de l'Imen à la mer Egée et à la mer Noire; de l'Elbe, de la Saale et de l'Emm au Dnieper. Les contreforts des Alpes étaient peuplés de leurs colonies. Le bassin moyen et inférieur du Danube leur appartenait tout entier, sauf certains districts montagneux du Balkan et les prairies de la Theiss et du Danube moyen, au milieu desquels erraient les Avars, destinées à une rapide disparition. L'Egée, l'Archipel, l'Adriatique, la mer Noire, la Baltique, étaient sillonnées par leurs barques. La langue slave est tellement étendue, dit un chroniqueur, qu'on peut à peine s'en faire une idée." Lavisse et Rambaud, "Histoire Générale," I., pp. 694-95.
² Jones and Freeman, "The History and Antiquities of St. David's," London, 1896. Hadden and Stubbs, "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland," I., 121, 123, 148, and the rather fantastic work of J. Willis Bund, "The Celtic Church in Wales," London, 1896., p. 248.

David himself, it is said, had been baptized in Munster, and the Irish Menapii were an offshoot of the Welsh tribe of the same name. All through the fifth and the sixth centuries there are many points of contact between the churches of Ireland and Wales. Old traditions connect the name of Gildas with the history of the Irish Church in the sixth century. If this Gildas be the missionary who wrote the "De Excidio Britanniae," it is not impossible that our saint may have met him, or at least his disciples, and that they drew for Columbanus anything but a hopeful picture of religion in the land of King Arthur.³ Corruption and idleness and riot had invaded the hearts of these sorely-tried Christians since Arthur's victory at Mount Badon (516). When these secular combatants, Kelt and Saxon, emerge again from the dimness of saga in the pages of Bede, the former will take refuge in a sullen, uncompromising and un-Christian withdrawal from all contact with the hated victor. In any case, Columbanus and his companions collected anxiously every information about the Gallic churches, their administration and the temper of the inhabitants, meaning, if all their inquiries were favorable, to make Gaul the term of their romantic "peregrinatio." The Catholic Bishops of London and York had fled only lately—perhaps that very year (589)—into the mountains of Wales, bearing with them the holy relics of their churches; so that the outlook among the Saxons must have been more hopeless than ever. Severn, Tweed and Humber were no longer Keltic streams, save in name.⁴ The Eng-

³ On King Arthur's historic personality and character, the following judgment of Mr. William H. Babcock in the *Conservative Review* (March, 1900) may be of interest: "One gets (from tradition and writing) the impression of a daring, shaping, yet at times anxiously conciliating mind, making the utmost use of the materials at command, the remnants of Roman organization and equipment, the aggressive zeal of fanaticism, the initiative and defensive power of liberty, the fidelity and impulsive valor of the Celtic race—one of the world's great men, too far in advance of his time not to be foredoomed. He fell, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of all records and surviving tales of the people, by those internal forces of treachery and lawlessness which he had never been able to quite wholly control. Not the Saxon enemy overcame him, but Modred with Launcelot and Guinevere. We may not vouch for this as proven history. The legend comes to us like outlines through a mist. If it did not really happen, that was a great soul of ancient days who invented it."

"During the whole of this time, from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century, the Cymry, who were a singing people, sang the fortunes of the strife, its battles and defeats, its sieges and feasts. Four great bards are said to have flourished among them toward the end of the sixth century. . . . They were Aneurin, Taliessin, Llywarch Hen and Merddin. We cannot quite tell whether the names represent real men. Merddin, who became the Merlin of the Arthur tales, and Taliessin seem to grow before our eyes into mythical personages, but at least we have the poems attributed to these names . . . and the ancient body of them is allowed to be historical and contemporary with the events of which they sing. Stopford Brooke, "English Literature From the Beginning to the Norman Conquest" (Macmillan, 1898), p. 29.

⁴ Pushing their way in their long flat-bottomed boats up the rivers, seizing upon Roman fortresses, like Canterbury and Aldborough, which commanded the fords and marked the course of the great roads, turning the flank of the dense masses of fen and woodland which barred their path by a dexterous use of the paved roads and tributary streams, sometimes climbing laboriously through the forests to the heights of the open uplands, slowly and painfully driving back the bulk of the Celtic inhabitants and imposing their own civilization upon those who were

lish had reached the western seas, and the unity of British Keltldom was henceforth only a memory, though a divine and potent memory, with power to fascinate the imaginations of many an unborn people. Farther north in Hii (Iona) and countless other islets of these wintry seas, his namesake, the noble Columba, was founding a school of hardy missionaries who would one day come southward and conquer for Jesus Christ that Northumbria which just now had been conquered for barbarism and Satan. The Bishop of Rome himself was soon (597) to execute a long-cherished plan of a mission to those Angles whose lovely children had attracted his notice in the slave market at Rome. Truly we are on the borderland between the old Roman life and the first rude phases of mediæval Christendom, and these years are, indeed, every one of them, an *Annus Mirabilis*!

"Accordingly they left Britain," says Jonas, "and proceeded into the Gallic lands." Doubtless, they followed the trail of so many thousands of Keltic Britons who had been inundating Armorica for a century, until they finally made it their own, while in the same proportion the remaining Angles quitted en masse their German homes, and took over the fair valleys and uplands whence the Kelts had fled. Jonas is tantalizingly brief as to the facts of the little company's arrival in Gaul.⁵ He is in the usual mediæval haste to preach

left, the English won their way step by step into the heart of the country. They flocked over from Frisia and the marshes of the Elbe, and the promontory of Denmark, bringing with them their wives and families—the migration of a people, not the march of an army. They settled in little groups of family or tribe wherever the richness of the meadow or the clearing of the wood seemed to promise plentiful subsistence or adequate protection. Just as the English settler in America pushed the Red Indian back from hunting ground to hunting ground, without interfering with their customs or rooting out their religion, so the old English in the fifth and sixth centuries pushed back the bulk of the Celts and the Romanized provincials from the towns and fortresses of Roman Britain into the hills of the Celtic west of the island. . . . Towards the close of the sixth century the work was complete. Celtic Christianity had been driven out of sight and almost out of mind over five-sixths of the country. The worship of the powers of nature under the personifications of Woden, of Freia and of Thor had succeeded to the worship of Christ, and the days of the English week are still left to prove how completely the old civilization had passed away. It is true that among the Celts of Wales and Strathclyde lived on a staunch, if degraded, Church. It is true that across the water in Ireland were springing up schools of sound learning and zealous faith, which were soon to bear unexampled fruit. It is true that in the far North, amid the Picts and Scots, was already founded the great missionary college of Iona. It is probable that through the medium of the enslaved remnants of the Celtic inhabitants were handed down to their barbarian conquerors some traditions of Roman civilization. It is possible that in some places there lingered on for many years despised and isolated congregations of Christians. Nevertheless, with these slight exceptions, over the fair fields of prosperous and fertile England brooded the darkness of an effete and savage creed. Wakeman, "Introduction to the History of the Church of England From the Earliest Times to the Present Day" (Third ed.), 1897, pp. 8-9.

⁵ Jonas has preserved for us the names of some of the original (12) companions of Columbanus. They are Gallus (c. 19), Cominin, Ennoch and Equanach (c. 21, "de Scotorum genere"), Antiernus (c. 18), a younger, and related, Columbanus (c. 29). The names of others are saved in ancient and reliable traditions (cf. Greith, p. 272). Lua, Potentian, Deicola, Sigebert, Aidan and Caldvaldus. Several of them became bishops and founders of monastic centres that were afterwards quite famous, like Lure in Burgundy and Dissentis in Switzerland. Some British clerics, like Gurganus (Jonas, c. 21), accompanied him. When Jonas describes (c. 29) the death-bed scene of the younger Columbanus, he must have had the

about the virtues and to relate the miracles of the saint. It seems probable that they landed at Nantes, then the chief entrepôt for commerce with Britain, and the port to which Brunehilde sent the saint and his companions when she ordered their reimpatriation. They led in all probability a wandering life, first among the people of their own race in the new Brittany that was then a-forming, yet gradually making their way southward through the "Gallic lands." The present text of Jonas wrongly says that it was in the time of King Sigibert that Columbanus came into Austrasia, and that Sigibert was also King of Burgundy. Sigibert was already dead (575), and he was never King of Austrasia. Ordericus Vitalis, writing in the twelfth century, had perhaps a better manuscript of Jonas, in which he may have read his own correct statement that Childebert, the son of Sigisbert and Brunehilde, was then King. He was, indeed, King also of Burgundy, for he had inherited in 593 the domains of his uncle Guntram. Columbanus would therefore have been about two years preaching and teaching through Gaul before his fame had spread to the neighborhood of Metz, whence Childebert, then in his twenty-third year, ruled over the united kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy.

"When the holy man with his companions," says Jonas (c. 12), "appeared before the king, the greatness of his learning caused him to stand high in the favor of the king and court. Finally, the king begged him to remain in Gallic territory, not to go to other peoples and leave him; everything that he wished should be done. Then he replied to the king that he did not wish to be enriched with the treasures of others, but as far as he was not hindered by the weakness of the flesh to follow the command of the Gospel: 'Whosoever will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me.' Then the king answered and said: 'If you wish to take the cross of Christ upon you and follow Him, seek the quiet of a hermitage. Only be careful, for the increase of your own reward and for our spiritual good, to remain in our kingdom, and not to go to the neighboring neoples.'"

It is possible that the Bishops of Gaul were for something in this insistence of Childebert that Columbanus should not go "to other peoples," but should fix himself in some retired spot. Perhaps, too, the "great learning" of the saint aroused curiosity and the desire of good schools. One remembers easily the Irishmen Clemens and Albinus in the time of Charlemagne and their "selling of wisdom." Awful as were the times, men could yet recall the fact that Gaul had once been famous for scholarship and eloquence. The curious traits that Gregory of Tours tells about the contemporary Chilperic illustrate the barbarian greed of knowledge. The Bishops would

facts from some one of these companions, perhaps from Gallus himself. "Columbanus, struck with fear, made a signal that all should come. His joy lessened his grief at the death of his holy companion. He gave the dying man the Body of Christ as a viaticum, and after the last kiss began the death-song. For they were of the same race and name and had left Ireland in the same company." This is not the only touch of human nature in Jonas—the scene of Brother Antiermus (c. 18) overcome by the horror of life in the Voëges and asking to be allowed to make a "peregrinatio" to the "fair hills of holy Ireland" is highly characteristic.

have another reason for putting a term to these "Wanderjahre" of the Scotie missionaries who had come uninvited among them. The latter had been for some time denouncing in no measured terms the laxity of episcopal administration and the general atonic state of the Christian religion. In a cautious apologetic way Jonas echoes the Columban traditions at Bobbio about the condition of Catholicism in Gaul on the arrival of the holy founder.

"At that time, either because of the numerous enemies from without or on account of the carelessness of the bishops, the Christian faith had almost departed from the country. The creed alone remained. But the saving grace of penance and the longing to root out the lusts of the flesh were to be found only in a few. Everywhere that he went the noble man preached the Gospel. And it pleased the people, because his teaching was adorned by eloquence and enforced by examples of virtue" (c. 11).

Once settled in some retired neighborhood, these restless and loquacious* Kelts from Ireland would cease to be an object of admiration to all Gaul and a reproach to the prelates of a Church that was disfigured by no few or small vices. The pages of Gregory of Tours and his continuator, the so-called "Fredegarius," record turbulence, simony, violence and luxury; the lives of the contemporary saints, like Desiderius of Cahors, confirm the facts of history. It is true that sometimes ecclesiastical writers heighten unintentionally the color of their language—the habit of oral denunciation and the need of rousing a decadent time affect their style. They are to be read somewhat as we read Tacitus and the Roman satirists, with allowance for profound feelings of moral indignation. Such writers pass over habitually the good deeds of a time, the average compliance with the moral law and the ecclesiastical legislation.⁶ They are more often prophets like Salvian and Gildas—even the gentle and sensible Bede is at times swept away by this current. And so, when they are almost alone the accusers of an epoch, a certain common sense of history demands some reserve or diminution of the credit due them as historians, especially when contemporary literature, correspondence and the hundred ordinary channels by which the morality of an epoch is revealed, are no longer in existence. Besides the sources just mentioned, we have for this period only some official poetry, some royal charters, some pious or political correspondence, and the acts of some councils. Anyhow, the official ecclesiasticism of the continent was seldom sympathetic to these

*Date, quæso, veniam meae loquacitati ac procacitati supra vices laboranti, etc. Columb ad patres Synodi, Migne lxxx., col. 268.

⁶ "On a relevé avec soin dans l'histoire de Grégoire de Tours les crimes nombreux qu'il relate; en regard ne conviendrait il pas de placer les belles actions que ce même écrivain a consignées dans ses écrits hagiographiques? Qu'on dresse une statique exacte et complète, après quoi l'on pourra se prononcer sur le plus ou moins de moralité des habitants de la Gaule à l'époque mérovingienne; il serait possible que, mis en balance, le bien et le mal se fissent équilibre, ou même que le bien l'emportât sur le mal." Maurice Prou, "La Gaule Mérovingienne," p. 181.

roving "Scoti." More than one denunciation of them exists. They were too intense, too mystic, too simply and sincerely Christian. Their native enthusiasm, their "*perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*," their habitual measuring of duty by the high ascetic perfection of their own lives and the stern letter of the Gospel, their uncompromising demand that all men should live habitually on the brink of the grave, were more than such a society as the Merovingian could easily bear. Patience, "*compositio*," education, tolerance were perforce in the air at a time when it needed not much to make a Merovaeus drag back the powerful Frankish state into nature-worship, or a Chilperic turn Arian again, and play the royal theologian like any Constans or Valens. The moderate and earnest Bishops, most of them as yet Gallo-Roman men, and therefore the most cultured and churchly-minded, would surely deprecate the injection into this situation, this "*époque de transition*," of a stern and troubling prophetism, a constant appeal to the primitive Gospel as against the rather worldly habits of actual ecclesiastical life. Jonas implies (c. 11), in his usual guarded phrase, that the humility, poverty and unworldly attitude of the Scotie monks contrasted sharply with the love of honor and authority, of riches and soft living that were then too common in ecclesiastical Gaul.

"Such piety and love dwelt in them all," he says, "that for them there was only one will and one renunciation. Modesty and moderation, meekness and mildness adorned them *all in equal measure*. The evils of sloth and dissension were banished. Pride and haughtiness were expiated by severe punishments. Scorn and envy were driven out by faithful diligence. So great was the might of their patience, love and mildness that no one could doubt that the God of mercy dwelt among them. If they found that one among them was in error, they strove in common, with equal right, to restrain the sinner by their reproaches. They had everything in common. If any one claimed anything as his own, he was shut out from association with the others and punished by penances. No one dared to return evil for evil, or to let fall a harsh word; so that people must have believed that an angelic life was being lived by mortal men. The holy man was revered with so great gratitude that where he remained for a time in a house, all hearts were resolved to practice the faith more strictly."

These seemingly harmless statements, while they are true and are borne out by the "*Regula*" and the "*Poenitentiale*" of Columbanus, as well as by his "*Instructiones*," are in reality a formal requisitory against the episcopate and clergy of Gaul. They breathe the fearless Keltic spirit of the "*Epistola*" of Gildas to the King of Britain—for that matter, the spirit of St. Patrick's famous letter to the chieftain Coroticus. Only, the form is gentler and more persuasive. This is the atmosphere of the "*Fioretti*," and through it we seem to see Francis and his first poor brethren, Egidio and Leone and the others, moving about in the hamlets and villages of Umbria. It is not the only point of contact between the "*Poverello di Cristo*" and the deeply mystical and romantic Columbanus.

Jonas does not tell through whose good offices Columbanus was

brought to the notice of King Childebert. We learn from the "Vita" of St. Agilus that it was his father, the nobleman Agnoaldus, who stood sponsor for these men of God and proved his confidence in them by abandoning to Columbanus this same Agilus, even as Benignus had been granted by his parents to Patrick.⁷ The experience of Wales and Armorica may have been one motive for the acquiescence of the missionaries, and the abandonment of their original design to "peregrinari pro Christo," not only in Gaul, but in "other lands," and even into Brandenburg and Pomerania, Bohemia and Moravia. Certainly at a later date Columbanus gives evidence of a weariness with the effort to elevate the ecclesiastical life of the Gallo-Roman communities. He begs to be forgotten, with the rest of his "Scoti," in the forests that they were then inhabiting for many years. Perhaps Agnoaldus moved him to accept the "counsel of the King." Perhaps the Queen-Mother Brunehilde, the real power in the Austrasian court, threw her influence in the balance. She was yet far away from the tragic temper of her closing years, though less gracious and lovely than when nearly thirty years before (566) this daughter of the Visigoths had come from Toledo to capture on her royal "progress" to Metz the heart of every Frank and to rule supremely over Sigibert until his death. We have yet the "Epithalamium" that the Italian priest, Venantius Fortunatus, composed for that brilliant wedding, and it brings back in a picturesque way how intermingled in this sixth-century Gaul are the last days of Roman life and literature and the first dawn of mediæval life. This Brunehilde whom a Ravennese chaplain of German nuns sang as Venus Anadyomene, as Queen of the Nereids and Mistress of all the Nymphs, was destined to chase these Irish missionaries out of Gaul, and to end her life in a manner that would have chilled the heart of any Greek or Roman, but was not out of keeping with the fierce temper of the new German lords of Europe. In her life and in that of her equally beautiful and equally fated but better sister Galeswintha, wife of the savage Chilperic of Neustria, are rooted all the poetry and passion, all the fondness and choler, all the romance and chivalry of the middle ages. There is in their story, whether we read it in the original and contemporary description of Gregory of Tours or in the inimitable "Récits des Temps Mérovingiens" of Augustin Thierry, a kind of Christian "replica" of the inexorable "Necessity" of the Greek tragedians, that divine jealousy which the pagan mind, from Herodotus down, believed to drive incessantly upon the rocks the bark of human life. So long ago began those dynastic relations between France and Spain out

⁷ "Vita Sancti Agili Abbatis Resbacensis," c. 1. (Mabillon, "Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened.," Vol. II.) He was called Agilus (Agilis) "propter celeres motus infantiae."

of whose vicissitudes the modern political world has grown to a greater extent than is usually known!

The result of the interview of Columbanus and his companions with King Childebert was a general permission to go where they would within the domains of Austrasia or Burgundy. The "quiet hermitage" that the King counseled they found in the heart of the Vosges.

"At that time," says Jonas (c. 12), "there was a great wilderness called Vogesus, in which there was a castle, which had long been in ruins and which had been called for ages Anagrates. When the holy man came to that place, he settled there with his followers, in spite of the entire loneliness, the wilderness and the rocks, mindful of the proverb that man shall not live by bread alone, but shall have sufficient food from the bread of life and shall never hunger."

To-day nothing is left of the Columban monastery at Annegrai save a rude stone wall, not unlike the ancient "cashels" of Ireland. It rose upon a knoll in the valley of the Breuchin, where the foothills come down to the plain, in the heart of a forest that has long since melted away. Wide plains are there now, with "long straight roads bordered with lines of tall poplars" such as one sees so often in rural France. To the northeast, however, rise yet the wooded Vosges. The forests of the Jura are still there as of old.

Whether Columbanus knew it or not, it was an Old-Keltic land, and the Sun-God of Ireland had once a vast primitive temple on those very hills of the Vosges.* Before Columbanus, and before the Romans, the Druids of Gaul had here a famous centre and school. In these hills that bear yet in their nomenclature the memories of their Keltic period, took place the first conflicts between the encroaching Teutons and the ancient settlers of the land. The Gallo-Roman civilization had blotted out all the perishable monuments of this history, and itself in turn had fallen a prey to the ravages of Time. It was a lonely and rocky wilderness when our Irishmen took up their abode in its solemn depths. One of them was soon attacked by a violent fever. The place was doubtless malarial from neglect and darkness, but the sickness of their "brother" was looked on by them "as a test or because of some sin." So intense and simple was the faith in which they lived and worked! Doubtless, too, the sickness arose from the want of food, since they had only "the bark of trees and the roots of herbs" to sustain them. Even these they abstained from through three days' earnest prayer for the sick brother's welfare. Their wants were relieved by the sudden appearance of "a certain man standing before their gate with horses laden with a supply of bread and condiments. He said that he had been led by a sudden impulse of his heart to bear aid from his own

* Edouard Schuré, "Les Grandes Légendes de France." Paris, 1892, c. I. "Les Légendes de l'Alsace."

substance to those who were, for Christ's sake, suffering from so great poverty in the wilderness." (c. 13.) He received from Columbanus and the brethren a solemn benediction that worked the recovery of his sick wife, then a year burning with a violent and incurable fever, perhaps an ague and chills.

They had scarcely recovered from their great weakness when they gave themselves over again to a period of nine days' fasting, perhaps a kind of novena. Jonas (c. 14) gives as a reason that they desired "to mortify their members to the glory of God and to preserve inviolate the state of their religion." The bitterness of this extreme fasting, again upon bark and roots, was tempered at last by the arrival of the "cellerarius" of a neighboring monastery named "Salicis," or The Willows. Its abbot, Caramtoc, had been warned in a dream of the plight of the Irishmen, and sent his good Marculf with wagons loaded with food. The way had been lost in the darkness, but there was an unknown road that the horses followed of their own accord. Marculf walked in their steps, and thus reached the man of God with the gifts of Caramtoc. The wilderness resounded with thanks to the Creator who had prepared a table for His servants in so miraculous a way. Marculf returned, rejoicing in their blessing, and soon made known what manner of men had come to the ruined burg of Annegrai. "Then crowds of people," says Jonas, "and throngs of the infirm began to crowd about St. Columbanus, in order that they might recover their health and in order to seek aid in all their infirmities. When he was unable to rid himself of their importunities, obeying the petitions and prayers of all, he healed the infirmities of all who came to him."

One of the most striking traits in the life of Columbanus is his fondness for absolute solitude, especially for some lonely cleft in the hills where he could commune with the Holy Spirit untroubled by the conversation of men or the cares of his community. We shall see this at Luxeuil and again at Bobbio. Columbanus, left to himself, is an ancient Father of the Desert. No doubt he had read the "*Vitæ Patrum*" and the writings of John Cassian so well that his spirit was now one with theirs. The "*Benchuir bona regula*" encouraged this temper, and he had himself known many a holy solitary in his Irish home. Some seven miles from Annegrai he found a suitable rocky hollow in an immense cliff, hanging sheer and inaccessible, deep in the forest, and away from all haunts of men. A bear had made a home for herself therein, but she was ordered away by the saint, and never dared to return again. It is not without reason that the bear recurs so often in the iconography of Columbanus; that wild beast seems particularly timid before this strong and handsome and holy man, not only at Annegrai, but at Luxeuil

and Bobbio. Water was, of course, the chief care of the saint in this lonely perch. How he secured an unfailing supply is told by Jonas (c. 16) in a way that leaves little to be desired, so vivid and impressionistic is the tale:

"At one time he was living alone in that hollow rock, separated from the society of others, and, as was his custom, dwelling in hidden places or more remotely in the wilderness, so that when the feasts of the Lord or saints' days came he might, with his mind wholly free from disquieting cares, devote himself to prayer, and might be ready for every religious thought. He was so attenuated by fasting that he scarcely seemed alive. Nor did he eat anything except a small measure of the herbs of the field, or of the little apples which that wilderness produces and which are commonly called *bolluca*. His drink was water. And as he was always occupied with other cares he could not get this regularly, at least during the time he was performing his vows. A little boy named Domoalis (Donald) was in his service. This boy went alone to tell the father when certain events happened at the monastery and to carry back his directions to them. When this boy had remained for several days in the hollow of the rock, which was difficult of approach from all directions, he began to complain because he could not get water quickly. It tired his knees to bring it with so great labor through the difficult mountain paths. Columban said to him: 'My son, get to work; make a little hole in the back of the rock. Remember, the Lord produced streams of water from a rock for the people of Israel.' He obeyed and attempted to make a hole in the rock. The holy man immediately fell upon his knees and prayed to God that He would aid him in his need. At length his prayers were heard; great power came to him piously praying. And soon the fountain of water began to flow regularly, and it remains to this day."

Like all the old Irish saints, he was fond of the deep woods and willingly spent whole days in them. He was fond, too, of fishing, and the calm bookish ease of the riverside.* In Jonas we have vivid snapshots, as it were, of his great tall frame seated on a fallen oak reading a book, and again plying the axe with the brethren on the hills above Bobbio and shouldering with them the heavy logs that were destined for the monastery. Sometimes he seems to have got lost in ecstatic joy amid these monarchs of the forest. Psychologically one of the most instructive chapters in Jonas (c. 15) brings the saint before us during a sojourn in the heart of some great forest of the Vosges:

"While the holy man was wandering through the dark woods, and was carrying on his shoulder a book of the Holy Scripture, he happened to be meditating. And suddenly the thought came into his mind which he would prefer to suffer—injuries from men or to be exposed to the rage of wild beasts. While he thought earnestly, frequently signing his forehead with the sign of the cross and praying, he decided that it was better to suffer from the ferocity of wild beasts, without any sin on their part, than from the madness of men who would lose their souls. And while he was turning this over in his mind he perceived twelve wolves approaching and standing on the right and on the left, while he was in the middle. He stood still and said: 'Oh, God, come to my aid; oh, Lord, hasten to aid me.' They came nearer and seized his clothing. As he stood firm they left him untrified and wandered off into the woods. Having passed through the temptation in safety, he continued his course through the woods. And before he had gone far he heard the voices of many Suevi wandering in the hidden paths. At this time they were robbing in those places. And so at length by his firmness having dismissed the temptation he escaped the misfortune. But he did not know clearly whether this scene was some of the Devil's deceit or whether it actually happened."

Soon the original settlement in the vale of Annegraï proved unsuitable. Jonas gives as a reason for its abandonment the increase in the number of monks—he does not say how long the "Scoti" stayed at Annegraï. They would need, after the manner of Bangor

*"Redeamus ad librum," he says to Boniface IV., "quem juxta ripam dimisimus." Migne PL., LXXX., 278.

and other Irish monastic schools, a clear stream of water or good springs, a goodly space for their several little churches, their barns and storehouses, refectory, book-house and guest-house, also a space for a kiln and a mill. When novices or students multiplied, each would want his own small bee-hive cell. Thus a fairly large area was at once indispensable. Moreover, a church had to be built for lay visitors and for women—neither of these classes was ever allowed within the sacred precincts of the monastery itself. A typical trait is reported of good old Saint Senanus of Iniscathay (Scattery Island) how his motto read :

"Nullam sane feminam
Admittemus in insulam."

The visitor to Bobbio may see yet in the ancient disposition of the town the size and style of an Old-Irish monastery. Columbanus was such a stickler for the ecclesiastical customs of Ireland—"traditionum Scoticarum tenacissimus consecretor"—says an old manuscript of St. Gall, that he would scarcely depart from the consecrated style of his own school of Bangor. At Bobbio, the cathedral—formerly the people's church in the days of monastic independence—is at a considerable distance from the abbey buildings, rather close to the broad and pebbly bed of the Trebbia.

"As the number of monks increased greatly," says his genial biographer (c. 17), "he sought in the wilderness a better location for a convent. He found a place formerly strongly fortified, which was situated about eight miles from the first abode and which had formerly been called Luxovium.⁹ Here were baths constructed with unusual skill. A great number of stone idols which in the heathen times had been worshiped with terrible rites stood in the forest near at hand. Here then the excellent man began to build a monastery. At the news of this the people streamed in from all directions in order to consecrate themselves to the practice of religion, so that the large number of monks scarcely had sufficient room. The children of the nobles from all directions strove to come thither; despising the spurned trappings of the world and the present pomp of wealth, they sought eternal rewards. Columbanus perceived that the people were rushing in from all directions to the remedy of penance and that the walls of one monastery could with difficulty hold so great a throng of converts. Although they were of one purpose and heart, yet one monastery was insufficient for the abode of so great a number. Accordingly, he sought out another spot especially remarkable for its bountiful supply of water and founded a second convent, which he gave the name of Fontanas. In this he placed men whose piety could not be doubted. After he had settled the bands of monks in these places he stayed alternately at the two convents, and full of the Holy Ghost he established the rule which they were to follow. From this rule the prudent reader or listener may learn the extent and character of the holy man's learning."

⁹ Invenerunt locum muris antiquis septum calidis aquis rigatum, sed jam vetustate collapsum, qui vulgo Luxovium vocabatur. Ibi oratorium in honore beati Petri constituentes, mansiunculas in quibus commanerent fecerunt. "Acta SS. Boll." October 16.

Perhaps as they gazed on the relics of Roman majesty they felt some such thrill as roused the soul of the old Anglo-Saxon poet in the "Ruined Burg," when he gazed on the ruins of Rome's authority in Britain:

Wondrous is this wall of stone; weirds have shattered it!
Broken are the burg-steads, crumbled down the giant's work!
Fallen are the roof-beams, ruined are the towers:
All undone the door-pierced turrets; frozen dew is on their plaster.
Shorn away and sunken down are the sheltering battlements,
Under-eaten of Old Age! Earth is holding in her clutch
These the power-wielding workers; all forworn and all forlorn in death are they,
Hard is the grip of the ground; while a hundred generations
Move away. —"The Ruined Burg" in Stopford Brooke, op. cit., p. 86.

Of the monastery of Fontaines nothing remains now except the general aspect of the place and the surrounding scenery. A graceful Gothic church lends charm and dignity to the pretty village of Fontaines that stands on a little hill in the canton of Saint Loup, above the river Roge. "This first priory in France," says its historian, De Beausejour, "now sleeps its last sleep on the bank of that same river which saw its first walls arise and has ever since witnessed all the changes of its fortune." In the village church is a stained glass window that represents Columbanus draining the marshes that were made by the numerous springs of the district. Fontaines is reached from Luxeuil by a road that passes through noble forests of oak, fir and elm, relieved by patches of silvery birch and aspen. The whole vicinity abounds in local memories of the Old-Irish missionaries who reclaimed these abandoned lands and made them among the loveliest of all France. A late traveler describes the cave of Saint Walbert, a local successor of Columbanus, and himself a wooer of solitude like his master in religion:

"Passing the village (of Luxeuil) and descending into one of these wooded dells, in about a quarter of an hour we reached the hermitage, consisting of a tiny chapel, like a little rectangular tower, a subterranean chapel excavated in the rock and a cave formed partly by nature, partly by art, hollowed out of huge blocks of sandstone, within which is the saint's well. The exquisitely clear, cool water streams forth from the jaws of a grotesque antique head, some long-forgotten river god, and falls into a great stone reservoir. On looking further into the depths of the cavern I saw worn antique statues, in their priestly robes, piled up against these huge Cyclopean walls, strange relics of some long-abandoned cult. And at a height upon the face of the cliff above me there was a rude impassioned figure of the saint in prayer carved on an upper stratum of the rock: that Christian hermit who had turned the fountain into a holy well. This group of symbols of successive worship, thus thrown together in this wild forest cave, was one of the most impressive things I have ever seen."

Doubtless we have here yet some of the "stone idols worshiped with horrible rites" that Jonas saw with his own eyes at Luxeuil, last relics of the local worship of the old Keltic shepherd-god, the gigantic Vogesus of these mountains, of Rhenus, Esus, Tarann and Belen. Paganism was not yet utterly extinct in Ireland, and it may be that Columbanus and his Irishmen recognized some of these local deities as close kin to those of the Irish Pantheon, so nobly described by Samuel Ferguson in his great epic "Congal."

None of the three original Columban monasteries in Gaul attained the celebrity of Luxeuil. It became the centre and source of all the later Scotie influence. An ancient "Vita Sancti Galli" says that the church of the abbey was dedicated to God in honor of Saint Peter. The altar was consecrated by a holy Bishop named Aidus, perhaps one of his own band, and a tradition has always lingered on that it was built over the débris of a temple of Diana. It was probably a small church, perhaps of wood and painted, after the Irish fashion—Columbanus himself calls it an *altare*¹⁰, and the very old "Life of St.

¹⁰ Letter of Saint Columbanus ad discipulos et monachos suos: "Altare quod

Gall" says it was an *oratorium*. Almost at once it enjoyed, in a special way, the right of sanctuary and the protection of the royal authority. In the eighth century the Saracens destroyed the new church built on the same site (715-720) and massacred the monks (c. 732). The Chronicle of Fontanelles tells us that Abbat Ansegisus rebuilt the church in 817, and that Louis the Pious endowed it. A painter named Madalulf decorated with frescoes the walls of the refectories and dormitories.

In 888 the Northmen repeated the evil deeds of the Saracens, though the church was left standing. When the monastery of Luxeuil was rebuilt, in 1049, the church was remodeled and enlarged. Early in the thirteenth century (1201) the monastery and church were burned to the ground, and with them went most of the ancient papers of Luxeuil—titles, privileges, charters, archives and perhaps old relics of the Columban period. The present church is the one that was shortly afterward rebuilt on the ancient site. The monastery, built at the same time, did not outlast the seventeenth century. An ancient lighthouse, "*Pharus quam Lucernam vocant*," existed near the church in the time of Mabillon, "*in gratiam eorum qui noctu ecclesiam frequentabant*," a kind of Round Tower; but it has long since disappeared. Miss Stokes describes the interior of the church as "very solemn and impressive," essentially monastic for the deep choir, lofty and vast, bearing abundant traces of the original Romanesque architecture, here and there overlaid or cast out by the Pointed Gothic of the fourteenth century, when the final touches were put to it by Abbat Odo de Charenton (1330) in the midst of an enthusiasm so general that every servant of the abbey took a part in the great work. Its lovely stained glass windows are the only fit monument that now remains to the honor of Columbanus—most of them consecrate the best known scenes in the Life by Jonas. Curious to behold are Saint Lua following Columbanus out of Ireland, Deicola receiving the Pope's bull or diploma, and Gall in the depths of the forest. There, too, are the wolves about Columbanus, and the birds nestling in the hood of the younger Columbanus, that he had put aside while working. A very ancient statue of St. Peter used as a target for boys since the Revolution is now (since 1875) properly housed. During the French Revolution the village mob sacked the church and its sacristies. Numberless relics of Columbanus and his immediate successors, Eustasius and Walbert, were destroyed or taken away—silver armshrines, reliquaries, crystals, a silver statuette of the saint, rings, enameled crosses,

sanctus Aidus episcopus benedixit" (Migne PL., LXXX., col. 271). Perhaps he is speaking of a portable altar consecrated in Ireland. This could scarcely have been the Aidan of Bede (III., 5), for he was not consecrated a bishop until about 635. The context seems to imply a certain special sanctity of the altar.

chalices and the like.¹¹ Only the spotted wooden bowl of St. Walbert—one of the well-known “mazers” or drinking cups of the Irish monks, is yet preserved in the Séminaire that adjoins the church. A similar one that belonged to Columbanus himself is still kept at Bobbio, likewise his knife, and the veneration of these curious remnants of his life is vouched for since fully a thousand years. In the Louvre may yet be seen a splendid mediæval crozier found at Luxeuil in 1862. Some of the very old manuscripts of Luxeuil are in the British Museum, others at the Bibliothèque Nationale, others again are yet in private hands.¹²

Just outside the town stands still the parish church of Saint Sauveur, with its old legend contemporary of Columbanus. It is said by Jonas that when the monastery of Luxeuil was building a parish priest named Winnoc, whose son was Bobolenus, the abbat of Bobbio in the time of Jonas, was hurt by a wedge that flew from one of the great logs that the monks were splitting and was miraculously cured by Columbanus. This same Winnoc was deeply attached to Columbanus and followed him wherever he went about the monastery grounds, being once a witness of the miraculous multiplication of the bread in the storehouse, after he had chided the saint for his slothfulness in getting food for the monks (cc. 24, 28). Another legend is that Winnoc came mysteriously out of the forest and administered the Eucharist to Columbanus, and then returned to the

¹¹ The destruction of the library of Luxeuil Abbey was the most mournful episode in the history of the town. In the year 1798 the suppression of convents was the order of the day. The effect of the great revolutionary movement of the 14th of July was felt all through France. At Luxeuil the people rose *en masse* and collected at the side of the town which is washed by the river Breuchin and scaled the barricades in a moment. The monks, who had trusted little to the townsmen for protection, had already taken flight. The peasants, pouring into the abbey, whose gates were open, first rushed upstairs to the library, persuaded that the books were title-deeds. They threw them in numbers from the window into the gardens below, where they made a bonfire of them. Others were torn up and used to ram the guns of the army of Sambre and Meuse. Thus disappeared among other precious works the “Chronicon Luxoviense,” the manuscript treatises of Addo and the collection of ancient ceremonials used by Mabillon in his “History of the Gallican Liturgy.” Miss Stokes, “Three Months in the Forests of France.” London, 1895, pp. 67-68.

¹² The general impression of modern Luxeuil is feelingly sketched by Miss Stokes in her useful book: “The dim, quiet, low-roofed aisles flanking the majestic nave, the double ranges of columns that support the vault whence its arches spring, the lofty transepts and the subdued warm light, varied by the color of the stained glass windows, all combine to awaken the sense of devotion and mystery. And the same may be said of all connected with the church; the same exquisite taste and perfect repose seem to characterize the services and, to my foreign eye, to set it on a different level from most continental churches. Never shall I forget the evening weekly services, commencing at eight o’clock, during the month of my stay here, when the music had a character peculiarly its own, when the choir, mainly of female voices, sang their hymns to native melodies, old religious French *cantiques*, sweet, simple airs, with the true ring in them below the graceful surface. Night after night the church was filled, and when the crowds poured forth into the quiet moonlit streets, and friend met friend and sauntered home through the Gothic cloisters and beneath the ancient walls and carved balconies of the Hotel de Ville and the Maison Jouffroi or lingered in the arcades of the Maison François I., I could not but feel that to the poor citizens of Luxeuil this house of prayer was also a house of rest and refreshment for body and for soul.” Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

forest, never more to be seen. Curiously enough such another mysterious pioneer hermit, the holy Lintan, appears at Bobbio, and is mentioned in the diploma of Agilulf, together with the famous "medietas putei" that still exists at Bobbio as thirteen hundred years ago. Until the Revolution Saint Sauveur was the parish church of Luxeuil; in all probability it was the people's church from the beginning, like the cathedral of Bobbio.

In the "Life" of Saint Valéry (Walaricus), the shepherd boy whom Columbanus used playfully to call the "lord and abbat" of Luxeuil,¹³ it is said that two hundred and twenty monks lived in the three monasteries. That they were very numerous is clear from the assertion of Jonas (c. 28) that one day at Fontaines sixty of them were "hoeing in the fields and breaking up the clods with great labor." Columbanus provided for their government by his famous "Regula Coenobialis" and his "Poenitentie," two important documents that can be fully treated only in an account of the writings of Columbanus.¹⁴ The "Regula," be it said at once, was of Irish origin and character, and doubtless differed little from that of Bangor, which would yet be to him and his companions what it was when they first put on its yoke:

O Benchuir bona regula!
 Recta atque divina
 Navis nunquam turbata,
 Quamvis fluctibus tonsa,
 Christo Regina apta,
 Solis luce amicta,
 Simplex simul atque docta,
 O Benchuir bona regula!

¹³ Valéry was the gardener of the convent at Luxeuil, and in the legend of his life we read that Columbanus held it as a mark of divine favor that no flowers smelt so sweet, no vegetables were so fresh, as those of his dear Valéry; and when the young gardener entered the hall where Columbanus was expounding the Holy Scripture, he carried with him so strong a perfume of his flowers that the air of the lecture-room was filled with it, and Columbanus exclaimed in delight: "It is thou, beloved, who art the lord and abbat of this monastery!" When the brethren visited Valéry in his cell they found him feeding little flocks of birds, who warbled through his flowers or fed from his hand. And when the swallows flew away in fright he would motion with his hand to the monks to keep them off, saying: "My brethren, do not frighten my little friends or do them any harm; rather let them satisfy their hunger with our crumbs." Miss Stokes, op. cit., p. 74.

¹⁴ The "Poenitentie" of Saint Columbanus is a kind of directory for monastic confessors, with exactly measured "penances" to be imposed for various sins. The range of sins that are visited with penances is considerably wider than in the old penitential system of the continent. Sins of thought are also considered and appropriate penances allotted to them. Here for the first time a minute immediate direction of consciences appears in written documents of an ecclesiastical character. There are other "Poenitentialia"—perhaps the oldest is that of Vinianus (Finnian), that Columbanus seems to have known and used. It is thought by many that these "Poenitentialia" were first used in Ireland, where a monastically governed people would easily, if gradually, accept the penitential discipline of their own monks. Through the numerous Scotie missionaries like Columbanus they got a gradual adoption among the Franks, and so the *praxis* at least of sacramental confession was gradually modified from what it was in the fourth and fifth centuries to the mediæval method. Bishop Schmitz maintained against *Wasserschleben* that before Columbanus a similar "Poenitentie" of Roman origin has made its way among the Franks and was actually in use. Cf. "*Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen der abendlandischen Kirche*," 1851 (2d edition). Schmitz, "Die

Precepts for the perfect monastic life make up the first part of the Rule. They are couched in the spirit of all older monastic rules. Only they breathe a very intense earnestness and their expression is tinged with something of that high Keltic ardor and passion that never brooks a middle way. The Gallo-Romans, Martin, Cassian, Cæsarius, could not have signed these paragraphs without hesitation. In no previous monastic institution does the personal element retreat so into the background as in this "Regula." Even the "obedientia baculina" comes out in it; the monk lives no longer—another lives in him, though he believes that it is the Divine Master who acts in the person of "abbat" or "senior." While the Columban Rule did not long outlive the death of its author as the working constitution of the monasteries that soon rose by hundreds all over Central and Western Europe, its influence remained, borne along for centuries by the moral prestige of the great Irishman, by the stern and high Christian idealism that breathed through every paragraph of its text, by the numberless foundations that went out, immediately and mediately, from Luxeuil and Bobbio, by the romantic interest that attached to the person of its author, and by the great multitude of holy men that it formed in a very short while. In its own cradle, at Luxeuil, and Bobbio, it gave way, strangely soon, to the Rule of Saint Benedict. This was partly because these monasteries did not long remain solely Scotie, but took in monks from the vicinity—Franks and Lombards and others; partly because there was in the Rule of Saint Benedict more moderation of tone, more gentleness of spirit, more willingness to wait for perfection, more readiness to acknowledge an ineradicable element of personality than were to be found in the precepts of a man who had learned his Christianity not at Rome, but at Bangor; not in a society that was wise with much experience of Christian mankind, but in one that as yet lay almost outside the ken of the civilized European world, a fact that Columbanus himself admits in his letter to Gregory the Great.

The second part of the Rule, that deals with the sanctions for its violations, is unique among ecclesiastical documents for its awful severity. Corporal punishment is dealt out with a generous hand for the slightest infraction of discipline—at table, at the altar, at prayers, in any of the meanest or most ordinary actions of the day. It alternates with solitary confinement and a minimum of nourishment. The sign of the cross was commanded for a multitude of daily acts—an ancient monastic custom, indeed—but enforced by Columbanus

Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche, 2 vols., 1883, 1900. Boudinhon, "Revue d'histoire littéraire et religieuse," Vol. II., pp. 306, 406. Hauck, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands," Part I., pp. 252-257. Hauck is of opinion that there is no good reason for denying to our saint the authorship of the "Poenitentiale" that goes by his name; if not written by his hand, it was written at Luxeuil by one of his Irish disciples.

with the severest penalties. Each brother, at every going out and coming in, must go before the abbat or "senior" and get his blessing. At his first word every monk must stand with uncovered head. Whoever cut the table with his knife, or spilled the beer, or let the food drop on the floor, or did not carefully gather up the crumbs, or failed to bow his head at the end of each psalm, or disturbed the psalmody with coughing and spitting, was made to feel on his back the gravity of his sin. A blind and absolute obedience was demanded of all; they were as children beneath the eye of a father and they must learn from one another the great virtues of the monk's life—obedience, humility, contemplative silence, control of all impulsiveness—above all, that mortification, that thorough deadening of one's own will which is for the monk the first indispensable step in the way of perfection. Once a day, at eventide, enough food was given to each one to sustain his strength—usually vegetables, cakes rudely cooked, perhaps after the Irish fashion, a little baked bread. On certain occasions fish and beer were allowed. Poultry and beef and other ordinary meats, likewise delicate dishes of any kind, were forbidden. "Man liveth not by bread alone" was their constant thought. If the "Instructiones ad monachos" usually attributed to Columbanus are really his, and there is no good reason to abjudicate them from him, he was wont to liken the soul of the monk to one of the monastery fields. Pride and avarice and envy were as the boulders and roots that must be broken up and cast away. The cold hard soil of the natural worldly soul must be torn again and again with harrow and plough, that the weeds and thorns of a low, selfish life may be destroyed, and the seeds of virtue be planted that will one day ripen into a celestial harvest.

Of course these ideas were not new; nor were grave and holy persons so rare on the continent, even in the Frankish churches, that models of the Christian virtues were unknown before Columbanus. But he brought to his task of a moral reformation in Gaul an astounding energy, a quickness and thoroughness of resolution, a simplicity and certainty of means, a daring leadership in his own person that recalled at once the great Christian patriarchs of the Orient, whose lives were household words in Gaul through the reports of pilgrims, the writings of Cassian and the popular legends that had grown up about their names. He was known to be brave to a fault in the presence of the boldest and most powerful; this did not hurt him in a society just founded by the sword and the spear. He sought neither wealth nor station; this helped him among men who were being scandalized at the general hunt, even among clerics, for more land and more power. He had just come over from Ireland, already the "*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*," then in the full swing of the mon-

astic movement, its whole people governed by monks and cherishing no other ideals than those of the Old and the New Testament, as preached at Armagh and Clonmacnoise, at Bangor and at Glendalough. Columbanus and his companions were among the last of the "Second Order" of Irish saints,¹⁵ and their almost absolute imitation of the apostolic poverty and disinterestedness of the Patrician period was the very best argument for the heterogeneous society that they had entered.

It would take a large volume to relate properly the rapid diffusion of the Columban monasteries from the parent stem. Hauck follows it out in great detail (op. cit., pp. 271-293). Granval, St. Ursicin and Pfermund were the first "filial" monasteries of Luxeuil. But in the course of a century there sprang up a countless series of them, each one hiving many others. Not only Burgundy, but Normandy, the Rhineland, Lorraine, all Northern France, Switzerland in every direction, Southern Germany, came within the charmed circle of the Columban influence. From Bobbio, as from another pole, the same influence radiated through all Northern Italy, so that within the

¹⁵ It will be of interest to read the curious and very ancient account of the primitive clergy of Ireland that Usher first printed in his "Brit. Eccl." (p. 473). I take it from Stuart's "Armagh" (ed. Coleman, 1900), p. 18.

"The First Order of Catholic Saints was established in the time of Saint Patrick. The members of this order were all bishops, illustrious, pure, filled with the Holy Spirit, in number 350, and the founders of many churches. They had one head, Christ; one leader, Patrick; one Mass, one form of celebration, one tonsure, from ear to ear. They celebrated one Pasch, the fourteenth of the moon after the vernal equinox, and whatever was excommunicated or anathematized by one Church, all the others also excommunicated. They did not reject the aid and company of women, because being founded on the rock of Christ they feared not the wind of temptation. This order flourished during four reigns, viz., those of Leogaire, Ailill Molt, Lugad the son of Leogaire, and Tuathal. All these bishops were sprung from Romans, Franks, Britons and Scots, i. e., Hibernians (A. D. 432-544).

"They were succeeded by a 'Second Order of Catholic Priests.' In this were few bishops, but many presbyters, in number 300. They had one head, the Lord. They celebrated various Masses and adopted various rules. They kept one Pasch, the fourteenth day of the moon after the equinox; had one tonsure from ear to ear, refused the assistance of women and separated them from the monasteries. This order continued during four reigns, viz., from the end of the reign of Tuathal through the entire reigns of Diarmot and of the two grandsons of Muiredach, as well as that of Aid, the son of Ainmer. They received the Mass from Bishop David, Gilla and Docus, Britons (David, Gildas and Cadoc?). Of this class were the two Finians, the two Brendans, Jarlath of Tuam, Comgall, Coemgenus, Columba, Caineus (A. D. 544-598).

"The Third Order of saints was composed of holy priests and a few bishops, in number 100. These inhabited desert places, living on herbs, water and alms. They had no private property, and they had various rules, Masses and tonsure. Some had their hair shaven in form of a crown, others suffered it to remain in a bushy tuft. They varied as to the celebration of the Pasch, some holding it on the fourteenth, others on the sixteenth day of the moon, with great strictness. These continued during four reigns, etc. (A. D. 598-664).

"The First Order was styled *Sanctissimus*; the Second, *Sanctior*; the Third, *Sanctus*. The First is said to have been resplendent as the sun, the Second as the moon, the Third as the stars."

It is needless to add that the "aid and company of women" that the First Order did not reject was their service of the altars and the churches, and their free presence among the ecclesiastical ministers, all of which the "Second Order" severely prohibited. This ancient document, quite in keeping with the temper and spirit of the time, as the contemporary hagiography proves, is an excellent illustration of the exclusion of women by the Scotie missionaries from their monasteries on the continent.

triangle formed by Metz, Milan and Salzburg, Saint Columbanus and the spirit of his Rule were for two centuries the friendly rivals of Saint Benedict. Numerous bishops of France were educated at Luxeuil. Men abandoned the great monastic schools of Southern France, like Lérins, to read the Scriptures at Luxeuil among its "men of God." Great Frank nobles like Autharius and Hagnerich and Gundoin gave up their children to be its monks. Soon the best blood of the Frankish State was to be found in an assembly of Columban abbats. Eustasius and Waldebert, the first successors of Columbanus at Luxeuil, were most distinguished men. St. Eloi (Eligius), statesman, preacher, artist, was a Columban monk, or at least a student at Luxeuil. Arnulf of Metz, the contemporary of our saint and progenitor of the great mediæval Karlings, was the close friend and later the monastic companion of Romarich, a monk of Luxeuil and founder of the great French abbey of Remiremont. Luxeuil is mentioned in many Merovingian charters of the seventh and eighth centuries as the model of new monasteries; and if more than one foundation bore later the two names of Benedict and Columbanus, the latter was the original and sole "*trames religionis sanctissimorum virorum Luxoviensis monasterii*" that the Merovingian king put into his diploma. The abbat of Luxeuil had a general supervision over monasteries very remote from his own house. From all over Central Europe scholars were sent thither as to a "university" of piety, "*spiritualis profectus gratia*," or "*eruditionis gratia*," as it is written in the lives of early mediæval saints.¹⁶ In a special manner royal youths frequented Luxeuil. It must have been thence that the terrible Mayor Grimoald got the idea (656) of banishing into Ireland for eighteen long years the youthful Dagobert II., son of Sigibert III. of Austrasia, after cutting off his long hair. The Columban monk, Audoen of Rouen, the friend of St. Eloi, drew to Columban monasteries such men as the noble Wandregesilus, a relative of the house of Pepin and founder of Fontanelles. His biography is one of the most interesting of the Middle Ages, and in it one sees how the Irish element in the Columban monasteries was long prominent, even a hundred years after the death of the founder; for Wandregesilus is at one time moved to enter the monastery of Bobbio, and again he will go to Ireland to be a monk. It is the

¹⁶ So in the "Life" of Saint Frodobert: "*Erat eo tempore (under Waldebert) Luxoviense coenobium in Gallicia regionibus pene singulare tam in religionis apice quam etiam in perfectione doctrinae. Qua ex causa plurimi quibus in utramque partem proficiendi fervor inerat ad eundem locum certantibus studiis undique confuebant*" (c. 5). And in the "Life" of Saint Bercharius: "*Erat eo tempore in cunctis Galliarum partibus hoc coenobium in multimodis rerum possessionibus tum etiam divinae venerationis cultibus nomen singulare habens, quod illic et districtior institutio et studium sapientiae plenius haberetur.*" One sees how the piety and learning of Luxeuil had become proverbial in the ninth century, to which many of these lives belong, either as originals or as worked-over and revamped editions of earlier "lives" that had long lost their savor or their charm.

Scotic monachism that fascinates him. Indeed, for long centuries there lingers on in the France and Germany of the Franks a profound veneration for the Irish monk. In his perfection he is, like Columbanus, a "reclusus," and such Irish "reclusi" are frequently mentioned so late as the eleventh century as an honor to various churches in Germany. Charlemagne himself was very fond of the "fratres" at Saint Gall: sometimes he borrowed their books and failed to return them. But even that did not strain their friendship; to the end he was "noster Carolus" for everybody in the great establishment that had grown up about the little bee-hive cell of Gallus. All the curious data about Irish monks and scholars in later mediæval Germany are intimately related to this first period of their career. The little "Schottenklöster" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that yet hang on to life in the survival at Ratisbon, and in the "Schottenkirche" at Vienna, were no more than an expression of gratitude for the benefits of moral discipline, if not faith, that Christian Scotia once conferred upon their Frankish ancestors. The mediæval German hagiographers who rewrote or improved the original lives of the chief men of the Columban monasteries are also an evidence of the long-enduring veneration for their work.

There remains, to round out this summary sketch of Columbanus at Luxeuil the question of his relations with the local bishop and the episcopate in general. Hauck accuses him of overriding the authority of the Bishop of Besançon, to whose diocese Luxeuil belonged, by establishing monasteries without his permission and by having the altar at Luxeuil consecrated by an Irish bishop. But there is no direct evidence of his having neglected to obtain permission to settle at Annegrai. Jonas says that this was done with the good will of the "King and the Court"—in all probability the local bishop was too glad that the "bona derelicta" of the wilderness should be sanctified by such good men. As to the altar, Columbanus himself does say that it was one consecrated by "Sanctus Aidus episcopus." It may be here a question of a portable altar brought from Ireland and consecrated there long before by a "Sanctus Aidus." The Irish of those days were, perhaps inordinately fond of all the personal belongings of their saints, and carried about with them and handed down their chalices and staves, their bells and cloaks and books—such an altar would be an heirloom indeed for the pious Columbanus.

The case is otherwise with the episcopate of Gaul. We may with justice distinguish two epochs in the dealings of Columbanus with them, and also two lines of disagreement. In the first epoch he was surely moved by what seemed to him the moral laxity of the people in general, and he surely laid the responsibility at the door of the

Gallic bishops. As head of a band of wandering missionaries his philippics would naturally disturb the regular administration of the churches, all the more as Columbanus belonged to a church in which the bishop's office was usually subordinate to the monastic office, the bishop being often only one of the brethren who acknowledged the abbat as their head. But when he had settled at Luxeuil this cause of complaint could no longer exist. Similarly, in the beginning, he certainly desired to see the Keltic calculation of Easter imposed upon the churches of Gaul, but in the end he was content to keep this and other peculiarities of the Scotie churches for himself and his brethren. His fine ascetic temper was conditioned by the fact that there were no cities in his Ireland, and no moral problems such as civilization of the municipal character brings with it—above all, there was no political and social revolution like that which had affected the Gaul of the sixth century. His personal relations must have eventually been less strained, for we learn from him that many bishops chose him as their confessor; among the numerous friends of his dear Luxeuil were very many Frankish bishops.¹⁷

In the fourth Synod of Orleans (541) the Frankish bishops had decided that Easter must be celebrated according to the corrected cycle of Victorius. The Irish churches knew nothing of those fifth century Roman modifications that had taken place after the arrival among them of Saint Patrick (432). For them the ancient cycle of the Alexandrine Anatolius, that "*mirae doctrinae vir*," and the authority of the great Saint Jerome were scarcely needed to corroborate the practice of their own beloved and trusted Patrick, Bridget and Columba. We have a very bold and earnest letter of Columbanus to the Frankish Bishops in which he passionately defends the Scotie Easter. In it are already the distinguishing traits of Irish eloquence—abundance, ardor, picturesqueness—in whatever language it be poured forth. The letter was written in the twelfth year after his arrival in the Vosges. It may therefore be attributed to the year 596 or 597, though, perhaps, it was written a few years later. The weakest point of our saint's history is a chronology of his life. Columbanus was an intensely Scotie man all his life. There is in his epistles much ill-suppressed expression of his feeling that "all the churches of the West," *i. e.*, Ireland, Scotland and British England, were morally superior to those of the continent. Their ecclesiastical learning, too, he thought was superior to that of the Romans.¹⁸ And

¹⁷ Jonas, in "*Vita Eustasii*," c. 4. Abellenus vero vel ceteri Galliarum episcopi post ad roboranda Columbani instituta adspirant. Quam multi jam in amore Columbani et ejus regulae monasteria construunt, plebes adunant, gregem Christi congregant!

¹⁸ Scias namque nostris magistris et Hibernicis antiquis philosophis et sapientissimis componendi calculi computariis Victorium non fuisse receptum, sed magis risu vel venia dignum quam auctoritate. Ep. I., ad. Greg. Magn. Migne PL., LXXX., col. 281.

the manner in which his schools of Luxeuil and Bobbio were patronized might easily have justified this opinion. The bishops had surely not waited for twelve years to call a halt on the Columban Easter at Luxeuil. Among the remnants of his correspondence we have a letter of the saint to Gregory the Great that must have been written before the end of 595 and before the letter of Columbanus to the bishops. This letter shows that he had been previously called to account for his divergent celebration of Easter. Indeed, he says to the Pope that three years before, perhaps in 592, he had written to the bishops the "tomus responsionis meae" that he now sends to Rome, and in which he shows that "omnes ecclesiae totius Occidentis," *i. e.*, the insular Keltic churches, are on the side of the monks of Luxeuil. He wonders that at Rome the "ancient error" of Gaul¹⁹ has not long since been corrected and calls on the Pope to condemn Victorius with the Irish or renounce the "fides" and the "auctoritas" of Saint Jerome.²⁰ He adds "tres tomos" of an historico-theological disquisition, in which the Pope can see what the Scotie churches think on the subject. The boldness of his speech, both to Gregory the Great and to Boniface IV., does not prevent him from acknowledging their authority and invoking it—in his own favor, of course. The bishops now invited him to the Synod of Sens in 601, but he refused to attend it, persuaded that they would expel him from the "locus deserti quem pro Domino meo Jesu Christo de transmare expetivi" if he did not give up the Scotie Easter. There is no proof of their intention to do this. But the letter of refusal to attend the Synod is marked by a change of attitude. Henceforth he makes no claim to impose his Easter on the churches of Gaul—he only asks that they do not impose their Easter on the monks of Luxeuil.²¹ In other words, he pleads now for peace and tolerance as he had before pleaded for absolute unanimity on lines laid down by himself. He had learned that it was impossible to impose on all Gaul the "mores" of Bangor as easily as he had established them in the "desert" of the Vosges, and with the quick decision proper to the

¹⁹ Ep. I., ad Greg. Magn. "Miror . . . fateor, a te hunc Galliae errorem . . . jam diu non fuisse rasum." Saint Gregory also alleged the antiquity of the Roman custom, but (*ibid*) Columbanus replied: "Temporis antiquitate roborata mutari non posse, manifeste antiquus error est," forgetting that the principle could be turned against himself. Migne, *op. cit.*, *ibid*.

²⁰ Simpliciter enim ego tibi confiteor quod contra S. Hieronymi auctoritatem veniens apud Occidentis ecclesias (*i. e.*, the Scotie) hereticus seu respuendus erit: illi enim per omnia indubitatum in scripturis divinis accomodant fidem. Ep. I., ad Greg. Magn. *Op. cit.*, col. 262.

²¹ Quia hujus diversitatis auctor non sim ac pro Christo salvatore communi domino ac Deo in has terras peregrinus processerim, deprecor vos . . . ut mihi liceat in his silvis silere et vivere . . . sicut usque nunc licuit nobis inter vos vixisse. . . . Absit ut ego contra vos contendam congregiendum ut gaudeant inimici nostri (Arians, Bonosi, pagani) de nostra Christianorum contentione . . . cum pace et humilitate libri legantur utrique, et quae plus veteri et novo testamento concordant sine ullius invidia serventur. Ep. II., ad episcopos. *Op. cit.*, col. 267.

man, he acted accordingly. After all, Columbanus was a moral reformer; it was of infinitely more importance to him that the children of the great Frank nobles should be sent to Luxeuil than that the Easter of Patrick and Bridget and Columba should replace that of Gaul and Rome. Yet, even in his defeat, one gathers an impression of "science" routed by "authority"—to the end the old "magister" of Bangor is a firm believer in the mathematics and church history of his Irish "seniores."

Would that every domestic dissension among Christians had been as quickly and gently ended! He continued to celebrate his Scotie Easter, perhaps not without some molestation, for his letter to Boniface IV., written some ten years after the Synod just mentioned, asks in humble terms that the Pope confirm to him and his the right to do so.²² Certainly his successors at Luxeuil and Bobbio did not keep up the Scotie Easter, though they clung with affection to the dear old Scotie "Regula" and to several of the customs that the Irish brethren had brought over. Just as the Latin manuscripts of these old Irishmen betray yet, in text or gloss, the "Scotica manus" and the Scotie spelling, so the life of the original Columban monasteries bore for a long time indelible traces of the strong personality and odd insular habits of the original founders.

The story of the expulsion of Columbanus from Luxeuil can scarcely be separated from his temporary sojourn in Switzerland and his departure thence for the Lombard court of Agilulf and Theodelinda to found the monastery of Bobbio. Indeed, it is the proper prelude to the story of that great deed. These three years, almost the last of a strenuous and agitated career, are full of movement and color. Gallo-Roman and Britonized Armorica, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy—it is a large scene through which moves this

²² Ut nobis peregrinis laborantibus tuæ piæ sententiæ præstes solatium, quo si non contra fidem est, nostrarum traditionum robore seniorum, quo ritum Paschæ sicut accepimus a maioribus observare *per tuum possumus judicium* in nostra peregrinatione. Ep. I, ad Bonifacium papam. It is worth recalling here that an ancient tradition makes Columbanus go into Italy in the last five years of the sixth century, visit Rome like other "sancti" of the "Second Order" and found Bobbio. Moreover, Bobbio was the first European monastery to put itself under the Papal "protection," if the document that proves the fact be a genuine one. Thereby it inaugurated a new chapter in the history of monasteries that thenceforth tended more and more to escape from immediate episcopal control. Every student of Italian church history will remember the contest of four centuries that Bobbio maintained against its local diocesan, the Bishop of Tortona, and the curious "compositio" by which in the eleventh century a "temporary diocese" was established in the curious little burg. In Rossetti can yet be read the sorrowful plaints of the monks at the high-handed treatment dealt out to them by the local authorities, ecclesiastical and civil. In the Old-Lombard crypt of Columbanus at Bobbio, amid the remains of the holy "peregrini" of the seventh and eighth centuries, his stern but noble Scotie spirit seems yet to live. No visitor of Scotie race can stand before the tomb of the great Leinsterman in Bobbio and not be moved in his heart as he reflects how thoroughly Columbanus changed the current of ecclesiastical and profane life before he was laid to rest beneath the shadow of the mighty Apennines. *Proh dolor!* "*Quantum refert in quo quisque tempore viserit!*"

wonderful "vir desideriorum," as it is his white-robed figure that sheds upon the religious and political circumstances of all these lands the strongest and purest light. Saint Columbanus did not differ in his faith or in the great principles of Christian discipline from the Catholic Christians of the continent, but he did differ from most of them in moral energy, in Christian consistency of life and belief, in closeness of personal union with the Divine Master, in keenness of insight into the essentials of Christian life and calling, in contempt of earthly things, a man at once antique-patriarchal and mediævally romantic. From the "rafters of Italy" the tall chieftainly figure of the Irishman looks down upon the Græco-Roman world in the last phases of its decadence and out upon those loose indisciplined hordes of "Wandering Nations," those turbulent Teutons and Slavs that are finally coalescing and taking root all over the Western provinces of imperial Rome that they had first depopulated and made desolate. If he is not the first preacher to them of the Christian faith, he is the first successful preacher of a Christian discipline of life, of that sublime morality whose pursuit is the true education of the Christian. He is the needed forerunner of Saint Benedict, and he richly deserves a special chapter in the history of every great continental church.

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MISSIONARY IDEALS, CHRISTIAN AND COMMERCIAL.

IN their original meaning the terms apostle and missionary are identical. The one is of Greek, the other of Latin origin, and they have both been adopted into all modern languages. The first is usually confined to the disciples sent directly by our Lord to carry His revelation to the human race, or to such of their successors as have been eminent in history in the discharge of that work of the first apostles. The term missionary in common Catholic usage is applied to all others who devote themselves to bringing the doctrines of the Gospel to the knowledge and acceptance of the nations still outside the pale of the Church. The Christian Revelation is made for the whole human race, but in the Divine economy it was committed first to the Jews and through men of that nationality to the other races. Greek and Roman and Barbarian successively received the Christian faith and morality, and each in turn transmitted them

to remoter peoples. The work begun in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost has been continued during nineteen centuries, and it still goes on in the same spirit and with the same objects. St. Patrick preaching to the Celtic Druids, Francis Xavier convincing the Japanese Bonzes and Brebœuf addressing the Iroquois sachems in the American forests, have repeated, in successive centuries, the task of St. Paul on the Athenian Areopagus. To men of their stamp Catholic practice has for centuries confined the title of missionaries.

The meaning which common usage among English-speaking nations attaches to the name at present is something quite different from the work of Xavier. The missionary interest is an important factor in the world of finance and politics which has little to do with the communication of any Divine Revelation to men. It embraces teachers of literature and science, doctors of medicine and farmers, ship owners and planters in its ranks, and it employs and pays them on commercial principles. The preachers of religion who form part of its members are sometimes zealous for particular doctrines, varying in kind in different stations, but as a general rule the formation of Christians is looked on as of secondary importance. The acquisition of lands and trade concessions, the collection of indemnities and the advancement of national material interests are the objects commonly associated in the public mind with the idea of "missionary work" to-day.

Nevertheless the work of converting the nations to Christ is still going on in every part of the globe on the principles and methods of St. Paul and St. Francis Xavier. The priests and others directly engaged in it in heathen lands number many thousands; the Christians won to the faith by them or their predecessors are counted by millions. It is true that financially the revenues of the Catholic missions are insignificant compared with those of the non-Catholic establishments. The Propagation of the Faith Association furnishes the largest part of the funds employed in Catholic mission work, and its annual collections seldom reach a million and a half dollars. The various Protestant bodies in this country alone boast of an annual revenue for mission purposes of no less than twenty-five millions. It is likely nearly as much more is raised in the British Empire. The financial resources of the non-Catholic missions are then nearly twenty fold greater than those at the disposal of Catholic missionaries. Judged by the mere number of converts actually existing in heathen lands, it is within strict truth to say that the results obtained by the latter are more than twenty fold greater. Moral results, after all, are very slightly dependent on the power of money or political predominance.

It is desirable, in the interests of truth, that the difference in object

and methods between Catholic and non-Catholic missions should be expressed by well recognized names. The task, however, is an impossible one for an individual. Common use gives the meaning of words at its discretion since the days of Horace. A hundred years ago when the term "missionary" was used it was almost identical with Catholic teacher. To-day it is the reverse, though the work of Brebœuf and Xavier still goes on under the old name. As the term "episcopal" is identified in common use with Anglican Protestantism, though episcopacy is the distinctive organization of the Catholic Church, so "missionary," when used without further qualification, has come in this country to mean the mixed secular and religious activity of Protestants in foreign lands. It is noteworthy that during the last three years it has scarcely ever been applied to the men who have formed the largest Christian population in the world outside European races. The Spanish priests of the Philippines are always the "friars," never "missionaries," in the American press, be its comments friendly or hostile.

If we cannot help the confusion of names we may at least clear up the difference in objects and methods between Catholic and non-Catholic missionaries by detailed description of both. This is the task we shall attempt here. A brief historical sketch appears the best course to illustrate the origin and development of each class of missions.

When, at the close of the fifteenth century, America and Asia were opened to Europe by Columbus and Da Gama the latter continent was almost wholly Christian. The Lithuanians, the last race to receive Christianity, had been converted many years before Columbus sailed from Palos. During the fifteenth century the work of bringing heathen races to Christian belief had nearly ceased for lack of material. Mahometans surrounded the Christian nations on every side from Finland to Granada. Mongols, Turks, Saracens and Barbary pirates cut off communication between Europe and the mass of the heathen world. Between the Mahometans and Christians war was incessant, and there was small chance to offer instruction in religion to men whose own creed was established and maintained by the sword alone. To preach Christian doctrines to Mahometans in their own land meant quick death for the foreign preacher. The mission of the first Franciscans to Morocco was an example of this. The religious activity of Christendom could find no practical field for mission work to unbelievers. It employed itself otherwise—in the discussion and definition of theology, in founding universities, in building cathedrals and monasteries. The acceptance of the Catholic faith as God's best gift to man was universal through Western Europe. The desire to spread a knowledge of it

to other men was also universal, but in the existing conditions it was rather a devout aspiration than a thing of actual practice.

The earlier European expeditions to America illustrate this character of the age. The first care of Isabella of Castille, when Columbus brought back the tale of his discovery, was that the natives of the new found lands should be taught the Christian faith. That the task would be any more difficult than providing instruction for some neglected village of Spain seems not to have occurred to any of her advisers. The few Indians who were brought over by the Admiral were placed in private families for instruction in Christianity and the ways of civilized life as would be done with so many abandoned children in Spain. The royal orders commanded that the Americans should be similarly instructed in their own land with no apparent realization of what such a task meant. The records of the early expeditions give many illustrations of the childlike simplicity which believed that religion had only to be offered to uncivilized men to secure its acceptance. Grave university doctors drew up summaries of the Christian doctrine in academic form and sent them to the West Indies to be communicated to the natives there as sufficient grounds for their becoming Christians at once. A chaplain of Magellan's administered baptism to several hundred Malay natives of Cebu without any further preliminaries than their consent to the ceremony.

It was not long, however, before a clearer conception of the nature of mission work appeared. The pioneers of San Domingo abused their power by forcing the natives to work as slaves, under the pretext that their conversion would be thus more easily brought about. The enslaving of the Indians was thus attempted as a supposed means of spreading Christianity. The conscience of the better men in the young colony revolted at this theory and at the harsh treatment inflicted on the helpless heathens. The Dominican Montesinos refused to absolve Indian slaveholders. Father De Cordova, the prior of the Dominican community and the first Inquisitor of Spanish American history, maintained the right of all men to personal liberty regardless of their belief or unbelief. Natural justice, he declared, forbade any infringement on the liberty or property of others, whether Christian or infidel. The celebrated Las Casas became convinced of the truth of these teachings and devoted the rest of his long life to the defense of the American natives against the wrongs inflicted by Christians of his own creed.

Las Casas and De Cordova, however resolute in their defense of the natives against oppression, were also imbued with the true missionary spirit of Catholics. To bring the Indians to the knowledge and practice of the Catholic faith they felt to be the highest boon

they could offer them, and to that task both devoted themselves. Las Casas as a secular priest, as a Dominican friar, as Bishop of Chiapa and as the official protector of the Indians, spent nearly sixty years in devising practical methods for the conversion as well as the civilization of the Indians of America. That end, he told Charles V., was the only ground on which the right to occupy America had been granted to Spain by the Sovereign Pontiff. He further maintained that the conversion of infidels can only be lawfully made through instruction and persuasion, by enlightening their minds and gaining their wills to the acceptance of Christianity. The employment of force for such an end he declared not only useless, but criminal on the part of Christian men. These principles he maintained before Ferdinand and Ximenes, before Charles V. and Philip II. He fought for the rights of the natives as men in places and scenes of every kind. His voice was heard in San Domingo, in Peru, in Mexico and in Central America. In Cuba he struck up the swords of Spanish soldiers in the heat of battle; in Mexico he faced Cortez in the fulness of his fame. In royal councils, in Rome with Popes, in Spanish universities and in courts of justice he successfully fought for the natural rights of man through more than half a century. Charles V., in 1538, at his exhortation, forbade enslavement of the natives of America on any pretext, of war, conquest, rebellion, or anything else. Pope Paul II. approved the decree and issued a solemn bull of excommunication against all slavers in the American continent. Both Pope and Emperor at the same time fully recognized the obligation, on Christian principles, of instructing the Indians in the doctrines of the Church by every means consistent with their natural rights as free agents.

That it was possible to win savages to a knowledge and practice of Christian teaching Las Casas himself gave a striking object lesson three years before the above mentioned decrees were issued. While then engaged as a Dominican priest in spiritual duties in Guatemala he undertook at his own risk the conversion and pacification of a hostile tribe which had defeated two or three attempts at conquest made by the Spanish Governor. He first stipulated with the colonial authorities that no soldiers should be sent against the natives, and that, in the event of their accepting Christianity, they should be guaranteed absolute possession of their territory and self-government under the dominion of the Spanish crown alone. This secured, Las Casas and three other Dominicans set themselves to a laborious study of the Quiche language, which was used by the hostile tribe. The Bishop of Guatemala, an accomplished classical scholar, joined in this task. After many months' study and practice the Dominicans prepared a summary of the essential doctrines of the faith in

language intelligible to savages. To make it more attractive to the latter the instructions were put into verse, as the old Saxon Caedmon had done in the early days of English literary life. The Dominicans went further. They set their verses to music suited to the rude instruments used by the native tribes. Some Indians, already converted in Guatemala, were chosen to open communications with the hostile tribe. They were trained to chant the religious poem accurately to the sound of a stringed instrument, and then they went as traders among the natives. The latter heard the message with curiosity, and asked for further information concerning the new doctrines. The messengers told them that they could receive it from certain men among the Spaniards who were neither soldiers nor miners, but lived in poverty, prayer and perpetual chastity. An Indian messenger was sent privately to Guatemala to ascertain whether such men were to be found among the hated European invaders. He found the little monastery and returned with the news to the chief of the tribe. The latter invited the Dominicans to visit his country and instruct himself and his people. Fray Luis Cancer, who afterwards met a martyr's death in Florida, went on this invitation and Las Casas followed him. The chief and most of his people, after some instruction, professed their acceptance of the Christian creed and asked for baptism. Their request was granted, and at the same time peace was made with their Spanish neighbors. Las Casas had accomplished the task in which armed force had failed.

He did not end his labors with the baptism of his converts. He believed that religion could only be securely established when the wandering life of savages was abandoned for fixed abodes and habits of social life. Society in the thought of this Spanish friar of the sixteenth century had two essential elements, liberty and pueblo or town life. Society he held necessary for religious practice as a general principle and he urged the importance of gathering into villages on his converts. The necessity of such a course, if they were to attend public worship and receive instruction in their duties as Catholics, was evident even to the minds of savages. Old habits of solitary independence in the woods and mountains were, however, hard to give up, and it was only by long and patient labor on the part of the missionaries that village life was established among the Indians as well as the Catholic faith. It was established, however, without any interference of European law or soldiers. The district converted by Las Casas received the name of Vera Paz (True Peace) as an exclusively native province. It grew in numbers and civilization gradually, and to-day is a province of the Guatemala Republic, with a population still almost wholly of native American race.

The mission methods used in Vera Paz were generally copied

subsequently through all the Spanish colonies. Personal freedom under native chiefs or officials, village communities for the population, regular attendance at church and religious instructions and only such introduction of foreign civilization as was called for by Christian morals or freely adopted by the intelligence of the converted savages were the main features of all the missions there.

There were other points generally observed in the mission methods. The use of intoxicating liquors was discouraged, though not absolutely forbidden, and as far as possible Europeans, other than those needed as priests or instructors, were not encouraged to settle in the Indian villages. It is noteworthy that the search for mines, which had been the main object sought by the early colonists of America, was generally discouraged by the Spanish missionaries among their converts. In Lower California the Jesuits kept the Indians from the pearl fishery, which might easily have yielded them large profit. In Upper California the existence of gold was known to the Franciscans twenty years before the American conquest, yet they not only did not seek it, but discouraged the Indians from its pursuit. The main object sought in all the missions was to build up a population of Christians, moral in conduct and provided with the necessities of civilized existence. The missionaries did not look on it as any part of their duty to attempt more. If individual natives sought higher culture than the village schools afforded they were given it, or allowed to seek it in the cities among the European population. A similar system is found in the reductions of Paraguay and California, in Venezuela and New Granada and with some modifications in the Philippines. That the native races have been preserved and increased where this Spanish mission system prevailed, and that they have also acquired a sincere attachment to the Catholic faith, are facts of history. It is also undeniable that in other parts of this continent as well as throughout Australia, the Pacific islands and South Africa the native races have melted away at contact with Europeans.

To sketch the development of Catholic mission methods concisely, we would say that at the discovery of America the public sentiment of Europe desired the conversion of its people to Christianity as an abstract sentiment of religion and philanthropy. In the public mind at that time the Christian religion was identified with the idea of civilization. The counsellors of Ferdinand, as Las Casas tells us, expected that when the Americans were made Christians they would naturally develop to an equality with Europeans in other respects. In the debates on the enactment of the "Laws of Burgos," in 1510, Spanish statesmen pointed to the growth in civilization which had

taken place in Germany since the days of Tacitus down to their own, and confidently expected that something similar would result in America if its natives were made Christian. That they would gladly receive such a benefit as soon as offered seemed impossible to doubt. In that point the frame of mind of the Spanish public four hundred years ago offers a resemblance to that shown in our own press on the occupation of the Philippines. Some years' experience in the West Indies showed how different were the practical conditions of conversion from the theories of universities and the philanthropists of mediæval Europe. The value of the object desired was not denied by the men who opposed the methods of the Spanish colonists. Montesinos and Las Casas were as thoroughly convinced of the necessity of Christian faith for the Indians as any of the professors who urged that Christian rulers were bound to gather them into the Church by physical force. But they denied that natural rights could be lawfully infringed even for the good of the individuals coerced. The discussion between Las Casas and the official historian Sepulveda brings out clearly the principle for which the protectors of the Indians contended in their mission work. Sepulveda, as an apologist for the forcible conquest of the Indians, pleaded that only in that way could they be made Christians and, in the spirit of Mr. Kipling in the "White Man's Burthen," he claimed it was the bounden duty of the Spanish authorities to carry it out even at the cost of human lives. He illustrated his theory by the recent killing of Fray Luis Cancer, who had been slain by the Florida Indians when seeking to lead them to their own true happiness. Las Casas, in words of thrilling earnestness, while glorying in the noble life of his martyred associate, declared that his death gave no justification for violence against his slayers. They had not slain him knowingly, he claimed, as a messenger of God, but through a not unnatural error they confounded him with others of his countrymen who had previously ill-treated them. Were they to slay the whole Dominican Order under similar misapprehension, he declared it would not deprive them of their natural rights as men nor warrant warfare against them on the part of Christians. This bold assertion, be it remembered, was not the declamation of fireside philanthropy, but the conviction of one who had given up wealth and position for the hardships and dangers of missionary life among the very savages for whose rights he pleaded. It sums up the true spirit of the Catholic missionary and has been repeated in practice scores of times in Catholic history. When, in 1845, Bishop Epalle was murdered on the Island of San Christobal, as Fray Cancer had been in Florida, his priests presented a solemn remonstrance to the French commander of the vessel in which they came against the reprisal which he was prepared to take.

Persuasion, not force, they declared, like Las Casas, was the only true method for Catholic missionaries to use.

Thus, in the middle of the sixteenth century, while Catholic principles were predominant in the greatest nations of Europe, the true lines on which conversion could be effected were accurately and heroically proclaimed. It was a spiritual, not a temporal work, and the temporal agencies used in it must be wholly subordinate to the spiritual ends. Christian missionary work should only be attempted by those who held their lives ready for sacrifice in its discharge. There had been already cases in which purely human objects of conquest and the acquisition of wealth had been sought under pretext of religious zeal. The life work of Las Casas was to bring before the Christian world the true nature and principles of Christian missions. That he was not unsuccessful the subsequent history of the Spanish colonies is proof enough.

The mission work of the same century in Asia was as energetic as in America, though under widely different conditions. In the great empires of China and Japan, and the Mogul in Agra, there was no question of protection for the Catholic teachers by European military power. When Taisosama crucified twenty-six Franciscans and Jesuits in Nagasaki the Spanish Governor of Manila could only ask for the bodies of the martyrs as a favor from the powerful Emperor of Japan. In China and Hindostan the lives of all the missionaries were absolutely and without question at the mercy of the native rulers or mobs. Under those circumstances they won converts by hundreds of thousands. In Japan the Catholics in the early part of the seventeenth century were numbered at two millions, and two hundred and fifty years later a population of many thousands were found still holding the faith delivered to their ancestors by St. Francis Xavier. In China they reached probably a million and in India at least as many. A Chinese Prime Minister and a son of the great Mogul Akhbar were reckoned among Christian converts. In remote Annam, where European vessels were unknown, a Christian population of nearly a quarter of a million was formed by French and Spanish missionaries, and after fifty years' ferocious persecution it has grown to over a million in our own time. In all those lands persuasion, not force, has been the only method adopted. It is significant that conversions in Asia have been most numerous and permanent in the countries where the material influence of European nations was least. The comparison between India under English rule and Indo-China under native government in this respect is suggestive.

A point in the history of modern Catholic missions deserves more attention than it generally receives. It is that poverty has been

regarded as specially favorable to the true missionary spirit. Even Cortez, writing to Charles V. in 1529, urged that only members of the mendicant orders should be sent to convert the Mexican natives. The principle was very generally followed through all Catholic missions since. There have been no great monastic bodies engaged in building up establishments, as in the older days of the conversion of the barbarous nations of Europe. At first the religious orders all vowed to personal poverty, and later congregations moulded on similar if less strictly defined lines have been the chief agents in Catholic missions of the last three centuries. In England during the Saxon and Norman dynasties a fifth of the land belonged to the monasteries founded by the early missionary teachers of the people. In the Philippines, after three hundred years, the whole landed possessions of the orders do not form half of one per cent. of the soil, while much the larger part is still unclaimed by any proprietor. In California, after seventy years of the Jesuit missions, the royal officials found absolutely no property to seize except the churches and residences of the missionaries. A similar state of things generally prevailed through most Catholic missions. Poverty as the best condition for successful missionary work has been not only recognized but practiced in the Catholic missions to the heathen.

It should also be noticed there has been very little of narrow nationalism in them. Whatever existed was chiefly found in the Portuguese Asiatic settlements, where in some instances Spanish priests were refused a residence even as missionaries. In the Spanish dominions and elsewhere the Church knew no distinction of nationality. The German Kuhn and the Italian Salvatierra founded the earliest Californian mission. In its work we find German, Bohemian, Sicilian, Italian and even Scotch teachers indiscriminately. In Paraguay the same thing is to be seen. In China the Italian Ricci and the German Schall were the two leading figures of the seventeenth century. An Irish Augustinian, Father Esterlik, is found in the Philippines in 1640. The Italian Nobili was the most successful missionary of Southern India. The Spanish Dominicans and the French Congregation of Foreign Missions have shared equally in forming the Christian population of Annam.

As to the visible result of Catholic missionary work since the discovery of America, we must confine our inquiry to the populations which were wholly heathen at that time. It would be misleading to reckon the populations sprung from Christian ancestors, but now settled in lands beyond the seas, as a result of missionary enterprise properly so called. The Spaniards and Portuguese who settled South America and Mexico and the Irish, French and German emigrants who brought their faith with them to America or Australia

are not Catholics through the modern missionary work which we are now concerned with. We are only concerned with the number of those whose ancestors or themselves have been made Christians since the beginning of the sixteenth century. While it is not easy to get to perfect statistical accuracy, we believe it safe to say they number at least forty millions to-day. The Indian population of Mexico and Central America must reach twelve millions and that of the South American continent not less than twenty millions professing the Catholic faith. In China the Catholics number a million; in Annam, nearly the same; in India, over two millions, including the Portuguese and French territories, and in the Philippines, seven millions. The Portuguese colonies on West Africa count another million. All of these are either converts or the descendants of heathens converted to the Church since Columbus first crossed the Atlantic. They form at least a sixth of the whole Catholic population of the world.

The expansion of Christianity is essentially a spiritual movement, and its external results only partially represent its true value. Still the numerical increase of professing Christians, the substitution of Christian worship and moral standards for those of paganism or other systems may reasonably be regarded as an evidence of the spread of Christianity. To all who believe the Christian religion to be the work of the Almighty Himself its diffusion among men must be regarded as the highest progress humanity can make. In the centuries before the last it was so regarded by Catholics and Protestants alike. It is, however, a simple historical fact that missionary work for its diffusion among heathens and Mahometans at least was all but exclusively left to the zeal of Catholics. Dominicans and Franciscans and Jesuits spread the faith among the natives of America from New Mexico to the St. Lawrence, while the zeal of the New England Puritans never reached beyond the limits of Massachusetts. Catholic Japanese gave their lives for their belief by tens of thousands, while the Protestantism of Holland could give no better sign of its Christian belief to the heathen than their readiness to trample on the Cross of Christ for the sake of trade privileges in Japan.

Having thus shortly examined the nature of mission work as practiced by the Catholic Church, it is well to see what is the meaning of the same term in non-Catholic usage. On the separation among European Christians of the Reformation the religious activity of the Protestant countries was employed otherwise than in converting unbelievers to Christianity. That such work was a good one, in the abstract, was recognized by Protestants not less than by Catholics. The former, however, made little attempt to practice it for more than

two centuries after the time of Luther. It was not for lack of opportunity. England and Holland during the seventeenth century were the greatest naval powers in Europe, and both were active in colonization in heathen lands. Neither, as a power, made any attempt at introducing its religion to non-Christian races. In America Eliott, Brainerd and Mayhew preached to the Indians near the Puritan settlements and enrolled some hundreds as converts, but the work was not continued on the death of the first missionary enthusiasts. The Indians of New England were destroyed, not evangelized. In other colonies they were left to their own devices as far as religion was concerned. In India the English and in Java the Hollanders made it part of their policy not to disturb the natives with any religious teaching. Indeed, Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, seems to have practically enrolled himself as a worshiper of the Hindoo deities. The Dutch colonists in South Africa, while fanatical in the practice of their own creed, did not permit the instruction of the Hottentots in any form of Christianity. The only attempts at Protestant missions down to the close of the eighteenth century besides those already named were made by the Moravians and a few men like the German Schwartz in India. A society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts was founded in London in the days of William III., but it did little beyond some publications of translations of the Scriptures. Towards the end of that century, however, under the stimulus of the discoveries of Cook and other English navigators in the South Seas, an interest was awakened in the subject of missions to the heathen as a desirable national work of benevolence. Its course was in the following manner:

A body of ministers of the different Nonconformist sects, after long discussions in the press, finally organized the "London Missionary Society" in 1795. A gentleman named Dr. Haweis submitted a memorial to the organization recommending the South Sea Islands as the most suitable field for conversion. The reasons given, as told by Mr. Campbell, the author of "Jethro," were the following:

"Of all the regions of the earth which are yet in heathen darkness, the South Sea Islands appear to combine the greatest prospect of success with the smallest number of difficulties.

"1. The climate is unequalled. The cold of winter is never known, the trees are clothed in perpetual foliage and during most of the year bear fruit; the heat is constantly alleviated by alternate breezes, while the natives sit under the shade of groves, scattering odors and loaded with fruit, the skies always serene and the nights beautiful. The diseases which ravage Europe, unless imported, are unknown; health and longevity generally mark the inhabitants.

"2. The government is monarchical, but of the mildest form, with little authority and no written law, no use of letters.

"3. Religious prejudices are not unconquerably strong. Their priests are not invested with the power to persecute, nor can the people be averse to hear us on a religious subject, since they reverence us as their superiors on almost every other.

"4. The language is simple and may be easily acquired."

The missionary society thereon decided that a vessel should be provided with accommodation for "thirty missionaries, exclusive of women and children, and navigated by a serious captain and crew." Tahiti, the Friendly Islands, the Marquesas, the Pelew Islands and Hawaii were named as the scenes of the proposed missionary work, and "the voyage was to be profitably terminated by the vessel passing on to China and procuring a freight homeward from the East India Company."

Several thousand pounds were collected and the vessel was purchased and started on her way. She landed her missionary passengers at various islands in the course of 1797. The voyage of the *Duff*, as the vessel was named, is recognized on all hands as the beginning of the enterprises now known as missionary among both English and American Protestants. The difference between their nature and the life work of Xavier, Ricci, Brebœuf, Damien and other Catholic missionaries can be judged from the instructions given by the "Missionary Society" to the captain of the *Duff*. That gentleman's commission combined both temporal and spiritual authority as far as an ordinary mind can understand it. It ran thus by way of beginning:

"We, the directors of the institution, not only invest you with the command of the ship and with full and complete authority for the management of its concerns in relation to the voyage, but also commit to your care and superintendence during the same period the more important charge of the mission itself, and especially of the faithful brethren who accompany you therein. . . . You will cheer the spirit that is liable to droop under its anxieties, or administer the word of admonition to the disciple in danger of erring."

After some further commendation of the captain-superintendent, the missionary directors went on to the practical details of the work expected of him. He was not to approach the Sandwich Islands, as the natives there might be warlike. He was to ascertain whether the Friendly Islands or the Marquesas group offered the most favorable field for mission work as understood by the society. The points on which his decision was to be made were "the safety of our women, the supply of provisions, the products of the islands in sugar, cotton

and sandalwood and the probability of introducing our improvements" (manufactures). The captain was strictly charged to secure ample land grants, free, as a preliminary before beginning any settlement. "They" (the native chiefs) "must give us a full title to the land we may have occasion for and guarantee us the safety of our property, the enjoyment of our own laws and customs and *the undisturbed exercise of our religion.*"

To secure these concessions the captain was instructed to impress on the natives the material advantages they might expect from the new settlers. He was then to affect complete indifference to settling in that particular place and "to show a readiness to leave the island" in case the chiefs were not willing to cede the desired lands. He might make presents, if he thought fit, but they should not be considered as payments, but as gratuities.

How the instructions were practically carried out is best told in the words of the author of "Jethro." The Duff called at Tonga, and the King and chiefs were invited on board and shown the beauties of the European furniture and mirrors. A cuckoo clock especially amazed the savages. "They gazed at one another with dumb surprise and withdrew in utter astonishment. It was considered to be a spirit, on which account the natives would not touch it, and supposed if they stole anything the bird would detect them, an idea not without use," the missionary writer adds. When the natives had been thus impressed they were told that "the men whom the Duff had brought could *teach them these arts* and also better things." They seemed quite transported. The captain "wisely seized this opportunity to mention everything that could tend to exalt their idea of the missionaries, inquiring if Mumuea acquiesced in their residence with him, and also what provision he would make for their comfort. The magnanimous barbarian replied that they should have a house near his own till a more suitable one could be provided, with a piece of land for their use, and that he would see that neither they nor their property should receive the slightest molestation." The missionary captain closed with the offer and left some ministers and mechanics with their families to start the colony. They took muskets with them for the defence of their property as well as the chief's promise.

The expedition was by no means exclusively made up of religious teachers. Mechanics of different kinds, smiths, carpenters, doctors, etc., were reckoned among the missionaries. Dr. Williams, of Rotherhithe, at a parting sermon, suggested the prospect of getting married *into* the families of the chiefs as one means of promoting the so-called missionary work. "Are you not going to Tahiti?" he asked, "an island for the sake of whose sensual delights a ship's crew

has mutinied. I dissuade none of you from forming an honorable and Godly connection, but first see that it be honorable and Godly. Let not the Christian missionary, the Christian mechanic be dazzled by the prospect of alliance with the noblest families of the land with the presumptuous hope of afterwards making them Christians. Oh, may none of you be led in triumph by them *until* they are led in triumph by divine grace. *Are you wiser than Solomon?*"

We are told that on the arrival of the Duff in Tahiti one of the missionaries showed he was not wiser than the monarch in question, and made an immediate alliance with a chief's daughter. He was, however, duly read out of meeting in consequence.

The settlement in Tahiti was made under similar conditions to that in Tonga. The settlers were fairly well provided, moreover, with means of defense and attack. "They sent ashore an addition of arms and ammunition, which made their arms two swivels, eight muskets, one blunderbuss, nine pistols and nine swords, fifty-six gun flints besides those in use, powder, ball, drum and fife." This is the concise description of the chronicler of the Duff. The writer of "Jethro," shortly after making this quotation, naively declares: "In Polynesia conquest and thralldom were not the steps to conversion. The soldier and the missionary were not messmates. Gunpowder and the Gospel were not carried in the same packet." Battles between the adherents of the missionaries and their pagan brethren were recorded within a very brief period.

The Duff returned to England with a profitable tea charter from Whampoa, and Captain Wilson reported the skill, perseverance and success of the mission to the London Missionary Society. Large subscriptions followed in England, and the Duff was sent out again. The directors gave the new captain his instructions, which throw a clear light on their ideas of mission work.

"The civilization of the untutored heathen requires the united efforts of various individuals with diversified talents and the exemplification of the influence of *social institutions*. By these means a gradual and solid process towards the maturity of wisdom and goodness in the understanding and heart may be expected to be produced abundantly *in succeeding generations*."

The salvation of souls of existing men by preaching and example in the way shown by St. Paul seems to have formed no particular part in the programme of the new society of apostles. Indeed, they do not seem to have been at all sure what religious doctrines they desired to teach the heathens whom they had undertaken to convert. The directors of the London Missionary Society belonged to no less than six differing denominations, and the men whom they engaged as missionaries were examined by a committee, each of whom

held different beliefs. When the selected candidates got on board the Duff two of them held strong Arminian tenets, while the majority leaned to Calvinistic ideas on the subjects of grace and predestination. The clerical missionaries held counsel together, and the two Arminians were finally compelled to suppress any public expression of their convictions. A committee was then appointed, with the captain as chairman, *"to examine the sacred volume and report on its statements respecting Christian doctrine and ecclesiastical order."*

Swift, in his most cutting sarcasm, has hardly uttered anything to compare with this o'er true tale of a body of would-be missionary teachers trying to find out their own belief while actually under pay to teach it to others.

If there was hopeless haziness in the religious doctrines to be offered the heathen, there was strict exactness in the directors' instructions regarding the material business of the enterprise. Captain Robeson, who had been gunner on the first voyage, was given command on the second expedition, though associated with a clerical assistant for the "more spiritual branches of the mission." The captain was ordered to regard the stations established or to be established not merely as missions, but "little models of a Christian community," an economy of well regulated families. "The principle of utility" was to guide the location of "missionaries" in particular localities. "At Tonga there is at present no smith" was one reminder. "Two surgeons were to be left at Tahiti, but only one in every other island." He was to find some "island furnishing argillaceous earth" for mission work, because one of the brethren engaged "understood the business of pottery." The instructions about securing lands and "comfortable accommodations" for the missionaries and the warnings about giving nothing in payment for the same, were identical with those given to his predecessor.

It is evident enough from these particulars that the actual objects of the London Missionary Society were quite different from those which have been associated from the beginning with Catholic missions. They are very much the same as those of the English East India Company or Hudson's Bay Company. To secure lands, to build up trade, to plant colonies, agricultural or manufacturing, in foreign lands are objects which had been attempted many times since the days of Columbus by the different nations of Europe, but no one had dreamed of calling them by the name of missions. Alvarado and Cortez and Raleigh and Hudson had gone forth on such errands before. It was reserved for English intelligence, in the eighteenth century, to take up colonization under the name of religious zeal. Commercial enterprise, school teaching and sending doctors and mechanics to earn a living in foreign lands may be good works in

themselves, but they have nothing in common with the work by which Christianity has been spread over the world.

The commercial character of the so-called missions in Polynesia, as well as their results for the natives, may best be told in the words of Dr. Anderson, the official missionary historian of Hawaii. He writes:

"The cost of the Sandwich Islands mission (to the American Board of Missions) up to 1869 was one million two hundred and twenty thousand dollars; that of the Micronesian mission, one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Should we compare this cost with that of *railroads, steamships, naval expeditions*, or a single week in our late Civil War, the sum would not appear large. Its contribution was *the result of the interest awakened by this very mission*. The isles of the Pacific have been a *productive working capital* both in this country and Great Britain by reason of the early and great success of missions among them at the outset of the mighty enterprise of the world's conversion. They were missions to the more accessible and plastic portions of the heathen world, pioneer and, in a sort, tentative missions, and we may well doubt whether, without them, missions would have been prosecuted on a large scale in India and China."

When we are told in the *Literary Digest* of New York that a sum of twenty-five millions was gathered for missionary purposes in this country last year, we cannot deny that in a financial point the investment of twelve hundred thousand dollars in the Hawaiian mission between 1820 and 1869 was a profitable one for the gentlemen who have the disposal of the missionary funds. It is especially so, as the twelve hundred thousand was raised not out of the pockets of the board which expended it, but on the strength of "the interest awakened by the mission." In every country where wealth abounds men are ready to apply it to objects of public interest. Mr. Carnegie is devoting his millions to founding libraries, Mr. Rogers left his wealth to a museum of antiquities, James Lick, an ignorant and ill-tempered mechanic, left a fund for an astronomical observatory. In like manner numbers are found to give freely to missionary bodies who can "awaken interest" by accounts of undefined philanthropic works to be done in distant lands. No fault need be found with these applications of money, but it is wholly misleading to confound any of them with the quality of Christian charity as practiced by a Vincent de Paul, a Peter Claver or a Don Bosco. It is the same with the application of the term "missionary" to the commercial enterprises which have assumed that name in English and American usage. No one likes to hear the title belonging to a Damien applied to the collectors of loot in Pekin or the overthrowers of the native

government in Hawaii, however large the revenue resulting from such a misappropriation of names may bring to the appropriators.

The essentially commercial character of the great run of the so-called missions finds further illustration in Dr. Anderson's pages on Hawaii. The mission there had begun in 1820 and the "missionaries" had contracts with the board which gave them a right not merely to support while at work, but also to provision for their families after a certain period. "In 1848 an application was received (by the American Board of Foreign Missions) from five families for permission to come home with twenty-five children, and there were sixteen other families in the mission that would soon be similarly situated. Should an unqualified assent be given to those asking permission, the next year might be expected to bring home twelve more members of the mission and more than thirty children. With such precedents, should they be followed, it would require but a few years to withdraw almost every family."

One thinks he is dealing with a body of covenanted civil servants as he reads Dr. Anderson's account of the troubles of the American Board on this occasion. Like the pension list of our army, the retired missionary stipends threatened to bankrupt the organization. The difficulty was averted, however, by quartering the pensioners, in large part, on the native government, as officials or occupants of the lands made over for missionary purposes. This illustration of the spirit of the missionary work in Hawaii needs no comment.

However satisfactory, in a financial point, the work of Protestant missions has been to those engaged in them, the results to their objects have been different. Dr. Anderson, indeed, declares that "the value of God's grace at the islands as set forth in his volume is beyond the reach of human calculation." We fully agree with this statement, but there are certain tangible results required before we can pronounce the imposition of new ways of life on a people a "work of divine grace." The doctor admits that it is hard to say satisfactorily whether the Hawaiian people were nationally Christianized or not at the close of the great awakening in 1841. They were "rude in their dwellings and social habits and were sadly wanting in thrift." However, he maintained that it would not be any less true that the Hawaiian nation had been evangelized, and the "foreign mission work completed," *should the nation cease to exist* at no distant day. Morality had so far advanced "that *female virtue is a known fact* in these sunny islands where a few years ago the name was unknown and the fact unheard of."

"We are laboring," Dr. Gulick, another missionary, writes, "not alone for the Hawaiians of the present, but with an eye to the Anglo-Hawaiians of the future (including the missionary children), and the

higher we lift the race the more influence do we exert on the people that are to succeed them."

Material profits are counted down closely by the present standard in the ledgers of the American Missionary Board. The spiritual advantages of conversion, it seems, are to be obtained among another race in the distant future. The spirit and objects of so-called missionary work as practiced by the large majority of Protestant associations in our own time are, we believe, fairly illustrated by the history of the Duff and of Hawaii as told by their directors. To plant colonies of families professing some form of Protestant belief in foreign lands as models for the heathens, to supply them with ample resources of civilization, to maintain themselves in social comfort and to furnish professional services as doctors and teachers to such as are willing to employ them appear to be the chief agencies relied on to spread belief in the Christian faith among men. For that the contributions of the benevolent at home are asked by the missionary directors. Payments are made to employés on strictly commercial principles, but whether any Christian doctrines are spread abroad or not is quite immaterial. If the heathen to-day die in their ignorance or vices, either their children or some other conquering race will yet be Christian in the lands they now occupy, at least so it may be hoped.

In describing the general character of the "missionary" work carried on at the present time under Protestant auspices we do not mean to say that individual instances of genuine zeal for the spread of Christianity may not be found in Protestant missions. We recognize it in the work of Eliott or Brainerd in former times, or in the aspirations of Berkeley or George Heber. Men like these, however we differ from their creeds, have at least a conception of missionary work. In that they are world apart from the commercialism which finds its work in building up colonies, securing lands and trade privileges and sending out unemployed professional men to be supported on the alms of benevolence collected in America or England.

It is of special importance for Catholics to realize that these commercial or literary enterprises which assume the name of missionary have nothing in common with the work to which thousands of both men and women are giving their lives to-day in foreign lands. A Massaja and a Jacobis in Abyssinia, a Chanel or a Battailon in Oceanica, a Venard, a Cornay or the martyr Bishops, Hermosilla, Ochoa, Henares or Delgado in Tonquin, Father De Smet or Bishop Demers in our own country were all in name and fact missionaries. Their labors must not be forgotten or derided because some thousands of men indifferent to dogma or conversion to any creed have taken to themselves the title of missionary. As the abuse of free

interpretation of the Scriptures made the name of "Biblicals" of ill repute among Catholics, though the Sacred Scriptures are the special deposit of the Catholic Church, so there is risk that the missionary name may become synonymous with mere material greed and unctuous cant in the ears of Catholics among ourselves. It is a matter of regret that vocations to the mission life have been hitherto scarcer in English-speaking countries than among the Catholics of France, Spain, Italy or Germany. The deficiency may, possibly, be in a part connected with the low idea of "missionary work" made familiar to the American and English public by the methods of the commercial missionaries of our own time. It is well that the distinction between such and Catholic missions should be widely known and recognized.

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CHRISTIANITY AND PAGANISM IN ROME DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD.

I. FROM THE ACCESSION OF CONSTANTINE TO THE DEATH OF MAXIMIN (A. D. 306-313).

BY the abdication of Diocletian at Nicomedia on the 1st of May, 305, and on the same day, by mutual agreement of Maximianus Hercules, his colleague at Milan, Galerius became sole master in the East and Constantius Chlorus in the West; while under them Flavius Severus and Daza, afterwards known as Maximin, governed, with the title of Cæsar, the first the provinces of Italy and Africa, the second Syria and Egypt. This arrangement prepared the way for the execution of God's design to establish in the centre and stronghold of paganism a Christian Emperor. It placed upon the throne of half the empire Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, whose marble statue set up in his lifetime in the Baths named after him in Rome has kept guard for centuries at the entrance of the Lateran Basilica, mother and mistress of all the churches.

Constantius Chlorus is described by Eusebius in glowing terms. "Of the four Augusti he alone kept peace with God: the others razed the churches and oratories of the Christians to the ground, he never soiled his hands with their ruin: the others slaughtered the worshippers of the true God, he always preserved his soul innocent of

that crime: the others were sunk in the lowest superstition and slaves to demons. He allowed liberty of worship to all, they harassed their subjects with taxes and made life more miserable to them than death. Constantius was the only one of the four who ruled in peace, and whose government was paternal."¹ These qualities must have endeared him to his people, but they also made the senior Augustus regard him with diffidence if not suspicion, and when it was hinted that although the people might be contented, the coffers of the State would be found empty, a commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate and report. When Constantius heard this, he called the most wealthy of his subjects and told them that he was in need of money, and asked them to show their friendship. They responded at once by filling his treasury with gold, silver and other precious articles, each one trying to outdo the other. He then invited the messengers to inspect the collection and report to their master what they saw. After their departure he recalled the donors, thanked them for their ready generosity and directed them to take back their property and return to their homes.²

This anecdote is an example of Constantius' mild and paternal rule: Eusebius relates another incident which reveals another feature in a higher level. A fresh persecution arose, and special orders were sent to the Governors of the provinces all over the empire to exterminate the Christians. The signal was given in the imperial palaces, which contained numerous officials and dependents professing the faith, and countless martyrs suffered at the time. Constantius, too, received orders to put the edict in force, but evaded the command by a stratagem. He summoned to his presence all the palatine dependents, from the lowest class of servants to the highest rank of judges, and put two alternatives before them, requiring from them an immediate choice. If they consented to sacrifice to the idols, they might remain in the palace with their customary emoluments; if they refused to sacrifice, they would be dismissed from his service. When they had all made their choice and ranged themselves on opposite sides, Constantius addressed them, disclosing the purpose he had hitherto kept secret; sternly rebuked those who had weakly conformed, and praised the recusants for their steadfast adherence to their religion. The former, he said, were traitors to their God and unworthy to serve their prince, and he dismissed them from his service; the others he took into his special favor and appointed to offices of the greatest responsibility.

Eusebius proceeds to contrast Constantius with his colleagues, and to set in relief his virtuous life, his belief in one only God, his abhorrence of polytheism, his house blessed with the prayers of holy

¹ Eusebius, "De Vita Constantini," I., xiii. ² *Ib.*, xiv.

men, his whole family, wife, children and servants consecrated to the King, God, so that the multitude that was congregated in his palace differed in nothing from an assembly of the faithful: among the rest there were also some ministers of God, who prayed without ceasing for the Prince's welfare, while elsewhere the very name of Christian could never be mentioned.³

The attitude of Constantius towards the Christians, both during his subordinate position as Cæsar and after his elevation as Augustus, was peculiar. Perhaps it is going too far to say with Eusebius that he never gave execution in his States to the latest proscription of Diocletian. Lactantius is probably more exact when he writes that in order not to seem in conflict with his colleagues, "he suffered all their meeting places, a few bare walls that could easily be built up again, to be cast down without doing any harm to the living temple of God, who dwells in man."⁴ Compared with the other princes who reigned at the time, he was no persecutor. Tolerant of all worships, and with a special leaning towards Christians, among whom he had many friends, he made no objection when his wife Helen joined them some years after her marriage. But he himself never professed the faith, although he willingly conversed with priests and Bishops and made them welcome in his circle. His condition of mind was not singular at the time; a broad spirit of toleration had become common among the educated classes; paganism had lost its hold on their intelligence and even on their imagination; they were tired witnessing the cruel punishments inflicted on those who refused to give divine worship to what many of themselves treated with scorn. Christianity, too, was beginning to be a power that had to be reckoned with, not from fear of a rebellion among its adherents, but from a dread in those who wielded power, of the chastisements that so often fell on its oppressors. The veneration of Eusebius for Constantine the Great and the enthusiasm which makes his life of that Emperor a panegyric rather than a history may perhaps affect also his description of Constantine's father; but the moderation of Constantius Chlorus is testified many years after his death by the words in the petition of the Donatists to Constantine: "We make our petition to you, O Constantine Emperor, because you come of an upright stock; your father, alone among the Emperors, never enforced the persecution, and so Gaul was spared the infamy."⁵

³ Eusebius, "De Vita Constantini," I., xvii. ⁴ "De mortibus persecutorum," XV., "Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum praeceptis videretur, conventicula, id est parietes, qui restitui poterant, dirui passus est, verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolume servavit." ⁵ "Rogamus te, Constantine Imperator, quoniam de genere justo es: cujus pater inter caeteros imperatores persecutiones non exercuit: et ab hoc scelere immunis est Gallia." Optatus, "De Schismate Donatistarum," I., xxii.

Constantine was born in 274. He was the eldest of a numerous family. He spent his earliest years in the house of his father, under the care of his mother Helen, who became a Christian some years after his birth, and after passing through the sorrow of a forced separation from her husband, imposed for reasons of state, and a long widowhood, lived to an advanced age in the exercise of charity and devotion, to die a holy death and merit the veneration of the Church as the Empress Saint down to our own day. In the tolerant circle of his father's home the boy was brought up, making the acquaintance of many Christians, learning something of their religion, familiarizing himself with their belief and observances and profiting by their conversation and example. When Constantius was promoted to the rank of Cæsar and had the province of Gaul assigned to him it did not suit the policy of Diocletian to allow Constantine to accompany him to the seat of his government, where he would naturally be looked upon as heir presumptive to his father in the West, because it was his design to substitute adoption for heredity in the succession of Cæsars. He accordingly requested Constantine to remain in his service, where he was soon in high favor, one proof of which was his being selected to accompany Diocletian in his progress through Palestine and taking the first place on his right hand on ceremonial occasions. His features were handsome, his figure tall and majestic and his dignified bearing made him the centre of observation in every assembly, but his modesty gave a special grace to all his movements. His cultured mind, his knowledge of classic writers, his discretion and prudence, his activity, insensibility to pleasure and many virtues marked him for a career of great distinction. He took part in the wars of Egypt and Persia and rose to the rank of tribune of the first class. His surroundings at court and in camp were very different from what he had been accustomed to at home, but the new examples did not efface the impressions of his early youth in Gaul. He was not seduced, but repelled, by the manners of his new associates, although he carefully endeavored to conceal his feelings. He was particularly indignant at being made to witness the cruelty of the persecution on one of its first victims, and his hatred of the cruelty increased his contempt for the chief actors and his sympathy for the sufferers. The jealousy of the two Emperors, Diocletian and Galerius, especially of the latter, who in the declining health of Constantius Chlorus was looking forward with confidence to the time when his death would leave him sole master, was a cause of anxiety to Constantine, and he seized the opportunity when Galerius reluctantly consented to his father's repeated request and gave permission to visit him, to depart immediately, and by forced stages he succeeded in outstripping the pur-

suers sent to intercept him. He arrived at Boulogne when the Emperor was about to cross the Channel on his last expedition to Britain; a victory over the Caledonians finished the campaign. Very shortly after Constantius died in the imperial palace in York, on July 25, 306. He was buried with due honor, and the army at once unanimously elected Constantine, who presented himself in his father's purple and was enthusiastically applauded. Galerius when he heard the news thought it prudent to dissemble his chagrin, and accepted the accomplished fact, giving, however, only the title of Cæsar to Constantine. He, too, adopted tactics of dissimulation, and resolved to wait for his opportunity.

Severus, a favorite of Galerius, meanwhile received the title of Augustus. But his reign was of short duration. The Romans, disgusted at the arbitrary violation of their privileges by the minions of Severus, who neglected the government and lived away from the city, chose Maxentius, son of Maximian, in his place. Maximian joyfully left his seclusion to support the fortunes of his son; his experience, ancient dignity and reputation in arms added strength to the party of Maxentius. At his request Maximian resumed the purple, and when Severus, roused from his indolence, made an attempt to enter Rome he was repulsed; and, compelled to surrender after a battle near Ravenna, at the command of his conqueror put an end to his own life. Constantine and Maximian were now near neighbors and almost face to face. The latter crossed the Alps, had a personal conference with Constantine, made an amicable arrangement with him, and gave his daughter Fausta in pledge of the alliance. Constantine was now trimming and watching the approaching conflict between the masters of Italy and the Emperor of the East and deliberating how he might best serve his safety or ambition in the event of war. The situation of both, exposed to similar dangers, drew Constantine and Maximian together in spite of their difference of character, and they united their forces in common defense.

Galerius made an unsuccessful attempt to recover Italy and returned into the East. He raised his friend Licinius to the rank of Augustus in place of Severus. This promotion provoked the jealousy of Maximian, who was vigorously engaged in the oppression of Egypt and Syria, and disdaining to bear longer the inferior title of Cæsar, extorted that of Augustus. The Empire was now, for the first time, governed by six Emperors: Maximianus Herculeus and Maxentius in Rome, Severus in Italy, Constantine in Gaul, Galerius and Maximian in the East. Bitterly opposed to each other, they cautiously refrained from open hostility till after the death of the two older princes. Maximian fell a victim to his own severity and ex-

actions, which irritated the populace and provoked the prætorians to revolt, and to escape their fury he left the city. Maxentius, his son, was elected by the soldiers in his place as absolute sovereign. Maximian first took refuge in Illyricum, but Galerius, who knew his treacherous disposition, did not think himself safe till he expelled him from his dominions; he then fled to the protection of his son-in-law, Constantine, in Gaul, who received him honorably, but refused to be drawn into his quarrel with Maxentius. In his exile he did not relinquish his intrigues; detected twice in a conspiracy against Constantine, and pardoned, he abused the generosity and hospitality of his benefactor by plotting against his life. Constantine was this time relentless, and gave to Maximian the choice of the manner of his death; he chose hanging.

Galerius in 310 was attacked by a malady which is described in details too revolting to be repeated by historians of the time. An abscess formed in his body and turned to cancer, which did not confine itself to the surface, but penetrated to the entrails. Myriads of worms swarmed over the living carcass and filled the air with a pestilent odor. It was the punishment of the most notorious persecutors of God's people in the Old and New Testaments repeated in Galerius, worthy successor of Antiochus and Herod. No skill of physicians availed to alleviate his sufferings, and in despair he turned to the gods. Both Esculapius and Apollo failed him; an oracle of the latter divinity prescribed a remedy which only aggravated his malady.⁶ Then he bethought him of the God of the Christians and of his cruel treatment of them; and emaciated with pain and half his body rotting away and the other half enormously swollen, he resigned himself to the humiliation of surrendering to the Majesty of God, professing repentance and imploring forgiveness and a respite from the torments he could bear no longer. From his sick bed at Sardica he issued an edict which was published at Nicomedia on the last day of April, 311, bearing his name and the names of his colleagues, Constantine and Licinius. It is not known whether the draft was submitted to them, but Galerius might well depend on their consent, for Constantine was not a persecutor and Licinius only a half-hearted and intermittent one, as he thought it politic. The text has been preserved to us by Lactantius in Latin and in a Greek translation by Eusebius.⁷ It is as follows:

"Among many measures which we were promoting for the public good we desired long ago to restore uniformity of discipline in accordance with the ancient laws and customs of the Romans, and especially to bring the Christians who abandoned the religion of their fathers to a better mind. But such was their obstinate folly that they could not be brought to follow the ancient observances

⁶ Lactantius, "De morte persec.," xxxiii. ⁷ Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl.," viii., 17.

ordained by their founders, but invented regulations at their caprice, and in several places collected congregations who met apart. At last when we commanded them all to return to their ancient customs many obeyed through fear, others suffered punishment; still the great majority persevered in their obstinacy, and now we see that they neither give honor and worship to the gods of the country nor due reverence to the God of the Christians. Prompted, therefore, by our extreme clemency and our habitual disposition to be lenient with every one, it has seemed good to us to extend our indulgence also to them and to allow from this time forward Christians to exist as such and to permit them to resume their assemblies, provided nothing is done against the public peace. In another letter we shall give instruction to the magistrates for their guidance. For this our indulgence let them pray to their God for our safety, for the prosperity of the State and their own security. This edict is given at Nicomedia on the day before the Kalends of May, in the eighth year of our consulate and the second of Maximin's."⁸

In this singular document one does not know what to marvel at most. False statement, insidious suggestion, hypocritical pretence, to give to the cruelties of his persecution a justification in the interest of the State and of the Christian religion itself. He puts himself forward not as a repentant persecutor, but as an unsuccessful reformer. He laments that the Christians have fallen away from their primitive simplicity and split into sects. The remedy he now applies is a general absolution, or plenary indulgence, for the past and liberty to worship as they please in the future. With impudent audacity he overlooks his own atrocious deeds, done for the interest of the Church; how the confessors were condemned to the mines, maimed and crippled by previous torture; how the oratories were rifled and destroyed, the sacred books and registers burned or carried off, the arenas of the amphitheatres reeked with the blood of martyrs and the pyres were still smoking. This edict, insolent and abject at once, a masterpiece of hypocrisy and dissimulation, concludes with a petition for the prayers of the Christians, disguised under words of dubious meaning.

Galerius did not long survive the edict of toleration. A few weeks after its publication he expired in terrible suffering, recommending with his last breath his wife and son to the protection of Licinius, who had hastened to his bedside in appearance out of affection for his friend, in reality to be ready to lay hands upon his inheritance. This friend two years later put both wife and son to death.

The superscription prefixed to this edict in the version of Eusebius does not contain the name of Maxentius, who ruled in Rome and its

⁸ "De morte persec.," xxxiv.

district, or of Maximin, who governed the provinces of Syria, Egypt and Cilicia, in the East. The authority of Maxentius was not recognized by Galerius, but there was peace in the regions under his rule and no occasion to promulgate an edict of toleration for the Christians at that time. In the East the condition of the Christians was far different. Maximin, "that most wicked of men and deadly enemy of religion," as he is called by Eusebius, ranked by Saint Jerome in his enumeration of the greatest persecutors, Valerian, Decius, Diocletian, Maximian, "saeuissimus omnium Maximinus"⁹—the most ferocious of all—gave the edict an evasive execution. He did not dare to suppress the document altogether, but would not publish the text. He gave verbal orders to Sabinus, Prefect of his Prætorium, to write a circular letter to the prefects of the provinces embodying the prescriptions of Galerius' rescript and commanding the judges to set at liberty all who were in prison on account of religion and abstain from further persecution. The letter of Sabinus is given by Eusebius:

"For a long time the majesty of our sacred Lords the Emperors, in their constant anxiety to make all men lead pious and regular lives, used every endeavor to bring those who had gone after strange rites and customs back to the worship of the immortal gods. But the pertinacity and obstinacy of some have now gone so far that neither the command of the Emperor nor the fear of penalties deters them. Seeing, therefore, that many are in trouble on this account, our invincible princes, in their clemency, have ordered us to signify to you that when a Christian is brought before you charged with following his own religion, you are to set him at liberty immediately, and not permit him to be punished in any manner. For experience has shown that no persuasion will ever make them change. Write accordingly to the superintendents (curatores) and magistrates of the various districts and towns and let them understand that henceforth they have no jurisdiction in such matters."¹⁰

The officials obeyed this order with alacrity, believing in the sincerity of Maximin and that they would gratify him by their promptness. The transformation that ensued immediately was marvelous. "Like fires from heaven lighted on earth, shining brightly after the darkness of a long night, churches were reopened in every city and filled with congregations of the faithful, celebrating the sacred mysteries with accustomed ancient rites."¹¹ The heathens wondered at the sudden change and many confessed that only the one true God could have wrought it. The confessors liberated from prison were acclaimed with the honor given to martyrs who had faithfully fought; those who had in their weakness hesitated or fallen away came

⁹ In cap. II. "Zachariae." ¹⁰ "Hist. Eccl.," ix., 1. ¹¹ Ibid.

repentant to ask the mercy of God and the prayers of their brethren. Those who had been condemned to hard labor in mines and quarries were welcomed as victors from the athletic contests and accompanied in groups to their homes as they went joyfully through the streets singing canticles and hymns to God.

When the Christians were congratulating each other on the end of the persecution Maximin was chafing under the mortification and planning a more terrible trial for them. Six months had not passed from the promulgation of the edict when the Emperor Galerius died, and Maximin became sole ruler in the East. Two competitors were in wait for the succession of Galerius, Licinius and Maximin. Constantine stood aloof. Diocletian, secluded in his retreat at Salone, did not interfere and was not even consulted. At first it seemed that the question would be referred to the sword, and that a civil war would decide the result. This was, however, avoided by an amicable arrangement between the two rivals to divide the spoil. An incident occurred at this time which embittered the hostility of Maximin to the Christians: Valeria, daughter of Diocletian and widow of Galerius, rejected the addresses of Maximin, who aspired to marry her, offering to repudiate his own wife. The refusal of Valeria exasperated Maximin, and supposing that her objections arose from religious scruples, a relic of her Christian profession which she renounced to wed Galerius, he resolved to have his revenge on them and began to study how he might do this without coming to a breach with his colleagues.

He now initiated that insidious policy which best suited his character of duplicity, pretending moderation while steadily advancing towards the most extreme severity. He craftily availed himself in the first place of the ambiguity of the edict and of the fact that it had never been formally published in the dominions subject to his rule. With caution and prudence he was assured of his ultimate object—the destruction of the Christians. Less than six months after the death of Galerius he began by revoking all concessions made to the Church. The oratories over the martyr's tombs were the first object of his attack. The veneration of those champions of the faith, his own victims, appeared to him an insult and a defiance. In October, 311, he interdicted all assemblies in the cemeteries. By degrees he came to regard the Christians as a low caste of an inferior race outside the protection of the law, too contemptible as yet to be punished by fire or sword. But his blows fell heavy on them; coldly deliberate, and calculated to cut, but leaving no trace of a wound.

His next move was to create a fictitious public opinion favorable to his policy, to make it appear when the time came for him safely to use more rigorous measures that he was only yielding to the pres-

sure of his subjects. He employed emissaries to start a general agitation against the Christians for their banishment. Maximin was not content with giving directions, but made a progress through his States and received deputations and preconcerted petitions from various towns, asking for the expulsion of the Christians. He found an efficient lieutenant and organizer of popular opinion in Theotecnus, a wily, cruel and unscrupulous man, who held the office of *Curator*, or chief municipal magistrate in Antioch. Before the year was ended he had notices posted in the chief cities of the province with false charges against the morals of the Christians and old calumnies revived. The petitions and rescripts, decrees of banishment and other sentences were inscribed on tablets of bronze or marble and affixed to columns erected in the forums or market-places.¹² To rouse still more the populace he appealed to their superstition. He invented a new divinity, dedicating a statue to Jupiter Philius, Jove the Gracious, which was consecrated with a new ceremonial and execrable rites. The worship had its initiations, mysteries and expiations—parodies of baptism and penance. An oracle was installed with priests in charge, and its first utterance was a command to expel the Christians. Other cities imitated the example of Antioch, and Maximin, to preserve uniformity and order in the new cult, instituted a gradation of functionaries in imitation of the Christian hierarchy, with its Bishops, priests and deacons. In the capital city of the province a high priest, *Sacerdos*, was head of the whole organization; in the smaller towns a "*flamen*" was the local superior. They had both spiritual and temporal authority, symbolized one by a white mantle, the other by an armed body-guard. Inferior officers were appointed to inspect and keep order—on the whole, a fair attempt at a counterfeit. By extraordinary ceremonies Maximin endeavored to revive reverence for idolatry, and by slander to bring contempt on the belief and practices of the Church. Directly attacking the person of Christ, he scattered false gospels broadcast among the people and sent them to the provinces with orders to the magistrates to make them widely known. He had counterfeit Acts of Pilate, with a description of the trial and judgment of Christ filled with impious blasphemy, distributed in the schools, to be committed to memory by the children and recited in their exercises of declamation. The malignity of the enemy went the length of suborning dissolute women to present themselves in the

¹² An inscription in Greek and Latin was found at Arykanda in Asia Minor. It contains part of a petition from the inhabitants of Lycia and Pamphylia to Maximin in 311, asking him to expel the Christians, who are called "atheï," so that the citizens may be free to give themselves to the worship of the gods and pray for the welfare of the emperor and his colleagues. A few lines of the answer in Latin are preserved on a separate fragment. Apparently it was favorable to the petitioners. See De Rossi, "*Bullettino di Archeologia Sacra*," 1894, p. 54.

tribunal as converts from Christianity and testify to infamous deeds of ordinary occurrence in their assemblies. The false testimony was recorded in the proceedings of the court and reported to the Emperor, who ordered it to be affixed in the forum of every city under his jurisdiction.

We have followed thus far the progress of Maximin's animosity against the Christians in this the last of his persecutions. Beginning with his vexatious and cruel treatment of the two princesses and their sympathizing friends, his antipathy grew from a personal dislike and desire to be revenged to generalize in its hatred all who professed their religion. Up till now he had not shed a drop of blood, but he had no longer any fear of active interference on the part of his colleagues, and decreed the commencement of a violent persecution at once. The magistrates were commanded to resume the search for Christians, which had been suspended after the latest edict of toleration, with special orders to seize first all the Bishops and priests conspicuous for their activity in preaching the faith. The list of martyrs would fill the pages of a martyrology. Silvanus, who had been Bishop of Antioch for forty years, was condemned with three others to be thrown to the wild beasts; Peter of Alexandria was beheaded with a number of Egyptian Bishops; Lucianus, a priest, was carried to Antioch and cast into prison, where he was slain; Methodius of Tyre, and many more, suffered in various ways. All who were in any way prominent fell victims, but the Emperor's agents disdained to make a process against obscure persons, and it was in this way that Saint Anthony the Hermit was defrauded of the martyr's palm, to obtain which he had left his cave in the desert. He received instead the staff of the patriarch and became the father of a progeny of holy imitators of his solitude that will never fail, but will form a circle of glory round his head for all eternity.

Maximin congratulated himself on the favor which the gods were showing after the revival of fervor in their worship through his exertions. He could not refrain from thanking the gods in terms of triumph for the fair weather of the summer of 311 and the promise of an abundant harvest. Eusebius has preserved his manifesto, copied from the bronze tablet on which it was inscribed in the forum of Tyre. It begins by congratulating the citizens on recovering their spirits and bidding them trust in the protection of the immortal gods, who had already shown so many signs of their benevolence. He tells them that their city deserves to be called the home of the immortals, and continues: "Preferring the public good to your local petty interests, you appeal to us to protect the religion of the country. In reward for this Jupiter and the other divinities are showing you how they provide for you. It is by their special favor

that the earth does not reject the seed you sow ; that the sun does not burn everything up, and drought wither the crops ; that you do not suffer from floods and storms and earthquakes and other calamities that carried disaster so frequently during the past years when error was allowed to run rampant. Rejoice that by your prayers and sacrifices the warlike Mars has been appeased and peace restored. Most of all, let those rejoice who have been delivered from their blindness—like men recovering from a dangerous illness, who find that life has still some benefits in store for them. If any persist in their detestable error they shall be banished according to your petition, that your city, purified from their contamination, may be free to give itself entirely to the gods. To show our pleasure in receiving your petition without waiting to hear what other requests you have to make, we grant them all in reward for your piety.”¹³

This is a specimen of a pagan discourse, probably inspired by some of the neo-platonic favorites who at that time swarmed in the palace precincts. It is a song of triumph chanted too soon, just at the eve of the final defeat of idolatry. The event very quickly gave the lie to the prophetic part. A famine and a pestilence followed immediately this boasting defiance, and a war in Armenia ended in disaster to Maximin. Three scourges came together to confound the arrogance of the tyrant. The distress of the people, in the country and in towns, was extreme, among the wealthy as well as the poor. Rich proprietors were reduced to sell their land for food, ladies were seen in the forum holding out their hands for alms, men like ghosts dragged themselves wearily along or stumbled in their exhaustion and lay prostrate on the ground, weakly imploring a crust of bread. Corpses were left unburied and devoured by dogs, and men who had still a little strength left hunted the voracious starving animals and killed as many as they could to stamp out a species of rabies that made dogs attack the living. The wealthy and well provided with food did not escape the pestilence, which rather seemed to single them out, the rapid but acute suffering of the malady always ending fatally. Everywhere was desolation ; in the streets, lanes and open spaces where music and song before resounded nothing but wailing was heard.

During this calamity the devotion and charity of the Christians to sufferers without distinction astonished the pagans, who could not conceal their admiration. Dividing themselves into groups for the various sections of the city, they were seen in turn taking charge of the sick and dying or burying the dead, who otherwise would have mostly remained abandoned in their houses or in the streets. They divided their bread with the famished, and their generous self-sacri-

¹³ Euseb., “Hist. Eccl.,” iv., 7.

fice regained the esteem of the grateful populace who had been disaffected to them for a time by misrepresentation and fraud, and extorted even from their enemies the highest praise. The proud tyrant himself had to bow his head to the visible chastisement of Divine justice and cease from troubling the people of God. The taunt of Eusebius is well deserved: "*Hujusmodi praeium fuit superbissimae illius Maximini jactantiae, et decretorum quae civitates adversus nostros ediderunt.*" "This was all that Maximin gained by his proud boast and the decrees of the cities against us."¹⁴

He had yet to pay the last penalty of his wicked deeds in a most abject humiliation and in a painful malady that reduced him to a condition as miserable as the end of Galerius.

But it was not Maximin, but Maxentius, who accelerated the catastrophe of paganism, and in order not to lose chronological sequence in the narrative we must return to the West and describe important events that were maturing there. Maxentius in Rome emulated the enormities of Maximin in Nicomedia. He began by affecting a leaning towards the Christians; he forbade all prosecutions and put on the mask of a pious and merciful ruler. Soon he cast it aside and perpetrated every sort of abominable crime, sparing no class or order of victims to gratify his avarice or passion. For a trifling fault he ordered a general massacre of citizens, committing the slaughter to the praetorians. Individual Christians had to suffer from the extortion and vices of the Emperor, but collectively they enjoyed a certain toleration and even favor. The Christians had no complaint to make of their treatment by Maxentius, and it was even after the declaration of war between the two competitors that he issued his famous edict ordering restitution of the property confiscated from the Church and authorizing Pope Melchiades to recover legal possession of it along with the cemeteries.

Religion was really not the cause of the brief war that ended so disastrously for idolatry. On pretence of avenging the death of Maximian, Maxentius, in 311, declared war on Constantine and ordered all the statues that had been erected to him in Italy and Africa to be cast down with ignominy; then made preparations to invade the Gallic provinces. Constantine, anticipating him, crossed the Alps at the head of forty thousand men, to carry the war into Italy. The enterprise was full of danger; the armies of Maxentius amounted to a hundred and seventy foot and eight thousand horse. But the hardy, well disciplined legions of Gaul, trained by the intrepid, self-denying invader, were more than equal to a contest with troops enervated by indulgence and luxury in the capital under an inexperienced commander.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, ix., 8.

Constantine led his army over Mount Cenis and descended into the plains of Piedmont, arriving before the fortified city of Susa before the court at Rome had notice of their departure from the banks of the Rhine. The siege did not detain them long; they set fire to the gates and stormed the place, putting to the sword the greater part of the garrison, but the remains of the city were preserved from total destruction. A doubtful engagement with an army of Italians in the plains of Turin, furnished with heavy cavalry after the fashion of the East, ended after the flight of the Maxentians to Turin, where they found the gates shut against them, in the slaughter of almost all by the victorious pursuers. Milan, Verona and the whole of Italy between the Alps and the Po embraced with enthusiasm the party of Constantine. Verona, an important place with a strong garrison under Pompeianus, could not be left in the rear of an army advancing upon Rome and had to be reduced by siege; then two roads, the *via Aemilia* and the *via Flaminia*, were open to Rome.

Maxentius had not himself left Rome during the campaign because an oracle had menaced his life and Empire if he left the city. He sent his best generals in his stead. His resources were still great; an army was at his command more numerous than the armies lost in the two great battles in the north, before Turin and Verona. But it was far from the intention of Maxentius to lead his army in person. He trembled at the apprehension of such an untried experience as the exercise of war, but had to bend to the contempt of the people. Meanwhile Constantine rapidly advanced till within sight of Rome and pitched his camp at a place called *Saxa Rubra*, an excellent strategical position for an invading force, distant from the city about eight miles. To his surprise and satisfaction, he found the enemy ready to give battle on the north side of the river, where it is crossed by the *Milvian Bridge*, and prepared to dispute the passage. Lactantius says:

"The morrow was the sixth of the *Kalends* of November and the anniversary of the assumption by Maxentius of the imperial purple and the termination of the *Quinquennalia*. Constantine was admonished in his sleep to mark the heavenly sign of God upon his shields, and give battle. He did as he was commanded, and ordered the letter X with the upper bar bent across, the monogram of Christ, to be emblazoned on all the shields. Armed with this sign they advanced to the attack. The enemy approached to meet them, but without their Emperor, and crossed the bridge. The two opposing vanguards closed in assault. Both sides fought bravely; neither thought of retreat. News of the battle reached Rome; a riot broke out in the city; the people complained that the Emperor had deserted the public weal. Then of a sudden the populace (gathered together

in the circus for the games given that day) raised a loud cry, 'Constantine is invincible!' Terrified at the shout, Maxentius roused himself from his lethargy, and calling together some Senators had the Sybilline Books brought to be examined, and it was found that on that very day an enemy of the Romans would perish. Flattered by this answer as an assurance of victory, he took his place at the front. After he passed the bridge broke down. At the sight the battle raged more fiercely, and the hand of God was stretched over the array. Maxentius, filled with terror, turned in hasty flight towards the bridge that was broken in two, and crushed by the multitude of fugitives fell into the river and was drowned."¹⁵

Lactantius, it is to be observed, was a witness beyond criticism, an intimate friend of Constantine, no dreamer or repeater of idle stories, called by the Emperor himself to be tutor to his eldest son Crispus, and must have received from Constantine's own mouth the account of this important event in his career.

Of equal authority, and in greater detail, Eusebius gives two accounts, one brief, in his history, and another more complete, in his "Life of Constantine."¹⁶ Of both what follows may be considered a sufficient summary that can be controlled by the references:

Constantine was extremely anxious when he first entered on his campaign against Maxentius. He had come to be persuaded that more than military force and skill was required to overcome an enemy formidable by the number and experience of his legions, and was considering to what heavenly power he should recommend his cause. He had lost all faith in the divinities of Rome, and he remembered that his father, who alone of all the Emperors had never persecuted the Christians, never suffered an eclipse of his prosperity, and contrasted his success with the disastrous and miserable end of all who had persecuted the Christians, although they were assiduous in paying worship to the national gods. The failure of such protectors to help in time of need did not invite Constantine to put his confidence in them in his present difficulty, and troubled and undecided, he turned to the half-determined conception which he had learned from his father of a Divinity one and supreme, and besought Him to give some visible sign for his guidance. His prayer was heard.

A little after mid-day, when the sun was beginning to descend towards the horizon, he saw a flaming cross in the sky, over the sun, with the words: "Hac Vince," "By this conquer." He himself and all the soldiers who accompanied him saw the miraculous sign and were filled with astonishment. Constantine was still revolving

¹⁵ Lactantius, "De morte persecutorum," xliv. ¹⁶ Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl.," ix., 9. "De Vita Constantini," I., xxvii., 31.

this in his mind when night fell, and during his sleep God's Anointed, "Christus Dei," appeared to him bearing the sign which he had seen in the sky and commanded him to have a military standard made like it, to be carried in front of the troops as a safeguard in battle. The Emperor employed skilful workmen to fashion the standard, which consisted of a tall staff plated with gold, having a shorter transverse beam forming a cross. On the top of the staff was a wreath or crown, wrought of gold and precious stones; in the centre of this wreath were designed the first and second letters of the name of Christ in Greek, X P, the P decussate in the middle.¹⁷ These letters the Emperor adopted also to ornament his helmet. From the transverse beam of the staff was suspended a purple banner of costly material, richly embroidered with gold and pearls and precious stones, beautifully wrought and of magnificent effect. Between the wreath and monogram at the top of the staff and the embroidered banner a medallion was fixed containing busts of Constantine and his sons. Similar standards were provided to every division of the army to be borne in front.

Constantine made his entry into Rome on October 29, the day after the battle. At the head of his victorious army, with the Labarum carried for the first time in triumph, he went direct to the Palatium. He was met at the city gate by the whole Senate and equestrian order, their wives and families, and an immense crowd gathered to welcome him. He went direct to the Palatium, accompanied by the acclamations of an ever-increasing multitude, who in their eagerness to see their deliverer pressed forward almost to pass the "sacrum limen" and invade the precincts of the imperial quarters.

Immediately after the battle at the Milvian Bridge he issued an edict putting a stop to the persecution of the Christians. This edict has not come down to us, but it contained certain limitations and restrictions which Constantine on reflection considered unfair and remedied in the edict which he signed with Licinius in the following year, 313. He gave orders to place the trophy of the cross, as the Labarum came to be called, in the right hand of a statue which the Romans were about to erect in his honor in a public place in the city. He himself dictated the inscription: "By this saving sign, the badge of true valor, I liberated your city from the slavery of a tyrannical yoke and set free the Roman Senate and people, restoring

¹⁷ Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl.," ix., 9. "Vita Constantini," I., 27-31. He introduces his account of the vision by saying that he tells it in his history as Constantine himself related it to him many years after, when Eusebius was admitted to his familiarity, confirming its truth by an oath: "Horis diei meridianis, sole in occasum vergente crucis tropæum in coelo ex luce conflatum, soli superpositum, ipsis oculis se vidisse affirmavit, cum huiusmodi inscriptione: Hac Vince. Eo viso et seipsum et milites omnes, qui ipsum nescio quo iter facientem sequebantur, et qui spectatores miraculi fuerant, vehementer obstupefactos."

them to their ancient dignity and splendor."¹⁸ The Senate appointed the 28th and 29th of October to be kept every year with the celebration of public games, and inscribed in the civil calendar as "Evictio Tyranni: Adventus Constantini," in memory of their deliverance. It was rather a work of supererogation to decree to the victor the title of First of the Augusti, but Constantine was politic enough to accept it gravely. By the same authority a temple to Romulus in the forum was rededicated to his honor, and a triumphal arch was hastily constructed out of material from old buildings and bas reliefs taken from an arch to Trajan transferred to adorn the monument to Constantine.¹⁹

Constantine was merciful in the exercise of severity to the leaders of the defeated faction, putting only the son of Maxentius and some of his most cruel and unprincipled agents to death. But the prætorians, who had so long domineered over Rome and made themselves the ready instrument of every changing tyranny, were disbanded and abolished forever, and their fortified camp, a perpetual menace to the city, dismantled. Rome had regained her liberty.

One of the first acts of Constantine after his victory was to send a peremptory message to Maximin to cease from persecuting the Christians. This communication, conveying almost a threat in case of refusal, Maximin did not dare to disregard openly, but he gave it a very ungracious compliance. Instead of frankly disavowing or revoking the policy of the past and promising toleration in the future, he limited himself to sending a rescript to the Prefect of the Prætorium, counselling him not to use violence but persuasion and gentleness in his efforts to bring the Christians back to idolatry.

Constantine did not insist on more at that time, but he was busy preparing a document which was to lay the foundation of the whole fabric of successive legislation in ecclesiastical policy. This was what is known as the Edict of Milan, promulgated in the beginning of 313, with the consent and superscription of his colleague, Licinius, then a faithful ally. The dispositions of the edict were not new; they were substantially the same as those ordained in the rescripts of Gallienus fifty years before, addressed to the Bishops, and later

¹⁸ Euseb., "Hist. Eccl.," ix., 9.

¹⁹ An inscription on both fronts of the arch is important from the veiled allusion, "Instinctu Divinitatis," to the divine inspiration conducting Constantine to victory:

Imp. Caes. Fl. Constantino Maximo
P. F. Augusto S. P. Q. R.
Quod instinctu divinitatis mentis
Magnitudine cum exercitu suo
Tam de tyranno quam de omni ejus
Factione uno tempore justis
Republicam ultus est armis
Arcum triumphis insignem dicavit.

(Under the central arch: Liberatori Urbis. Fundatori Quietis.

decreed again by Galerius in his edict of 311; with regard to church property "*loca ecclesiastica*," it had been anticipated by Maxentius in his missive to Pope Melchiades. But those previous decrees were political expedients, serving a temporary purpose or promoting a particular policy of the ruler of the day; this edict is the formal expression of a fundamental principle to be held and applied for all time to come and inherent in the very essence of the organized body that was receiving its first solemn charter. It abolishes every disability and consecrates the liberty of the Christian conscience to worship according to its laws. The following is a version of the text from Lactantius, preceded by the introductory paragraph given by Eusebius, but omitted by the earlier writer:

"It is now some time since we, recognizing that religious liberty is not to be restricted, but every one left free to worship as he pleases, ordained that Christians and all others should continue to follow the belief and observances of their respective sects. But because in that decree an invidious distinction was made among the members of various sects, some gave up their religious practices.²⁰

"Therefore We, Constantine and Licinius, Emperors, discussing in friendly congress at Milan certain matters affecting the peace and happiness of the people, especially concerning the public worship of the Divinity, have agreed to grant to the Christians, and to all persons, liberty to profess any religion they please, so that the Deity who presides in His heavenly dwelling may look down appeased and gracious upon us and all our subjects. Moved by these just and salutary considerations, we ordain that no one is to be hindered from following the observances of the Christians or conforming to that religion which they prefer, and this in order to merit a continuance of the favor of the Supreme Deity before whom we all freely bow down. You are therefore to abolish all restrictions formerly imposed on Christians by former instructions through your office, and henceforth permit every one who wishes to practise the Christian religion, to follow his choice without let or hindrance. We wish you to understand distinctly that we give absolute and entire liberty to the said Christians to worship according to their religion. You must also remember that we have given the same free and public exercise of other religions for the sake of peace, because we have no desire to diminish respect to any form of religion. Furthermore, with regard to the Christians, we ordain that if the places where they were accustomed to assemble have been confiscated, even by written orders through your department, either by our Fiscal or by any other person soever, they are to be restored to the Christians without cost or expense, setting aside any opposition

²⁰ Eusebius, "*Hist. Eccl.*," x., 5. What follows is from Lactantius.

or evasion. All who have received property of theirs in gift must restore it as quickly as possible to the Christians; all who acquired it, either by purchase or gift, if they wish to appeal to our benevolence, may petition us through the Vicariate, and their case will be considered. All this property is to be conveyed to the body corporate of Christians without delay. And as the said Christians held not only the places of meeting, but other property belonging to the corporation, that is to the churches, not to individuals, the whole is included by this decree, beyond doubt or question, to be restored to the corporation and meeting places in the manner aforesaid, and any one who is obliged to give back without compensation may hope in our benevolence. In everything endeavor to favor with all your power the body of the Christians, that our orders may be more speedily executed and public security secured. In this way the Divine favor, which we have often experienced, will endure to the happiness of our people and the success of our undertakings. In order that the tenor of these dispositions may be universally known, we direct copies of this decree to be sent in every direction, that this solemn act of our benevolence may escape the notice of none."²¹

Constantine and Licinius sent a copy of the Edict to Maximin, who pretended friendship for both. Tyrant as he was, it irritated him, but on reflection he did not suppress it altogether, but sent as of his own accord a message to Sabinus, his prefect, in the form of a letter. He begins by enumerating all that he had done to bring about a reconciliation with the Christians, and ascribing his failure to their obstinacy. He refers to his desire to be indulgent and to the petitions that poured in upon him asking for their reduction to submission or expulsion. He wished to satisfy these petitions whenever he ascertained that the majority desired it, as he had proved in the case of Nicomedia and other places from which he had banished the Christians, but this could not always be done; and he doubted if the majority really wished their banishment. He accordingly recommends the magistrates not to employ severity, but gentle persuasion, in their efforts to convert the Christians, and avoid harsh or cruel treatment, protect them from injustice and plunder and for the choice of a religion let them have their way. He concludes by directing Sabinus to communicate these instructions to all the provincial governors.²²

No one was deceived by this manifesto; the Christians did not avail themselves of the indulgence, no assemblies were held, no Christian avowed himself publicly. Unlike the concessions of Constantine and Licinius, which made meetings lawful, the edict of Maximin only forbade them to be riotously broken up.

²¹ Lactantius, "*De morte persec.*," xlviii. ²² Eusebius, "*Hist. Eccl.*," x., 5.

The presumption and arrogance of Maximin and his violation of the convention with Licinius soon brought him into collision with the latter. Two months had been sufficient for Constantine to put everything in order in Rome, and in December, 312, he went to Milan to meet Licinius, who was coming to marry Constantia, the sister of Constantine. When Maximin understood that they were occupied in the festivities he seized the opportunity—although it was mid-winter and his troops were reduced in numbers and weakened by privations and want of forage for their horses—to make an irruption into Bithynia. He crossed the Hellespont in safety, but his progress was arrested before the walls of Byzantium, where Licinius had left a strong garrison to protect it from a surprise. The place held out for eleven days, but had to surrender. Maximin was again delayed before Heraclea, which also yielded to him. Licinius hastened his advance to repel Maximin, and the two armies were almost in sight of each other. An engagement was unavoidable; the position was perilous from the inequality of numbers. The army of Constantine was far away on the banks of the Rhine and could not give any assistance, but the soldiers of Licinius had heard of their exploits, and, inspired by the account of the Divine intervention, made light of the numerical superiority of their opponents, trusting that God would give them the same good fortune. They were irritated, too, by the ostentatious supplications ordered by Maximin in his camp to propitiate the heathen divinities. The tyrant, before the battle which was to decide his fate, placed all his confidence in the power of superstition, the help of his familiar demons and the multitude of his legions, and vowed to Jupiter, if he was victorious, to extinguish the very name of Christian.

Licinius, on the other side, either from a passing conviction or from political calculation, put his cause under the protection of the Deity who had so powerfully assisted his colleague, Constantine. The war on both sides became a religious war. The night before the battle an angel was said to have appeared to Licinius and promised that if he prayed in the morning with his whole army, in certain words, he would have the victory. Licinius obeyed. Copies of a prayer taught in the dream were distributed among the soldiers, to be learned by heart. As day dawned a prayer preserved to us by Lactantius,²⁸ containing an invocation of One Supreme God, was read in front of the army. An extensive plain, called Campus Serenus, stretched between the hostile ranks. The Licinians, officers and men, took off their helmets, laid their shields on the ground, then raising their hands to heaven, recited together in a loud voice after the Emperor: "Most High God, we beseech Thee,

²⁸ Lactantius, "De morte persec.," xlv.

Most Holy God, we beseech Thee. We commend to Thee our just cause; we commend to Thee our safety; we commend to Thee our rule. By Thee we live, by Thee we are victorious and happy. O God, most High, most Holy, hear our prayers. We stretch out our hands to Thee. Hear us graciously, most Holy, most High God."²⁴

This invocation, three times repeated, made such an impression that Maximin consented to hold a parley with Licinius, to spare, if possible, further carnage, but would not agree to terms of peace. The trumpets sounded the attack, and both armies closed in a struggle, hand to hand. The onset of the Licinians was so impetuous and well sustained that it swept all before them. Maximin made futile efforts to harangue the soldiers of Licinius, and offered bribes and threats to induce them to desert, but in vain. No one listened to him, and at last, to save himself from their resentment, took refuge behind his own lines. He quickly saw that the situation was desperate, divested himself of his imperial mantle, and disguised as a slave made his escape from the field unobserved, was able to cross the straits, and in a day and a night reached Nicomedia, his capital, a hundred and sixty miles distant. Taking with him from Nicomedia his wife and children, he pushed on into Cappadocia, where he gathered a few fugitives. Licinius followed close, entered Nicomedia, which capitulated, and on the thirteenth of June, 313, published in that city the edict which five months before had been signed by Constantine and himself in Milan.

Maximin continued his flight into the mountainous region of Taurus, and finally took refuge in Tarsus. It was here that he issued a proclamation giving his adhesion to the Edict of Milan, not in express terms, but in a diluted paraphrase of the original, sufficiently distinct to commit him to it. But it was superfluous, and it came too late. He had not the satisfaction or merit of even tardily setting the Church free in Asia, for it was the Edict of Milan, affixed by Licinius when he passed through Nicomedia, that made the law in the East as well as the West. The text of the edict of Tarsus has only come down to us through a copy made by Eusebius.

The efforts of Maximin had all failed him signally. His legions were routed, he himself had been a fugitive wandering many weeks in woods and deserts, cursing the soothsayers who betrayed him with false prophecies, and he put some of them to death. He had to engage in battle a second time, when again his army was defeated. He did not even die the death of a soldier, for when the remnant of

²⁴ "Summe Deus, te rogamus. Sancte Deus, te rogamus. Omnem justitiam tibi commendamus, salutem nostram tibi commendamus, imperium nostrum tibi commendamus. Per te vivimus, per te victores et felices existimus. Summe sancte Deus, preces nostras exaudi. Brachia nostra ad te tendimus. Exaudi, sancte summe Deus." Lactantius, l. c.

his troops was waiting for his arrival to be led to the assault, a mysterious malady spread over all the surface of his body; he was seized with violent pains and convulsions that cast him violently on the ground, where he rolled in agony with eyes starting from their sockets—his body reduced to a skeleton, the cage of an imprisoned spirit. In despair, and to escape capture, he resolved to end his life by poison, and after the fashion of some suicides of his time, ate and drank to excess before swallowing the draft. His overloaded stomach rejected it and his suffering was prolonged and aggravated. For four days he was a raving maniac, stuffing his mouth with earth scraped from the ground with his fingers to appease his hunger. Striking his head against the wall, he knocked out both his eyes. He fancied that he saw God in anger presiding as a judge at his torture, and kept imploring in pitiful cries the mercy of Christ, till, screaming as if he were being burned alive, he expired.

Thus ended the race of persecutors of the name of God. For Licinius did not imitate after his victory the moderation of Constantine. By his orders Valeria, the widow of Maximin, was thrown into the Orontes and her son and daughter massacred. All who by blood or friendship were supposed to be favorable to the defeated party were put to death. The daughter and widow of Diocletian, Valeria and Prisca, constrained to apostatize by him, persecuted by Maximin and hunted in their obscure retreat by Licinius, were at last arrested in Thessalonica and barbarously beheaded and cast into the sea.

Well may Lactantius ask, before closing his book, "*De Mortibus Persecutorum*," "Where are now the illustrious names of the Jovii and Herculei, famous in every region of the earth, which Diocletian and Maximian were the first arrogantly to usurp, and which became vile when they passed to their successors? For the Lord hath destroyed them and cut them off from the earth. Let us then keep God's triumph with gladness; let us sing the praises of His victory; let us celebrate by praying, by day and by night, that the peace which He has granted to His people may be confirmed unto them forever."²⁵

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²⁵ Euseb., "*De mort. persec.*," lii.

CATHOLIC FRANCE PRIOR TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.¹

DURING the reign of the unfortunate Louis XVI. the population of the Kingdom of France is said to have been 33,000,000 souls, the great majority of whom were Catholics.

The fabric of the Church comprised :

Archbishops	18
Bishops	117
Bishops in charge of Foreign Missions.....	11
Canons and Prebendaries.....	800
Ecclesiastics, including dignitaries and priests.....	308,000
Parishes and churches.....	34,498
Parochial annexes having chapels.....	4,644
Universities	24
Academies	36
Heads of religious communities of men.....	16

No kingdom in Europe at a corresponding time, with the exception of the Two Sicilies, had so numerous a hierarchy as that of France. The number of ecclesiastics, dignitaries and priests far exceeded that of any other nation in Europe, while the aggregate of parishes having churches exceeded that of Spain by about 15,000, Spain at that epoch having the largest number of any nation in Europe except France.

In the cities of France there was an aggregate of 960 hospitals, with free beds and attendance for the sick or for those accidentally injured. There were, where most needed, asylums for foundlings, for orphans, for the blind, for deaf-mutes; refuges for incurables, for the aged poor, for helpless cripples, and in fact, "for all the ills that flesh is heir to."² These works of mercy were served by eighteen different orders of religious women, whose head houses were principally in Paris, the mother superior of one of which, renowned for the holiness of its community, had been a princess royal of France, daughter of Louis XV. This is a noble showing for the women of France who had consecrated their lives to religion and to works of mercy.

Some of these institutions had been founded by devoted women who won success by prayer and hard work; others by wealthy ladies of the nobility, and many by ladies of the bourgeois classes. Their financial foundations had been securely arranged, mostly on immovable securities, which had been augmented from time to time by benefactions.

It is an historical fact, however, that many of the financial founda-

¹ "Œuvres de M. Le Vicomte de Chateaubriand." Tome troisième. Génie du Christianisme. Paris, 1836. Œuvres complètes; d'Alexis De Tocqueville. L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution. Huitième Edition. Paris, 1877. ² "Génie du Christianisme, notes et éclaircissements," p. 335.

tions which gave stability to most of these institutions in the cities of France had not been built by members of the royal family nor by wealthy nobles, but by the charitable munificence of wealthy merchants and individuals of the untitled classes.

A parallel of the same charitable spirit among the last named classes at a corresponding time could be found in London, where the guilds of merchants, traders and manufacturers built and liberally endowed hospitals, lying-in asylums, orphanages, boarding schools for boys and girls, libraries and other educational help for apprentices and other young people in service.

While as a rule the wills of deceased British noblemen provided only for relatives, leaving little or nothing for charity, the wills of wealthy merchants and tradesmen usually devised large sums for the institutions founded in by-gone days by their predecessors in their respective lines of trade.

Centuries ago the heads of many of the great monastic orders obtained from the Court of France concessions of large tracts containing many thousand acres of marshy and otherwise apparently irreclaimable lands, a portion of which they proposed to improve, and on which in time was to be built a religious establishment for the members of their respective orders.

These domains at the time could not be sold by the government for agricultural development or even given away for farming purposes to individuals, for the reason that their reclamation would cost more money than was generally available to the average agriculturist. When the tract had been patented to the religious order, with the royal seal in evidence, the chief of the order sent a small colony of monks, including a civil engineer of the brethren, experts in geological knowledge, woodsmen and strong laborers, to their new domain, who were to define and outline with landmarks its boundaries, which being done, its landscape was studied, its soil examined and search made for water, for clay, for gravel and sand, for wood and building materials, and for sites for quarries, while a system of drainage was devised by which swampy places could be converted into ponds and marshes into small lakes, in the vicinity of which, if water was procurable, a suitable site could be made available for the building of an abbey.

The respective plans for all these improvements were mapped out for submission to the abbot when this colony of pioneers returned to their parent house. The process of the study of the plans submitted and the discussions resulting may have exhausted a year or more of time, but when finally adopted and approved by the head of the order they were rarely deviated from and changed only when unexpected difficulties developed such a necessity.

Such part only of the *ensemble* as might be deemed preliminary was undertaken and placed under the direction of a monk skilled in the science of civil engineering who went to the scene of operations in charge of a party comprising assistants, but largely composed of robust lay brothers familiar with hand field labor. A commissary who had charge of the supplies and who was also a cook prepared the simple meals essential for the support of the bodily vigor of men engaged in open air daily toil.

This work was continued during the favorable seasons of each year; suspended at the approach of winter, when the party returned to their monastery, to return again the following year; and so, from year to year, was continued to completion, when another part of the plan of general operation was commenced and carried out in the same systematic manner.

In the process of such vast undertakings time was not taken into account; year after year was passed in this methodical work, just as weeks and months might pass during such operations in modern times. A quarter of a century might elapse before the corner-stone of a monastery would be laid; but how changed the surroundings!

The great domain which when first acquired was so unsightly and so unattractive to human vision had been transformed. Marshes had disappeared and had given place to pretty lakes and sightly ponds, which met the eye in every direction. Great meadows, in which herds of fat cattle roamed and grazed, had replaced the unsightly levels of nature's original landscape. Groves of choice timber, orchards and vineyards, fields of grain of great extent, acres of vegetables, farm buildings and granges gave evidence of thrift and agricultural perfection. As a framework of so much that was agreeable to look upon, graveled roads bordered by umbrageous and well trimmed trees, which shielded the wayfarer from the summer heat, traversed the extensive domain throughout. Even the cottages of the herdsmen were sightly in appearance and nicely surrounded. The domain cultivated to the highest extent yielded by its products a very large income, while it attested the economic results which had been accomplished by the "lazy monks," as they have been stigmatized by uninformed and prejudiced writers.

In time the corner-stone of a monastery was laid by the Archbishop of the province with religious pomp and ceremony. The edifice was gradually built; the material principally used was the more or less sightly stone quarried on the domain. Very little foreign material, except glass and metal, was required.

The same deliberate methods of building from approved plans ensued; but for the decorative work, whether in glass, metal or in wood, experts in each were brought to the scene and retained until

the completion of their specialties. In the same manner the minor organs for the chapels and the refectory, and also the grand organ for the church, were erected and completed during the course of years by skilled organ builders.

When the walls of the chapels, of the great halls, of the refectory and of the church had become thoroughly dry some artist of renown was solicited to come to the monastery to make it his home during the years he was occupied in painting the designated scenes and subjects on the respective walls and ceilings, while it has happened that the painter thus occupied became charmed with the religious surroundings and spent the remainder of his days in the monastery.

The monastery and church when completed were consecrated with great religious ceremonial and grandeur by the Archbishop of the province, and occasionally by the same prelate who had a decade of years previously laid the corner-stone of the grand edifice.

In this manner were the extensive domains acquired and the celebrated monasteries built during the sixteenth, seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries by the great non-educational orders in France. These monasteries were usually endowed by the Government of France with the right of asylum, while their mitred abbots became the local rulers of their respective districts and the mediators, and at times the defenders, of the peasant when his feudal lord became too exacting or tyrannical. While they were centres of holiness, they were also the providence of the poor; from their portals were daily distributed alms, and from their dispensaries remedies for the needy sick.

But some of the great monasteries of France, with others in Europe, became also the centres of learning where much patient study by erudite monks developed and enriched the literature of the past for their own as well as for succeeding generations.*

The term made use of by some modern writers, having reference to some exhaustive literary study, "It is a Benedictine work," is significant in relation to what we have written.

Towards the close of the reign of the unfortunate monarch Louis XVI. the possessions of the Catholic Church in France having an acknowledged legal status, whether in immovable estate or in securities yielding income, represented an aggregate capital of 7,000,000,000 francs, which, even under the paternal administration of religious custodians, yielded an annual income of 200,000,000 francs, equivalent to a much larger sum in modern times.

This large capital, which had been accumulating during centuries, included in its aggregate the extensive domains of the great monas-

* *Monastères de l'ordre de St. Benoît. Histoire de la Congrégation de St. Maur,* p. 154.

teries of France. Competent writers have stated that the beneficiaries of this income, from the highest to the most humble functionary or dependent, numbered in the aggregate 400,000.⁴

After the death of Louis XIV. a great change was developed in the *entourage* of his successor, Louis XV. Profligate noblemen became the intimates of the King, while corruption at court and immorality in the salons of the palace succeeded. The honest and distinguished statesmen who had composed the Cabinet of the Grand Monarch, and who had governed France wisely and well, had retired to their estates. Their successors were noblemen of mediocre ability, who sought wealth from the patronage and spoils of office, to the great detriment of the welfare of France.

When the moderate balance left in the treasury by the late monarch had been squandered without national benefit, but to the advantage of courtiers, profligates and especially to their mistresses, and the treasury of France had been depleted, recourse was had to the levying of annual imposts on the merchants and traders of France, while to supplement these exactions the rate of general taxation throughout the kingdom was raised and new taxes created to add to the heavy burden carried by the patient and enduring people.

Wars ending unfavorably, usually followed by treaties of peace, which but too frequently resulted in the loss of distant possessions, marked the reign of Louis XV.

After Louis XVI. had succeeded to the throne of France morality ruled in the court of this unfortunate monarch which had so long been redolent with immorality and corruption. While the financial status of the realm was unsatisfactory, it was by no means hopeless of reform. It was hoped that salutary measures might correct the evils of the preceding reign, which if uninterrupted would in time restore the equilibrium. But such was not to be the experience of the government of Louis XVI.

Under the rule of his predecessor it had become convenient to augment the receipts of the treasury by the sale of the local offices and governmental positions in the hamlets, the villages, the towns and the cities of France. These officials levied the taxes, arranged the *corvées* of the peasants, fixed the imposts and collected the proceeds. Those who were in a position to purchase these offices were not as a rule honest men; they were in many cases neither intelligent nor fair minded. This system of collecting the revenues of France had for years been open to the reproach of dishonesty and corruption.

⁴ "Financial Relations of Church and State in France." By R. R. Elliott. AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 61, Vol. XVI., 1891.

During its continuance the rural classes, being the most helpless, were the greatest sufferers, and to such an extent that the French peasant had become callous to nearly all sentiment of nationality, which feeling has become more or less hereditary. Under the different systems of government which have succeeded the peasant of France has remained indifferent; *laissons nous tranquille* has become his motto.

Before the close of *l'ancien régime* this feeling of disgust and indifference probably tended to the success of the French Revolution. The taxes of the rural classes had been increased ten-fold during the eighteenth century.

The later years of the reign of Louis XVI. were marked with financial troubles. A debt of 600,000,000 francs had been piled up for public improvements, while the creditors of the government clamored for reimbursement in vain.

It has been generally admitted that the philosophical writings of the eighteenth century were among the principal causes of the Revolution, while it is also admitted that these writings were profoundly irreligious.

Radical propositions were advocated for the abolition of all privileges of caste and class; of professions as a consequence; the sovereignty of the people; the omnipotence of social power, and the uniformity of rule.

All these doctrines formed the essence of the French Revolution, while they are among its fundamental errors.

The spirit of Voltaire had prevailed to a great extent during the eighteenth century. "I have given much attention to the study of history," writes M. De Tocqueville, "but I have found no revolution which at its commencement numbered so many men whose patriotism was so sincere, so disinterested and so truly great."

The nation was open to the principal faults of inexperience and generosity. And yet irreligion had become an evil of immense extent.⁵

The advocates of these new doctrines became possessed with a furious hatred against the Church. They attacked her hierarchy, her clergy, her institutions and her dogmas; while for her complete destruction they attacked the foundations of Christianity itself. This was the apparent motive, but it covered a war against the Church as a political power controlling wealth and influence. It was admitted that the Church could take its place in the new society to be created, but she had occupied an influential position in the old society, which they proposed to annihilate.

The bourgeois classes of the period showed a spirit of indepen-

⁵ De Tocqueville, "*L'Ancien Régime et La Révolution*," p. 230.

dence; they held a greater number of official positions at the time than the same classes hold in modern times. These had been obtained by purchase without being subject to the exactions of those in power. The *ancien régime* prior to its collapse was not a period of servility and dependence. Greater liberty was enjoyed then than a century later; but it was irregular and intermittent. But the only man of superior education who resided permanently among the rural classes and who was always in immediate control was the *curé*.

The clergy of France during the greater part of the eighteenth century, while occasionally intolerant and at times inclined to cling to the ancient privileges of their order, were always opposed to despotism, while favorable to civil and political liberty as much as was the third estate or the nobility. It will be remembered that they numbered, including all classes, nearly 367,000. They proclaimed that individual liberty ought to be guaranteed, not by promises, but by procedure similar to the habeas corpus; they demanded the destruction of the prisons of state, such, for instance, as the Bastille; the abolition of exceptional tribunals, of evocations, the publication of all debates, the immovability of all Judges, the admissibility of all citizens to public functions which should be open to merit only; a military recruitment less oppressive and humiliating to the people and from which none should be exempt; the purchase of seigneurial rights which emanating from feudal *régime* were contrary to liberty; freedom of labor; the abolition of interior custom houses; the multiplication of private schools, of which one should be in each parish and free; the establishment of lay circles for benevolent relief or charitable bureaus in all districts, and all necessary aid to be given for the encouragement of agriculture.

In politics they proclaimed more vigorously than others that the people of the nation had the imprescriptible and inalienable right to assemble for the making of laws and to vote for the impost. No Frenchman, they claimed, should be forced to pay taxes for which he or his representative had not voted.

The clergy also demanded that the States General, freely elected, should hold annual sessions for public discussion of important affairs; that they make general laws, against which no private inherited rights or usages could be opposed; that they prepare the budget and control up to the "*maison du Roy*," that their Deputies should be inviolable and Ministers always responsible to them. They also wished that the assemblies of the State should be created in all the provinces and municipalities in all cities.

Of Divine right, adds M. De Tocqueville, not the least mention.

This liberal disposition in the policy of the clergy was not produced by momentary excitement; it was in evidence in 1779 in the

province of Berry by the offer of the clergy to contribute 68,000-francs on the sole condition that the administration of the province be maintained.

Notwithstanding the views of some of its members, there does not appear in history a parallel body more remarkable than the Catholic clergy of France at the outbreak of the French Revolution; nor more enlightened, nor more national, nor more endowed with private virtues and at the same time with faith, as their persecution has well demonstrated.

"I commenced the study of the *ancien régime* clergy," states M. De Tocqueville, "greatly prejudiced against the order as a class; I have concluded this study with profound respect. In fact, they had only the faults inherent to all political as well as religious bodies which have been well and solidly constructed. They were to some extent combative, occasionally intolerant, while they held a more or less blind attachment to the rights of their collective order."⁶

The storm, like a bloody whirlwind, finally burst over France. Never were the people of a Christian nation so outraged and so brutally scourged as were the French during the *reign of terror*. No example can be found in Scriptural or in political history which can be compared with that bloody epoch. A race of demons seems to have matured in Paris and in other cities whose red hands executed the mandates of the leaders, who in turn ruled and then perished on the guillotine. The most gifted and the most brilliant of the leaders of the revolutionary period went down one after the other, engulfed in the sea of blood.

No better illustration of the animus of the leaders of the French Revolution need be offered, to show their communistic spirit, than the proceedings following the decree of the Revolutionary Assembly in August, 1793, for the destruction of the abbatial Church of St. Denis. It would seem that the Frenchmen composing this convocation had denationalized themselves, so to speak. They seemed to have forgotten that France had had a glorious history; that during the ages of chivalry her line of monarchs, including St. Louis, were the most illustrious in Europe.

The destruction of the monuments and the desecration of the tombs, the last resting places of the Kings and princes of France from the seventh to the closing years of the eighteenth century in the abbatial Church of St. Denis, as witnessed and described by a learned monk of the abbey, during the later years of the "reign of terror," is given *verbatim et literatim* by the Viscount Chateaubriand in his note 46 to his "Génie du Christianisme:"

"Nous donnerons ici au lecteur," writes the Viscount, "*des notes bien*

⁶ "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution," p. 170.

précieuses sur les exhumations de Saint Denis; elles ont été prises par un religieux de cette abbaye témoin oculaire de ces exhumations."

This monk, who was evidently well posted in the genealogical history of French royalty, first outlines the locality of the tombs of the ancient monarchs, which were intact during the first decade of August, 1793, when the edict for the destruction and desecration of all within the sacred enclosure was decreed by the Revolutionary Assembly of 1793.

We reproduce this learned monk's narrative to illustrate the destructibility of the fabric of posthumous national veneration which had obtained during ten centuries by the representatives, so-called, of the people of France during the mad epoch of the French Revolution.

In the sanctuary on the epistle side was the tomb of King Dagobert I., the founder of the abbey, who died in 638, with the two statues in hard stone of this King, the one recumbent and the other erect.

The commissioner appointed by the Assembly was instructed to remove all works of art deemed worthy of preservation to the national collection of fine arts. This seems to have been preliminary to the work of desecrating the caskets. These were lined with lead. Their contents were shoveled out and carted to the old Valois cemetery, where a deep pit had been dug to receive them. In this cemetery was an agent of the commissioner with a furnace, who received all the lead lining the caskets or tombs and melted it into bars to be cast into bullets for the use of the Republican army.

The tomb of Dagobert I. was a fine work of art, representing the vision of a hermit which was said to have appeared to the soul of the dead monarch. The recumbent statue illustrating this legend formed a part of the solid tomb. This had to be broken to obtain access. The erect statue was also broken. Near by was the statue of Queen Nanthilde, wife of Dagobert, which was destroyed.

Toward the choir window, on the same side, near the iron grating, was the tomb of Clovis II., son of Dagobert, who died in 662; that of Charles Martel, father of Pepin, who died in 741; that of Pepin, his son, first King of the second race, who died in 768, adjoining which was the tomb of Bertrada, his wife, who died in 783.

On the Gospel side of the sanctuary was the tomb of Carloman, son of Pepin and brother of Charlemagne, who died in 781. Adjoining was that of Hermentruda, wife of Charles *le chauve*, who died in 869; that of Louis III., son of Louis *le Bègue*, who died in 882, and that of Carloman, brother of Louis III., who died in 884. The tomb of d'Eude *le Grand*, uncle of Hughes Capet, who died in 890, and of Hughes Capet, who died in 1038; that of Henri I., who died in 1000;

of Louis VI., *dit le Gros*, who died in 1137; that of Philippe, eldest son of Louis *le Gros*, who was crowned during the lifetime of his father and who died in 1131; that of Constance of Castile, second wife of Louis VII., who died in 1159. All these monuments had been constructed during the reign of St. Louis in the thirteenth century, and they all contained stone coffins about three feet long containing the ashes of the princes and princesses. The monuments mentioned above were constructed of hard stone.

The monuments described in their order following were of marble, with the exception of two, which should be noted, as they had been constructed during the century in which had lived the personages whose ashes they contained: The tombs of Philippe *le Hardi*, who died in 1285, and that of Isabelle of Aragon, his wife, who died in 1272, were both hollow, each containing leaden caskets three feet eight inches long, containing the ashes of Philippe and of Isabelle; that of Philippe IV., *dit le Bel*, who died in 1314; that of Louis X., *dit le Hutin*, who died in 1316, as also of his posthumous son, Jean, who died the same year as his father, aged four days, during which the child was considered King, but by most historians not reckoned among the Kings of France. At the foot of the tomb of Louis *le Hutin* is that of Jeanne, his daughter, Queen of Navarre, who died in 1349. Near by was the tomb of Philippe V., *dit le Long*, who died in 1321, containing also the heart of his wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne, who died in 1329; also that of Charles IV., *dit le Bel*, who died in 1327, and Jeanne d'Evreux, his wife, who died in 1370. In the chapel of Notre Dame la Blanche, on the epistle side, Blanche, daughter of Charles *le Bel*, Duchess of Orleans, who died in 1392, and Marie, her sister, who died in 1341. Life-sized statues of each of these princesses were supported by pillars at the entrances of the chapel.

In the sanctuary of this chapel, at the Gospel side: The tombs of Philippe de Valois, who died in 1351, and Jeanne de Bourgogne, his first wife, who died in 1348; Blanche de Navarre, his second wife, daughter of Philippe de Valois, who died in 1373. Near by in the same chapel, supported by columns, were life-sized statues of Jeanne and Blanche.

In the chapel of St. John the Baptist were the tombs of Charles V., surnamed the Wise, who died in 1380, and Jeanne de Bourbon, his wife, who died in 1378; of Charles VI., who died in 1422, and Isabeau of Bavaria, who died in 1435; of Charles VII., who died in 1461, and of Marie of Anjou, his wife, who died in 1463.

Returning to the sanctuary on the Gospel side of the main altar, was the tomb of King John, who died while a prisoner in England, in 1364. Below the sanctuary steps on the Gospel side was the

massive tomb of Charles VIII., who died in 1498, whose statue with the four guardian angels surrounding it had been removed in 1792, and was destroyed August 8, 1793.

In the chapel of Our White Lady were the two white marble statues of Henri II., who died in 1559, and of Catharine de Medicis, his wife, who died in 1589, in recumbent positions on gilded sheets of copper, each clad in their royal robes, with the monograms of each, ornamented with *fleurs de lis*. In the same chapel was the tomb of Bertrand du Guesclin, who died in 1380. This tomb, although not specified in the decree of the general destruction of the others, had been demolished by the force of workmen on August 7; but the statues had been taken to another chapel to await the decree for their final destination. The ashes of the deceased Kings and Queens of France, enclosed in leaden and stone coffins within the hollow tombs and monuments, were buried on the north side of the church, where was the former site of the magnificent Valois tower, which had been destroyed in 1719, and which at the time was used as a cemetery, in one common grave. But little of anything was found in the coffins of lead and stone enclosed within the tombs; in that of Pepin there were the remains of some gilded thread. Each coffin had a leaden plate on which was cut the name, but the greater number of these plates had been badly damaged by rust. All the leaden plates as well as the leaden coffins of Philippe le Hardi and of Isabelle of Aragon, were first taken to the Hotel de Ville, but subsequently melted. The most curious object found during this vandalistic work was the gothic formed seal of Constance of Castile, second wife of Louis VII., who died in 1160; it was of silver and weighed $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. This seal was at first brought to the Hotel de Ville, but it was subsequently deposited in the cabinet of antiques in the Royal Library.

The number of monuments destroyed August 6, 7 and 8 was 51. Thus, during three days, the work of twelve centuries was wiped out of existence.

The tomb of Marshal Turenne, which had been spared from destruction, was taken down in 1796 and transported to the Petits Augustins in the Faubourg Saint Germain, where all the desecrated monuments deemed useful to art had been collected. The abbatial church of Saint Denis was roofed with lead, but in 1795 it was unroofed and the lead taken to Paris. In 1796 its roof was covered with slate, as it was claimed at the time, in order to save from destruction such a magnificent work of art.

The splendid iron railing of the sanctuary, erected in 1702 by Pierre Denis, one of the most skilful iron workers of his age, was removed to the library of the Mazarin College in July, 1796. This

same Pierre Denis built similar railings for the Abbey of Chelles while Madame d'Orleans, sister of the King, was mother abbess.

Removal of the mortal remains of the Kings, Queens, princes, princesses and of other distinguished persons who had been buried in the church of the abbey of St. Denis in France was made in October, 1793. Saturday, October 12, was opened the vault of the Bourbons, adjoining the basement chapels. The first removal was that of the casket containing the remains of King Henry IV., who died May 4, 1610, aged 57 years.

The body was found well preserved, while the features of this celebrated monarch were easily recognized. The body, wrapped in the shroud, which was still intact, was exposed to view during two days. On Monday, October 14, the remains of Henri IV., one of the greatest of the Kings of France, were placed in the large pit which had been dug in the northern border of the Valois cemetery, where, as has been stated, the remains of the ancient Kings of France, removed from their broken tombs in the sacred precincts of the abbey, had already been thrown.

On the same day, after the workmen had had their dinner, toward 3 o'clock, the removal of the caskets of the Bourbon Kings was continued: That of Louis XIII., who died in 1643, aged 42 years. That of Louis XIV., the Grand Monarch, who died in 1715, aged 77. That of Marie de Medicis, second wife of Henry IV., who died in 1642, aged 64. That of Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII., aged 64. That of Marie Thérèse, princess of Spain, wife of Louis XIV., who died in 1683, aged 64. That of Prince Louis, son of Louis XIV., who died in 1711, aged 50.

The chronicler remarks: "Some of these bodies were well preserved, more particularly that of Louis XIII., recognizable by his moustache; that of Louis XIV., by his impressive features; but his face was as black as ink. The bodies of the others, but more especially that of the son of Louis XIV., were in a state of liquid putrefaction."

At 7 A. M., October 15, 1795, the sacrilegious work of the desecration of the tombs of the Bourbons was resumed. That of the casket containing the remains of Marie Leczinska, Princess of Poland, wife of Louis XV., who died in 1768, aged 65. That of Marie Anne Christine Victoire of Bavaria, wife of Louis, *Grand dauphin*, who died in 1690, aged 30. That of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, son of Louis, *grand dauphin*, who died in 1712, aged 30. That of Marie Adelaide of Savoy, wife of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, who died in 1712, aged 26. That of Louis, *Duc de Bretagne*, first son of Louis, Duke of Burgundy, who died in 1705, aged 10 months. That of Louis, *Duc de Bretagne*, second son of the Duke of Burgundy, who

died in 1712, aged 6. That of Marie Thérèse of Spain, first wife of Louis, son of Louis XV., who died in 1746, aged 20. That of Xavier de France, Duke of Aquitaine, second grandson of Louis XV., who died in 1754, aged 5 months. That of Marie Zéphyrine de France, granddaughter of Louis XV., aged 2. That of the Duke of Anjou, son of Louis XV., who died in 1733, aged 3.

There were also removed from this vault the leaden urns containing the hearts of the first son of Louis XV. and of his wife, Marie Josephine of Saxony; the former died in 1765 and the latter in 1767. Their bodies, at their request, had been buried in the cathedral church of Sens. The contents of the urns containing the hearts of the prince and princess were thrown into the pit above described, as were also the remains of the Bourbons mentioned.

It would appear that the caskets thus removed and despoiled were surmounted with small leaden urns containing the hearts of the deceased. These urns were enclosed in silver and silver-gilt cases and surmounted with silver-gilt crowns. The silver portion was deposited in the treasury of the municipality, while the lead was placed in charge of the commissioner of the government charged with its care.

The violation of the caskets reposing in the vicinity of the chapel to the left and right continued as follows: That of Anne-Henriette of France, daughter of Louis XV., who died in 1752, aged 25. That of Louise-Marie of France, daughter of Louis XV., who died in 1733, aged 5. That of Louise-Elizabeth of France, daughter of Louis XV., wife of the Duke of Parma, who died in 1759, aged 32. That of Louis Xavier of France, Duke of Burgundy, grandson of Louis XV. and elder brother of Louis XVI., who died in 1761, aged 10 years. That of Louis of Orleans, who died in 1611, aged 4. That of Marie de Bourbon de Montpensier, first wife of Gaston, son of Henry IV., who died in 1627, aged 22. That of Gaston, Jean-Baptiste, Duke of Orleans, son of Henry IV., who died in 1660, aged 52. That of Marie Louise of Orleans, Duchess de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston and of Marie de Bourbon, who died in 1693, aged 66. That of Marguerite de Lorraine, second wife of Gaston, who died in 1672, aged 58. That of Jean Gaston of Orleans, son of Gaston Jean Baptiste and of Marguerite of Lorraine, who died in 1652, aged 2. That of Marie Anne of Orleans, daughter of Gaston and of Marguerite of Lorraine, who died in 1656, aged 4.

These removals were accomplished by the evening of October 15, 1793. The remains found in most of the caskets were in a state of putrefaction, which when exposed to the air emitted an offensive odor, which the free use of vinegar and of burnt powder failed to mitigate. Some of the workmen were overcome and made temporarily sick.

The work was continued on Wednesday, October 16, 1793, at 7 A. M. in the vault of the Bourbons. The first casket to be removed was that of Henriette Marie of France, daughter of Henry IV. and wife of the unfortunate Charles Stuart, King of England, who died in 1669, aged 60. Succeeding was that of Henriette Anne Stuart, daughter of Charles I. of England and first wife of the only brother of Louis XIV., who died in 1670, aged 26. That of Philippe of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV., who died in 1701, aged 61. That of Elizabeth Charlotte of Bavaria, second wife of Philippe of Orleans, who died in 1722, aged 70. That of Charles, Duke de Berry, grandson of Louis XIV., who died in 1714, aged 28. That of Marie Louise Elizabeth of Orleans, daughter of the Regent of France, wife of Charles Duke of Berry, who died in 1719, aged 24. That of Philippe d'Orleans, Regent during the minority of Louis XV., who died in 1723, aged 49. That of Anne Elizabeth of France, eldest daughter of Louis XIV., who died in 1662, aged 42 days. That of Marie Anne of France, second daughter of Louis XIV., who died in 1664, aged 41 days. That of Philippe, Duke d'Anjou, son of Louis XIV., who died in 1671, aged 3. That of Louis, Duke d'Anjou, brother of the above, who died in 1672, aged 5 months. That of Marie Thérèse of France, third daughter of Louis XIV., who died in 1672, aged 5 years. That of Philippe Charles d'Orleans, who died in 1666, aged 3. That of Alexander Louis of Orleans, Duke of Valois, who died in 1676, aged 3. That of Charles de Berry, Duke of Alençon, who died in 1718, aged 21 days. That of Sophie de France, sixth daughter of Louis XV. and aunt of Louis XVI., who died in 1782, aged 48. That of Louise, daughter of the Count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI., who died in 1783, aged 7. That of Sophie, Hélène de France, daughter of Louis XVI., who died in 1787, aged 1. That of Louis Joseph Xavier, dauphin, son of Louis XVI., who died in 1789, aged 8.

At 11 o'clock in the forenoon, while Marie Antoinette of Austria, wife of Louis XVI., was being guillotined, the casket containing the remains of Louis XV., who died in 1774, aged 64, was removed and opened. It had rested near the entrance of the vault on a block of stone two feet high, the temporary resting place of the body of the late King, until such time as that of his successor should be brought to the tomb, when it would give place to that of the recently deceased monarch and be assigned its place in the vault. It was taken to the vicinity of the pit in the Valois cemetery. The body when taken from the leaden casket appeared to be entire and well preserved. It had been carefully wrapped and bandaged in folds of linen; but when these were removed there remained no semblance of a human form. Decomposition had been so complete that the remains fell

to pieces, emitting an odor so infectious that it was impossible for the workmen to remain near by. Powder was burned and guns were discharged to purify the air, with but little effect. The putrid remains were hastily covered with quicklime, on a bed of which they were thrown into the pit and covered with lime and clay.

Toward 3 P. M. the same day the "Vault of the Charles," in the chapel so called, was opened. The first casket removed was that of Charles V., who died in 1380, aged 42. Then that of Jeanne de Bourbon, his wife, who died in 1378, aged 40.

The little bones of Charles de France, who died in infancy, were in a leaden casket enclosed in a copper tomb near the foot of the altar. The caskets of two older children of Charles V. were adjacent to his tomb. There were found in the casket of this early ruler of France a well preserved crown of vermeil, a hand of justice in silver and a sceptre five feet long, surmounted with acantha leaves, all of silver gilt. The gold had been so skilfully applied that it had retained its bright lustre. In the casket of Jeanne de Bourbon, his wife, there were found the remains of a crown, a gold ring, bracelets, chains and shoes embroidered in gold and silver.

The remains of Charles V., of his wife and children were placed in the Bourbon pit, which was then filled with earth. A new pit was opened to the left of that of the Bourbon in the same Valois cemetery.

Tuesday morning, October 17, 1793, the work of desecrating the tombs of Charles VI., who died in 1422, aged 54, and that of Isabel of Bavaria, his wife, who died in 1435, aged 48, was begun. There were found in their caskets only dry bones; whatever else of value therein had been stolen. The beautiful marble statues of this King and Queen of France were ruthlessly broken to pieces.

The tombs of Charles VII., who died in 1461, aged 59, and of Marie d'Anjou, his wife, were then violated. There were found in their caskets the remains of a crown and sceptre of silver gilt. In the embalment of Charles VII. quicksilver had been freely used, and it had retained its fluidity. Similar results where bodies had been embalmed with quicksilver during the same and succeeding century had been developed.

In the afternoon of the same day, in the chapel of St. Hyppolyte, the two leaden caskets were opened containing the remains of Blanche de Navarre, second wife of Philippe de Valois, who died in 1391, aged 52, and of Jeanne de France, their daughter, who died in 1371, aged 20.

The vault of Henry II. was next desecrated. It was quite small. From it were first removed one large and one small heart-shaped urn enclosing the remains of hearts. Then four caskets. The first

contained the remains of Queen Marguerite, wife of Henry IV., who died in 1615, aged 62. The second, the remains of François Duke of Alençon, fourth son of Henry II., who died in 1534, aged 30. The third, the remains of François II., who after a short reign died in 1560, aged 17. The fourth, the remains of Elizabeth, Princess of France, daughter of Charles IX., who died in 1578, aged 6.

Later in the day the vault of Charles VII^r. was opened and desecrated. The casket of this monarch, who died in 1498, aged 28, was of lead, supported on a framework of iron. When opened it was found to contain dried bones.

Friday morning, October 18, the desecrating work was resumed in the vault of Henry II., from which was taken four large caskets. The first contained the remains of Henry II., who died in 1550, aged 40. The second, that of Catherine de Medicis, his wife, who died in 1589, aged 70. The third, of Charles IX., who died in 1574, aged 24. The fourth, of Henry III., who died in 1580, aged 38.

There were also found in this vault several other leaden caskets containing bones which were unmarked. Later in the day the laborers descended to the vault of Louis XII., who died in 1515, aged 53, whose casket, as also that of Anne de Bretagne, his wife, who died in 1514, aged 37, were removed and opened. On each of these caskets were copper crowns gilded.

In the choir under the northern window the tomb of Jeanne de France, Queen of Navarre, daughter of Louis X., who died in 1349, aged 38, was desecrated. She had been buried near her father, without casket, the enclosure being slabs of stone. Among the fragments of her bones was found a copper crown gilded. Her father was buried in a similar manner. He had died in 1316, aged 27. On the few bones remaining was found a copper crown and the remains of a sceptre much corroded. His posthumous son, King John, whose reign lasted but a few days, was buried in a tiny leaden casket near by.

Near the tomb of Louis X. had been interred in a stone enclosure of slabs Hughes the Great, Count de Paris, who died in 956, father of Hughes Capet, chief of the race of Capets. All that was left of his remains was a few fragments of bones.

Soon after was found and desecrated, in the centre of the choir, the grave of Charles le Chauve. What was left of his ashes had been enclosed in a small casket. When on his way to Paris from Rome and beyond Mount Cenis, he had been poisoned and died in a village on the borders of Savoy, in 877, aged 54. His body was placed under charge of the Prior of Mantue, in the Diocese of Dijon, whence it was transported to Saint Denis seven years later.

On Saturday, October 19, 1793, the tomb of Philippe Count de

Boulogne, son of Philippe Augustus, who died in 1223, was desecrated. His casket was of stone, in which had been cut a circular *demilune* for the head. The tomb of King Dagobert had been prepared in a similar manner. A similar stone casket enclosed the ashes only of Philippe Augustus, who died in 1223.

A casket hewn out of a solid block of stone with a stone slab for a cover enclosed the ashes of Alphonse de Poitiers, brother of St. Louis, who died in 1271. His hair, however, which was abundant, was well preserved. The slab mentioned was stained like veined marble in white and yellow, caused probably by the strong odors emanating from the decomposing body.

This desecrating work was continued the same day, when the tomb of Louis VIII., father of St. Louis, was violated. He had died in 1226, aged 48. Time had consumed almost every vestige of his remains. There was found only the decayed parts of a sceptre, his crown, which was simply composed of gold cloth with a large *calotte*, which was well preserved. The body had been wrapped in cloth of gold, fragments of which remained, while the outside covering was of soft thick leather, which had remained nearly intact. The chronicler remarks that this was the only instance found where leather had been used for such a purpose. It had apparently been intended to prevent the offensive emanation from the body of the dead King while being transported from Montpensier, in Auvergne, where he had died, to Paris.

The next desecration was that of the tomb of Marguerite de Provence, wife of St. Louis, who died in 1295. Very little was found but ashes.

Next came the tombs of Marie de France, daughter of Charles IV., known in history as Charles *le Bel* (this princess died in 1341), and of her sister, Blanche, Duchess of Orleans, who died in 1392. The sisters had been buried in the tomb without caskets, the inscription on lead found on all the tombs furnishing a brief but imperishable record.

While continuing the search in the choir of the chapel of Notre Dame la Blanche there was found beside the tomb of Louis VIII. the tomb where had been originally placed the body of St. Louis, who died in 1270. This was of smaller proportions than the others. The bones had been removed after his canonization in 1297. The pious chronicler states that the reason the tomb of St. Louis was so small was that his flesh was taken to Sicily, while his bones only were brought to St. Denis.

The sacrilegious work was continued by sounding the soil of the upper part of the choir in search of tombs beneath its surface. The tomb of Philippe le Bel, who died in 1014, aged 46, was found. The

casket was of stone, larger at the head than at foot, covered with a slab. The body had been enclosed in hermetically sealed sheets of lead strongly protected by bars of iron. The skeleton was found to be entire. By it were found a gold ring, a sceptre of copper gilt five feet long, capped with a bunch of leaves, upon which was a bird, all in copper and gilded.

The succeeding desecration was accomplished with the light of lamps. The stone tomb of King Dagobert, who died in 638, was opened. It was more than six feet long and made from a solid block hewn out with a round depression for the head, which had been separated from the body. There was found a wooden case two feet long enclosed in lead and hermetically sealed, which contained the bones of the King and of Nanthilde, his wife, who died in 642. The bones were wrapped in a covering of silk cloth and placed separately in the case, on one side of which on a square of lead was inscribed :

Hic jacet Corpus Dagoberti.

On the other side a similar square was inscribed :

Hic jacet Corpus Nanthildis.

The head of Queen Nanthilde could not be found. The chronicler states this fact and ascribes as the probable reason that it remained in the place of the original sepulture when St. Louis had the remains transferred to the tomb he had erected in the locality above mentioned.

Sunday, October 20, 1793, the work of desecration was resumed. The lead lining the interior of the tomb of Philippe le Bel was removed. Search was made near the tomb of St. Louis for the remains of Marguerite de Provence, his wife, without success. Neither could any trace be found of the remains of Jean Tristan, Count de Nevers, son of St. Louis, who died in 1270, some days before his father, near Carthage, in Africa.

In the chapel of the Charles there was removed the leaden casket containing the remains of Bertrand du Guesclin, who died in 1380. The skeleton was found to be entire, the skull well preserved and the bones perfectly dry. Near by was the tomb of Bureau de La Riviere, who died in 1400. It was three feet in length. The leaden casket was removed. After these researches the entrance to the vault of François I., who died in 1547, aged 52, was discovered. This vault was large and finely arched. It contained six leaden caskets supported by irons: That of François I.; that of Louise de Savoy, his mother, who died in 1531; that of Claudine de France, his wife, who died in 1524, aged 25; that of his son, the dauphin François, who died in 1536, aged 19; that of Charles, Duke of Orleans, his brother, who died in 1544, aged 23, and that of Charlotte, his sister, who died in 1524, aged 8.

The remains in all these caskets were in a state of liquid putrefaction, and when opened emitted an insupportable odor.

The researches were continued in the vicinity of the south window of the choir. A stone casket was found and opened. It contained debris only. It had contained the remains of Pierre Beauclaire, Chamberlain of St. Louis, who died in 1270.

In the afternoon there was found near the iron gate at the south the tomb of Matthieu de Vendome, abbot of Saint Denis, Regent of France under St. Louis and under his son, Philippe le Hardi. Neither casket of stone nor of lead had been used in the burial of this distinguished abbot. He had been laid to rest, probably, according to the rules of his order in a wooden coffin, of which some debris remained. No vestige of his mortal remains could be found. Portions of his abbatial cross of gilded copper and some fragments of gold cloth vestments made it evident that he had been buried in the richest vestments becoming his high position. He had died in 1286, in the first year of the reign of Philippe le Bel.

On Monday, October 21, the desecrating work was resumed. About the centre of the choir a marble slab was removed which covered the entrance to the small vault where, in 1791, had been deposited the bones and ashes of six princes and of one princess of the family of St. Louis, transferred to this church from the abbey of Royoumont, where they had been buried. The bones and ashes were taken from the respective caskets and carried to the Valois cemetery, where they were thrown into the second pit, where what remained of the bodies of Philippe Augustus, Louis VIII., François I. and all of that family had previously been cast.

In the afternoon of Monday a search was commenced in the sanctuary to the left of the principal altar, where were found the caskets of Philippe le Long, who died in 1322; of Charles IV., surnamed le Bel, who died in 1328; of Jeanne d'Evreux, third wife of Charles IV., who died in 1370; of Philippe de Valois, who died in 1350, aged 57; of Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe de Valois, who died in 1348, and of King Jean, who died in 1364.

Tuesday, October 22, 1793, the desecrating work was continued. In the chapel of the Charles, bordering the wall of the stairway leading to the rear of the grand altar, two square stone caskets, placed one over the other, were found. The upper one, entirely of stone, enclosed the remains of Arnould Guillem de Barbazan, first Chamberlain of Charles VII., who died in 1431. The lower one, which was covered and enclosed in sheets of lead, contained the remains of Louis de Sancerre, High Constable of France under Louis VI., who died in 1402, aged 60. His hair had remained intact; it was long and plaited in two well formed tresses.

The stone slab covering the stone tombs of the Abbé Suger and of the Abbé Troon was then removed. The former died in 1151 and the latter in 1221. Fragments of bones and ashes alone remained. The search was continued in the Gospel side of the sanctuary, where, under a large square stone, was found the tombs of Philippe le Long and of others. Before the day's work was concluded the chapel *du Lépreux* was entered and the tomb of Sédille de Sainte-Croix, wife of Jean Pastourelle, Councillor of Charles V., who died in 1380, was opened, but it contained only fragments of bones.

Wednesday, October 23, 1793, the work of desecration was resumed for the discovery of tombs in the sanctuary. The first to be found was that of Philippe de Valois. The casket was of stone lined with lead, closed with a heavy sheet of the same metal, fastened upon iron bars and covered with a long and large flat stone. A copper crown gilded and a sceptre of the same metal surmounted with a bird and also gilded were found among the ashes and debris.

Nearer the altar was found the tomb of Jeanne de Bourgogne, first wife of Philippe de Valois. Among the fragments of bones were found the remains of a distaff and a silver ring.

Thursday, October 24, to the left of the tomb of Philippe de Valois was found that of Charles le Bel, constructed in a similar manner to that of the former. In it was found a crown of silver gilded, a sceptre seven feet long of copper gilded, a silver ring, *un main de justice*, an ebony baton and a leaden pillow on which the head had rested. The body was dry and intact.

Friday, October 25, was found the tomb of Jeanne d'Evreux. It had been broken and its leaden cover detached. Dried bones without the skull only were found. It was apparent that this tomb had been surreptitiously desecrated the night previous. Near by was found the stone tomb of Philippe le Long. The skeleton was found to be well preserved. In it was found a silver crown gilded and ornamented with precious stones; it was in good condition; two lozenge-shaped *agrafes* in silver gilt, a satin cincture with a silver buckle gilded and a sceptre of copper, also gilded. At the foot of the casket was a small stone vase containing the heart of Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philippe de Valois, the inscription on which was on a plate of copper. There was also discovered the tomb of King Jean, who died in England in 1364, aged 66. In it was found a crown, a sceptre, a hand of justice, all of silver gilded. His skeleton was intact.

Some days later the government commissioner appointed to take charge of the lead accruing from these continued desecrations took the workmen to the Carmelite convent to remove the casket of

the Mother Abbess, Madame Louise, daughter of Louis XV., who died in 1787, aged 50. The casket was taken to the Valois cemetery and the remains of this saintly woman were thrown into the pit where already had been cast the bones and ashes of the most distinguished dead of Catholic France.

On the night of September 12, 1793, by order of the government, in presence of the commissioner of the municipality of St. Denis, was removed the treasure of the abbey. The shrines, reliquaries, all the rich ornaments of the altars, the sacred vessels of gold, etc., were placed in large wooden boxes and taken in wagons to the convention, accompanied by the commissioner and his escort in great form and state.

January 18, 1794, the tomb of Francis I. was demolished. It was easy to open that of Marguerite, Countess of Flanders, daughter of Philippe le Long and wife of Count Louis of Flanders, who died in 1382, aged 76. Her remains reposed in a well built vault in a leaden casket, supported by iron bars. Some well preserved bones and the debris of chestnut boards were all that was found in the casket.

But the desecrating agents did not succeed in finding the sepulchre of Cardinal de Retz, known as the coadjutor, who died in 1679, aged 66; nor of several other distinguished personages.

No better illustration could be given of the animus of the French Revolution nor of its communistic spirit than that furnished by the account of the desecration of St. Denis. It would seem that the Frenchmen composing the Revolutionary Assembly of 1793 had denationalized themselves; that they had forgotten that France had had a glorious history and a line of monarchs more illustrious than any other kingdom in Europe during the history of civilization.

It is difficult to believe, however, that men of intelligence, as well as of education, such as were most of the members of the Revolutionary Assembly of France at this period, were oblivious of the history of their nation; while it is apparent that their craze for the destruction of the collateral evidences which directed attention to the eminence of the royal families of France during twelve centuries, intimately connected as these evidences were with the religion of Catholic France, had obliterated from their hearts that feeling of patriotism characteristic of most true Frenchmen.

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THE TRIALS AND NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL.

SURELY the spread throughout the civilized world of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul has been one of the most remarkable events of the past century to those interested in the progress of the Church as well as to the student of organized charity. It is not proposed to repeat the thrice-told tale of its origin, but only to point out the fundamental facts that it was founded by a group of zealous young Catholic students in reply to the taunt, "Show us the works of the Catholic Church." Four facts stand out: the founders were laymen, they were young, they were men of education, they chose works of charity as the evidence of the Divine origin and mission of the Church. How well inspired was their choice, how wonderful their success is not to be discussed here, but did space permit, the story of the development of their works from visiting the poor at their homes to the carrying on of charitable works of all kinds would be well worth the telling. It is particularly to be noted that they worked not merely to relieve bodily suffering, but to make the poor better in all ways, and that the spiritual works of charity were prominent in their plan. The purpose of this writing is the more humble and practical one of considering how the Society now stands among us in this country, what are its trials and its needs.¹

That the Society has flourished and is flourishing in this country are facts concerning which, happily, there is no dispute; but this is not to say that its condition is as good as it might be, nor that it gives assurance of its fitness to meet new requirements which the changing of the old order of things is steadily and by no means slowly thrusting upon it.

Even so short a time as forty years ago² the condition of our Catholic laymen was very different from what it is now. When the Society was established those who formed the nucleus were neither young nor college-bred, but plain men, many of very moderate education, of the class that was most likely to be useful to the priest in the various odds and ends of non-spiritual parochial work. Among them, providentially, were most admirable characters, zealous, self-forgetful and actuated truly by the love of God and their neighbor. It is but natural that in their readiness to help they assumed many duties quite different from those contemplated by Ozanam and his

¹ The writer's personal knowledge of the society in this country is limited to New England, but he believes that the same conditions are at least very general. It is needless to say that he is writing simply as an individual, not as an officer of the society. ² The first conference in New England, that of St. James', Boston, was aggregated April 18, 1862.

associates. Often the president of a conference was the sexton, and the members helped in the work. Indeed, in not a few places this came to be considered as practically one of his chief duties. Besides this, the conference relieved the pastor of the care of the poor, for which he could ill spare the time, and conducted it charitably, discreetly and in accordance with his wishes. Who shall say that this is not good work? But the work went far beyond this. Spiritual good followed material relief, and in spite of deficiencies, the spirit of the Society was supreme.

A great change has come over social conditions since that time. Municipal help to the poor has spread and increased wonderfully. It is generally distributed with no sectarian discrimination. If some one or two good old souls of a past generation left certain sums for the benefit of Protestant widows and spinsters, the statement that the religious question does not enter into municipal relief is none the less practically true. Should the Society of St. Vincent de Paul suddenly disappear from the face of the earth, it would probably require not even a year for affairs in this community to be so readjusted that the merely material wants of the poor might be well met. On the one hand, cities and towns might give more; on the other, the money which directly or indirectly comes to the conferences from the parish priests might be distributed through other channels.

But would there be no loss? On the contrary, the loss would be frightful; first of all to the members. Their loss in opportunity to do good works, to help to save souls as well as bodies, to win graces, to gain indulgences, can be reckoned by no human bookkeeper. The loss to the poor, though not in dollars and cents, would be equally appalling; the words of kindness and encouragement, the Christian sympathy, the baptisms of children, the reformation of sinners, the families held together, the tottering faith supported. Who shall estimate the loss were these things left undone?

Two deductions come from these considerations: First, that the aim and works of the Society are essentially supernatural, done for the love of God, our own sanctification and that of our neighbor; secondly, that with changing conditions the importance of almsgiving is less and that there is more and more demand for works requiring greater intelligence. This is the era of scientific charity; the name is new; but though St. Vincent de Paul would have expressed it differently, the idea of well-thought-out instead of emotional charity is one of his own.

The works of the Society are constantly increasing, and as implied above, changing in scope. The care of children was very dear to St. Vincent de Paul, and the Society has much to do for them. True, there are institutions many and good under the care of Catholic

bodies, but the trouble is to see that the little ones are brought to their sheltering arms. The dangers from outside societies are great. Apart from those whose *raison d'être* is proselytism, there are many conducted by those who without the blessing of faith themselves cannot understand that the faith of a Catholic child, its only possession, is also a very precious one, for which worldly advantages are a most unfair exchange. Yet justice, leaving policy aside, requires us to admit that they mean no wrong, and to so deal with them that while we protect the rights of the helpless we do not quarrel. This is work of a high order, requiring not only patience and devotion, but familiarity with laws and the tact to meet great and unexpected difficulties. Beside the qualities needed in the actual conduct of affairs, there are those requisite to shape the line of policy. The work is both engrossing and very delicate; no one engaged in it will suffer from mental stagnation.

Thus it is inevitable that our members should come into contact with those of other creeds, and most desirable that they should meet them with credit. For this purpose they must meet them as equals.

It is best to admit frankly that the great majority of our members are not up to the requirements of this work. Let me try to make myself perfectly plain on this point. Neither riches nor education are necessary to make admirable members. Some of the best I have ever known earned their bread by manual labor. The personal friendship of some of these has been and is very dear to me. Were all such as they, the Society would be very different from what it is and much better. But even then there would be the admission to make that there are works both within and without the Society for which they have not the education. This is no more a reflection on them than it would be to say that they are not clad in purple and fine linen. They have what is far better, true and humble hearts; but it does not follow that there is not need of men fitted for higher work. The Catholic body is much stronger than it was in the early days of the Society amongst us. Apart from accessions through conversions, the sons of former members have grown up with much better education than their fathers. There are large numbers of young Catholics rising to distinction in the professions and in business. Those in our ranks are relatively few. We have tried to get them, and some have accepted the invitation. Why not more?

Let us defer the answer to this question till it has been shown why, apart from the needs of the Society itself, young men of education should be urged to enter its ranks. First of all for their own good. It is an axiom that no one, be his fortuitous advantages of wealth, learning or position what they may, can give anything to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul that shall in the least equal what he will gain

from it if he be a faithful member. But there is another side to the question, the good of the cause. It was for this that the Society was originally founded in France, and founded by young laymen. The Church does not consist of the clergy alone, but of all the faithful. For the symmetrical and perfect development of an organization it is necessary that all the parts should do their share of the work. A great deal has been done for the laity to keep them to their duties and to protect them from temptation, but they have themselves done very little, except as individuals. The remarks of Bishop O'Connell, of Portland, before the Catholic Union of Boston during the past summer on lay coöperation, and the interest which they have raised show that the time for meeting this problem is at hand. There is no question of political action. Politics are rigidly excluded from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Moreover, it is not through politics that the influence of the Church is to spread, but by our fellow countrymen being made to see it as an influence for good and enlightenment. Let the younger generation of educated Catholics do here what Ozanam and his friends did in France.

This brings us to a very difficult and delicate question which practically lies at the root of the matter. It is the relation of the parish priest to the conference. The question should not be avoided were it possible to do so, for the support of the parish priests is essential to the movement. At present there is great variation in the relations of the pastors and the conferences. As a rule the best conferences are those that are in close touch with the pastor, who is also the spiritual director, who makes it a point to attend the meetings frequently and who is familiar with the regulations and the spirit of the Society. As a rule the worst are those in which the Pastor takes no interest. Almost equally unsatisfactory to one having in mind the traditions of the Society is another type of conference which nevertheless may do fair work. It is that of which the members are but the agents of the pastor, with no more initiative or responsibility than errand boys.

It may be asked, "What coöperation can there be with conferences constituted as many are?" And the answer must be, "None!" This, however, is not to say that coöperation is undesirable, but only that the conference is not what it should be. That this question has presented itself elsewhere is apparent from recent remarks of the president of the Particular Council of Liverpool, in which he argues against the fear on the part of the pastors that the conference if too progressive may become a source of discord or confusion in the parish, being in fact *imperium in imperio*. That some distrust exists is hardly to be doubted. That it is at times justified is probably not to be denied. Are many of our conferences fit to be trusted by them-

selves, especially if they should undertake work out of the beaten track? Some indeed are, but, unfortunately, more are not. What does this show but the crying need of the infusion of new blood?

A crucial point in the discussion is this: admitting that the Society is a lay society, and assuming that it is composed of good material, what on the one hand is the limit to the activity of the conference? and on the other what is the limit to the pastor's responsibility for it? It is hard to define these limits for all cases and under all circumstances, but a general answer should present no difficulty. Theoretically one might say that unless the conference should so lose its head as to introduce some custom prejudicial to faith and morals it can hardly go wrong in its charitable work; but practically its activity must be much more restricted. The conference must respect the wishes and the policy of the ordinary and of the rector in all matters. Catholic instinct, good feeling and common sense will be sufficient guides. The second question would be hard indeed to answer were the conference perfect, doing its work as well as it could be done, neglecting nothing it should undertake and aspiring to nothing it should not meddle with. But here below things do not go in that way, and the influence of the priest to guide, encourage and restrain, all without trenching on the rights of the president, cannot be overestimated. It is under such conditions that lay coöperation will be best developed, and that those most fitted for the work will be the most anxious for the chance to do it.

Finally we come to the answer to the question why so few of the more educated class have joined the Society. There is reason to fear that in some localities the conference has been looked upon as practically a body of under-sextons, whose duties consist in standing at the church door, collecting money and being generally useful. It should be needless to say that none of these works, meritorious as they are, form any part of the duty of a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. It is unfortunate that such an idea should have spread abroad, for it no doubt has kept many away who were capable of higher work.

Another reason, which to some extent may have arisen from a wrong idea of the Society, is that young men of standing have felt that they were not wanted. They have never appreciated that the opportunity was offered them to work for the glory of God's Church by serving His poor. They have the excuse of the laborers who had stood all day idle, that no man had hired them. There is no hint in the parable that these words were not said in good faith. Doubtless the excuse may be honestly offered by many of our young Catholics whose labor is most needed.

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HISTORY OF EDUCATION.¹

THE history of an idea, a movement, a purpose, as running through the life of a people, commonly falls into that manner of presentation which has come to be called the philosophy of history. It makes up a chapter or a paragraph in the general philosophy of history. It will approach the more closely to the fundamental philosophy in proportion as the idea or movement is one that springs more directly and spontaneously from the essentials of humanity and from the primary impulses of human nature. And the philosophy, again, will be all the more fundamental as it touches more immediately the question of the origin, development and destiny of the individuals of the human race, universally. To write such history is to write the metaphysics of history. To write such history correctly it is necessary to bring to the work intellectual insight into facts and principles, clear, deep and accurate, as well as the inexorable will which orders judgment to be given strictly as things weigh in the delicate balance of blind justice.

The education of an individual is the development, the unfolding of an individual humanity body and soul. It is something physical, mental and moral. In each of these orders it implies a continuous supply of material for the new and higher exercise of the powers developed. The writing of a history of the processes which have been excogitated for the purpose of furthering human development would be a stupendous undertaking. M. Gabriel Compayré has undertaken to execute such a writing in his two books, "Critical History of Educational Theories in France Since the Sixteenth Century" and "History of Pedagogy." The first mentioned, on educational theories in France (two volumes), is the more important work. The second, a history of pedagogy, is an abridgment of the first work, with additions, tending to make it a more general history and to render it serviceable as a manual in classes of pedagogy.

M. Compayré does not need an introduction to the American public. His "History of Pedagogy," translated into English, has been in the hands of American students for fifteen years. His contribution to "The Great Educators" series, "Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities," appeared (first, as translated into English) in 1893.

The writer has been asked to give an estimate of the value of M. Compayré's essay at the history of educational aims and methods. Whole volumes might be written in discussion of what M. Com-

¹ *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le XVI^e siècle*, par G. Compayré, 2 vol. Paris, 1879. *Histoire de la Pédagogie*, par Gabriel Compayré: quinzième édition, Paris, 1901.

payré has or has not said concerning men and methods that enter into the history of education. We can do nothing more, here, than to test M. Compayré's authority as a historian. To keep within due limits we shall select but two cases for investigation, one from the first book and one from the second. The first book is better provided with references which allow the reader an opportunity to determine the value of statements by going to the sources indicated. In the second book, the references are not so well provided, particularly where the author expresses condemnation and notably in the additions concerning men and events that preceded the sixteenth century. In the first book, therefore, we shall examine a passage or two which will permit us to refer to the authority. In the second book we shall consider one assertion which is presented without a reference. In both cases we shall select matter which may be of general interest. The first book is definitely concerned with education in France. We shall take from it, therefore, for examination, references to things which are of a more cosmopolitan nature, and from the second book an assertion which will suggest some broad fact in the history of education. Finally, applying the common test for justice in a historian, we shall make our selections from matter concerning methods—or men—to which the author exhibits himself continuously hostile. These two studies will suffice to set forth the value of writings in which the reader naturally expects to be addressed in a spirit of equity and discretion.

As one of the main objects of both works is to impress upon the mind of the reader the unfitness of the education given by the Jesuits, we may examine two references which the author makes to a well-known book, the "Ratio Studiorum," an outline of class matter and methods common in the Society of Jesus. There is in the "Ratio Studiorum" the following instruction for professors of philosophy (Rule 12): "*Summopere conetur Aristotelicum textum bene interpretari, in eoque nihilo minus operae quam in quaestionibus collocet.*" M. Compayré cites this rule, and we must give him credit for having transcribed the whole of it. The translation of the rule is: "He [the professor] must try very earnestly to interpret the text of Aristotle well, and take no less pains with this interpretation than with the questions," i. e., under discussion. Here is the explanation of this rule as given in French by M. Compayré: "*C'est la philosophie d'Aristote amoindrie que le 'Ratio Studiorum' propose aux élèves de la Société. De plus, il est bien entendu que le professeur expliquera les textes, non avec liberté, avec critique, mais avec un esprit de docilité aveugle et, comme dit le règlement, en attachant au sens des mots autant d'importance qu'aux questions elles-mêmes.*" (t. I., p. 196). This, translated, will read: "It is the philosophy of Aristotle minimized

that the *Ratio Studiorum* proposes for the students of the Society. Moreover, it is well understood that the professor shall explain the text not with liberty and critically, but in a spirit of blind docility and, as the regulation says, attaching as much importance to the meaning of the words as to the questions themselves." Two pages further on he expands this assertion into the following: "*Dans le 'Ratio' on recommande d'accorder autant et peut-être plus d'attention à l'explication grammaticale du texte qu'à l'analyse des pensées.*" "The *Ratio* recommends that as much—that perhaps more attention should be given to the grammatical explanation of the text than to the analysis of the thought." (p. 198.) Now, any one who has ever read Aristotle knows that he has given us the closest piece of writing that has ever been made. To "interpret his text well" is not the same thing as teaching grammar. To interpret his text well means to give a very exhaustive commentary; and no commentary is possible without a thorough and precise interpretation of the text. If M. Compayré had looked into some of the Jesuit commentaries on Aristotle, as Fonseca, Maurus, Toledo, he would have learned something about scientific interpretation. On the discussion of the questions involved Maurus has left us three volumes from his class work. In the fragments of Toledo we have one hundred and ninety-two discussions of the matter. And in what M. Compayré slightly calls "the Latin paraphrase of Saint Thomas" (t. I., p. 195) the commentary is from five to six times longer than the corresponding passage of Aristotle.

To this we must add that the rule cited is three hundred years old. It still stands in the *Ratio*; but the *Ratio* is a thing so pliable that the text of Aristotle is nowhere used in any school of philosophy of the Society to-day. At the time when the rule was written there was available no other text of any completeness. But how soon the construction of adequate texts was begun may be seen by consulting the metaphysics of Suarez. When Aristotle was used as a class textbook, the first and essential thing for the professor to do was to make the true meaning of a very difficult writer understood, in order to approve, correct and supplement. The present writer attended lectures on philosophy given by Jesuit professors during four years. In no case was the text of Aristotle used as the basis of an exposition. The number of philosophies (ranging from one to seven volumes) published by Jesuit professors during the past fifty years, and containing the lectures given in the classes, would make a considerable library. These works represent the actual teaching, and no one of them is a commentary on Aristotle. We should imagine that it must be difficult to write a Critical History of Education when one is obliged to invent the history.

In another instance, citing from the same *Ratio Studiorum*, the author of the Critical History has not been so happy. The eleventh rule for the professors of philosophy as given in the *Ratio* says: "*In metaphysica quaestiones de Deo et intelligentiis, quae omnino, aut mag-nopere pendent ex veritatibus divina fide traditis, praetereantur.*" M. Compayré disembowels this sentence, sews it up again, and presents it as continuous and complete in these words: "*In metaphysica quaes-tiones de Deo et intelligentiis praetereantur.*" (t. I., p. 196.) The mutilated cadaver of a sentence he thus renders for the French reader: "*De même dans la métaphysique, on supprime quelques-unes des questions les plus intéressantes et les plus essentielles, comme, par exemple, tout ce qui concerne l'existence de Dieu et la nature de ses attributs.*"

Now let us do the three sentences into English; and first the French of M. Compayré. "In metaphysics, too," says he, "they suppress some of the most interesting and most essential questions, as, for example, all that concerns the existence of God and the nature of His attributes."

The translation of the eleventh rule given is this: "In meta-physics those questions concerning God and intelligences which depend entirely or for the most part upon truths consigned to us by divine faith are to be passed over."

The true translation of M. Compayré's mutilated presentation of the rule is: "In metaphysics questions concerning God and intelli-gences are to be passed over."

Now, let us see what he has done. In the first place he has dis-emboweled the text of the rule. There is no other expression to cor-rectly indicate the character of the surgical operation. In the second place he has given an utterly false and most unscholarly description of the etymological corpse so provided for demonstration. The rule says plainly to those who understand the nature and scope of meta-physics and the import of philosophical terminology, that the pro-fessor of metaphysics must stick closely to metaphysics. It says that when there is question of God and of the intelligences he must not base his reasoning upon divine revelation. Hence all questions which belong solely to supernatural theology, as being based upon those truths of divine revelation which do not lie also within the sphere of natural knowledge are to be left out of the metaphysics. Such, for instance, would be the question of the Trinity. The pro-vision is a wise one and leaves the metaphysics in the sphere of pure reason, excluding everything for which revelation would have to be brought in as a support; and no matter how anxious the professor might be to enlarge, it cuts him off from digressions into the science of theology. It does not affect the metaphysics. It is simply a warning to draw the line at the proper place. M. Compayré says

that it "suppresses some of the most interesting and most essential questions of metaphysics, for example, all that concerns the existence of God and the nature of His attributes." To see how untrue is this explanation, I wheel my book-case and take the first book on the subject that comes in view. It happens to be Lahousse, *Natural Theology*, the third volume in the course of special metaphysics, large 8vo, pages XII—416. Looking at the index we find nine chapters with the following headings:

C. I. The Existence of God.

C. II. The Essence of God and the Attributes in General.

C. III. The Negative Attributes of God.

Then follow five chapters on the positive attributes; and finally the ninth chapter on the attributes considered specially on the supposition of the fact of creation. I turn my book-case once more, and the first book I see this time is the *Natural Theology* belonging to the Stonyhurst series of philosophy. It is a work of XII—480 pages. It is divided into three books. Here are the titles:

Book I. Of the Existence of God.

Book II. The Divine Attributes.

Book III. The Action of God Upon This World.

The "interesting and essential questions of the existence of God and the nature of His attributes" receive a special treatment which covers 343 pages, and the third Book draws the logical consequences from the fact of creation. These two indices represent what is found in every Jesuit work upon the subject and what is discussed in every Jesuit class-room in the third year of metaphysics. Now, to say in face of this that the direction given to the professors of philosophy "suppresses some of the most interesting and most essential questions of metaphysics, for example, all that concerns the existence of God and the nature of His attributes," gives us what we can diagnose as nothing else than a literary paralysis. As M. Compayré does not instance those other "most interesting and most essential questions of metaphysics" which are "suppressed," we do not feel ourselves called upon to rehearse the whole curriculum.

But, what about those "intelligences?" According to the regulation, the professor is told to leave out of the metaphysics theses concerning God and the intelligences which he could not substantiate without falling back wholly or in great part upon revelation. According to M. Compayré's understanding these intelligences are the attributes of God. He mutilates the rule into this shape: "*In metaphysica quaestiones de Deo et intelligentiis praetereantur*," and he interprets this into the suppression of "all that concerns the existence of God and the nature of His attributes." We have never heard or read, nor has any one else heard or read that any one besides M.

Compayré and those who trust in him have ever taken the word *intelligentia*, or as it is here the plural *intelligentiae*, to stand for the attributes of God or the nature of His attributes. *Intelligentia* means intelligence; and *intelligentiae* means intelligences. Now, intelligences are intelligences, that is to say, purely spiritual beings, not embodied spirit as man is. The angels are intelligences, and as we know nothing about the intelligences except from revelation, the subject does not belong to metaphysics. We trust that the author's tutelary spirit will overlook this absence of recognition.

In eight words, therefore, of M. Compayré we have: 1, Butchery of the text; 2, Falsification of the facts; 3, Ignorance of the terminology. This ought to be sufficient preface to the ante-mortem elegy which he pens for the grave-stone of the Society.²

"Voltaire said of these teachers 'the Fathers taught me nothing but Latin and nonsense.'" (151.)

"The Jesuits have never written anything on the principles and objects of education." (152.)

"In no instance have they founded a primary school." (153.)

"The truth is that the Jesuits neither desire nor love the instruction of the people." (153.)

"No account is made of modern history." (155.)

"The sciences and philosophy are involved in the same disdain as history." (155.)

"In all things the Jesuits are the enemies of progress." (155.)

"Intolerant of everything new, they would arrest the progress of the human mind and render it immovable." (155.)

"As to intellectual education, as they understand it, it is wholly artificial and superficial." (159.)

". . . the barren teaching and formal instruction of the Jesuits." (202.)

"The greatest educational event of the eighteenth century, before the expulsion of the Jesuits and the events of the French Revolution, is the publication of the *Émile*." (303.)

"Even in religion, the Company of Jesus is charged with substituting for the sacred texts, books of devotion composed by the Fathers." (376.)

"Finally, the Company of Jesus maintained in the schools the teaching of moral casuistry; it encouraged bigotry and superstition." (376.)

Well, well, let us murmur softly our "*hic jacet*," *çi-gît*, and retire. Perhaps we may find solace if we read over again the words which an English gentleman of letters, the amiable Andrew Lang, wrote to

² These and all further citations are from "The History of Pedagogy" (English Translation). Figures in parenthesis refer to numbered paragraphs.

the *Pilot* (October 12, 1901). Says Mr. Lang: "We need not look far to see why the Jesuits are disliked. . . . It is natural to mankind to dislike and distrust intellectual people, and this is a wise provision of nature. Now the Jesuits are, or aim at being intellectual. We need look no further, that is how they get themselves disliked. And here my apology breaks down. They are clever, educated men, I cannot deny it, but then they have redeeming qualities."

We may now turn to the second point in our study, an affirmation made in the second work, without a reference. The affirmation needs to be introduced by a restatement of certain historical facts. About the middle of the sixth century a boy named Gall, or Calliche, went to school to Columbanus at Benchoré. At the end of the century when Columbanus undertook his wonderful missionary excursions on the Continent, Gall accompanied him. In 612 Gall fell ill at Bregenz. Columbanus leaving him there journeyed on to Italy. Each of these men has left his name upon a city of to-day. In 613, beside the little Steinach which flows into the lake of Constance, Gall planted a Cross in the wilderness, and with two companions, Mang and Theodore, felled the forest trees and built some cells. This cell of the Celtic student was the beginning of a monastery and a city which form a landmark in the chronicle of the human race. To-day the chapel over the tomb of Gall shows us where, within a dozen years of thirteen centuries ago, he raised his rude Cross beside the Steinach. He died towards the middle of the seventh century, at the age of 95; and nearly the whole of Switzerland and of southwestern Germany owes its civilization to his cabin in the woods. The cell grew into a monastery and a colony. There lived the learned Kero who has given us one of the earliest monuments of the German language. The names of Notker, Ekkehard, Ratpert, Tutilo, Hartmot and Iso were among its glories in the first centuries of the middle ages. In and around the monastery every art was practiced. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, the German language, were cultivated with the diligence of enthusiasts. There were schools for the monks and schools for the people; and the wonder of the monastery was its scriptorium, upon which for the educated reader we need not delay.

If we have referred to St. Gall's it is simply because it stands there to-day as a monument whose history is typical of an educational work that was being done in the middle ages. Off the western north coast of Gaul there was in those days an island known as Scotia (Hibernia), and for full five centuries that island was simply a nest of schools. The Roman eagles had never been planted on the shores of Scotia. When the Roman Empire went down under the ava-

lanche of Huns, Alans, Goths, Franks and Norsemen, that island remained throughout those awful centuries a peaceful home of letters until the coming of the Dane. It was the school of Europe. And whilst the work of blood and ravage was rife upon the continent its scholars went forth by the thousands to tame the tribes and to bring to them the blessings of religion, of letters and of the arts of civilized life. Their work was swept away, but they began it over again, and they did not desist until there was laid firmly the basis of our modern civilization. The story of the Irish schools is not a myth; and the tales that are told of the thousands and thousands of students are not fables. It is not necessary to cite authorities on this matter. However, let us take one; and let it be the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. We choose it, first, because it will not be regarded with suspicion; and, secondly, because it is within the reach of everybody.

Of Iona, the little island off the coast of Northern Britain, where Columbkille founded one of his schools, it says: "For many centuries it was much frequented on account of its facilities for learning." (Art. *Iona*.)

In the Article on Ireland we have the following: "The real work of the early Irish missionaries in converting the pagans of Britain and central Europe and sowing the seeds of culture there, has been overlooked when not wilfully misrepresented." In the same Article the Irish schools are designated "a refuge of learning in the seventh and eighth centuries."

The article on Celtic Literature has this, concerning the Irish language: "If all the existing glossaries, old and new, were added together, we should have at least 30,000 words besides those in printed dictionaries, a richness of vocabulary unequaled perhaps by any living language. Among the old glossaries we may mention that attributed to Cormac Mac Cuilennain, king and Bishop of Cashel, who was killed in 903, as an early attempt at comparative etymology, the author referring to Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Norse and British."

Of the Annals of Ulster the writer says: "The Annals . . . are of special importance because the book contains notices of comets, eclipses and other natural phenomena, which appear to have been recorded by eye witnesses as is proved by the day and hour of the eclipse of the sun on the 1st May 664 being correctly recorded."

Finally: "Celtic literature, though it has no great masterpiece of its own to point to, has exercised a considerable amount of influence on the creation of modern European literature." And the writer, speaking of "The Wandering of St. Brendan," "The Purgatory of St. Patrick" and "The Vision of Tundale," and referring to Villari's work on the legends of the *Divina Commedia*, says: "These three

legends which are to be found in every European language in the middle ages constitute three out of the five main sources of the plot of Dante's great poem."

We have dwelt upon this subject of the Irish schools and their radiations into the Continent because of the manner in which our author has dealt with the same facts. Let us cite the entire paragraph 76, page 67.

"76. INTELLECTUAL FEEBLENESS OF THE MIDDLE AGE. If the early doctors of the Church occasionally expressed some sympathy for profane letters, it is because, in their youth, before having received baptism, they had themselves attended the pagan schools. But these schools once closed, Christianity did not open others, and, after the fourth century, a profound night enveloped humanity. The labor of the Greeks and Romans was as though it never had been. The past no longer existed. Humanity began anew. In the fifth century, Apollinaris Sidonius declares that 'the young no longer study, that teachers no longer have pupils, and that learning languishes and dies.' Later, Lupus of Ferrieres, the favorite of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, writes that the study of letters had almost ceased. In the early part of the eleventh century, the Bishop of Laon, Adalberic, asserts that 'there is more than one bishop who cannot count the letters of the alphabet on his fingers.' In 1291, of all the monks in the convent of Saint Gall, there was not one who could read and write. It was so difficult to find notaries public that acts had to be passed verbally. The barons took pride in their ignorance. Even after the efforts of the twelfth century, instruction remained a luxury for the common people; it was the privilege of the ecclesiastics, and even they did not carry it very far. The Benedictines confess that the mathematics were studies only for the purpose of calculating the date of Easter."

The value of a history lies as much in the correctness of the impression left upon the reader's mind as in the strict exactness of dates and proper names recorded. The dates and names fade from memory. The judgment passed in the reading is more indelible; it is a spiritual act; it involves reflection; it is a personal estimate based upon principles already fixed and become habitual in application. So that what we call impression is rather mental expression in the judgment of conviction or opinion. The details of the impression may often be confused and blurred as responding to the objective presentation which produces it; but the expression will be sharp, definite, distinct. Now take the above paragraph and apply it *al fresco*, to the fresh young mind, for which, indeed, this book has been intended and to which it is applied under compulsion. What must be the result? Ask any one who has been a student of history and

of *educational impressions*—a something that is now almost ignored and despised in the craze for new mechanical methods in pedagogy. There is no one who knows history and the philosophy of insinuation who will not see that the paragraph is specially constructed to produce the impression out of which the young mind will form almost necessarily an absolutely false judgment. And in the case of those who are actually using this book, the judgment so formed will be permanent since there is not one in one hundred of them who will ever go further to correct the distorted impression.

Neither is the impression corrected by what is given in the succeeding paragraph. The author has the bold talent of branding upon the young reader's mind, at the outset, his bias and prejudice; and the little sprinkling of soothing powder which he sometimes afterwards adds, only serves to perpetuate the scar. Hence what follows the above citation does not obliterate the impression, but rather reënforces it by a semblance of fairness. The author continues:

"77. CAUSES OF THE IGNORANCE OF THE MIDDLE AGE.—What were the permanent causes of that situation which lasted for ten centuries? The Catholic Church has sometimes been held responsible for this. Doubtless the Christian doctors did not always profess a very warm sympathy for intellectual culture. Saint Augustine had said: '*It is the ignorant who gain possession of heaven (indocti coelum rapiunt)*.' Saint Gregory the Great, a Pope of the sixth century, declared that he would blush to have the holy word conform to the rules of grammar. Too many Christians, in a word, confounded ignorance with holiness. Doubtless, towards the seventh century, the darkness still hung thick over the Christian Church. Barbarians invaded the Episcopate, and carried with them their rude manners. Doubtless, also, during the feudal period the priest often became soldier, and remained ignorant. It would, however, be unjust to bring a constructive charge against the Church of the middle age, and to represent it as systematically hostile to instruction. Directly to the contrary, it is the clergy who, in the midst of the general barbarism, preserved some vestiges of the ancient culture. The only schools of that period are the episcopal and claustral schools, the first annexed to the bishops' palaces, the second to the monasteries. The religious orders voluntarily associated manual labor with mental labor. As far back as 530, Saint Benedict founded the convent of Monte Cassino, and drew up statutes which made reading and intellectual labor a part of the daily life of the monks."

This ought to be sufficient to indicate the spirit of the writer. After the false impressions created and the false judgment formed upon the

reading of this consecutive matter it would be necessary to give to the young people of the normal schools a course of true history which they will never get. It is the part of writers such as M. Compayré to make false assertions and, contrary to all known processes of justice to throw upon the accused the burden of disproof. This makes disproof almost an impossibility for lack of time. For each assertion demands a complete rehearsal of the subject to which it refers. In view of this we selected the single sentence referring to the monastery of St. Gall's in order to introduce the summary given above. It seems to us that the preservation of letters and of the literary spirit through centuries by one people and under circumstances so unique in the history of man, deserved to enter into a history of pedagogy. It might be that one could not find many data for studying class-room methods; but neither does the author limit himself to this kind of study, as is clear from the long passage just cited. A reference, and a reference full of reverence is due to the great historic fact. But the author boils down the entire story absolutely and exclusively into a single sentence. And this is the sentence: "In 1291 of all the monks in the convent of St. Gall, there was not one who could read and write."

But 1291! It is a wonder that there was a monk, at all, in the monastery in 1291. This was the end of that terrible thirteenth century. It was the year of the fall of Acre; and within the one hundred years had taken place five of the eight Crusades. It was the time when men who were born to be leaders became crusaders instead of becoming monks. It was the day of Guelph and Ghibelline, with St. Gall's in the middle of it. A prince of the Empire was the abbot of St. Gall's. And a prince of the Empire at that hour might be more of a fighter than a writer. A decline had already begun at St. Gall's in the beginning of the twelfth century, when the rival Emperors Henry IV. and Rudolf each simultaneously imposed his own abbot on the monastery. From the year 1216 the abbot was a prince of the Empire. The Canons of the Monastery were all nobles. They were thrust into sacred orders. They had no common life. They lived in their own houses and took the benefices; and they wore no mark of monastic profession. They hunted and banqueted and went to war. Things went on until the prelacy fell into the hands of Henry of Gundelfingen, who had no sacred orders, and whom Felix Hammerlin of Zurich describes as a tonsured mule. Henry was obliged to resign the abbacy at the Council of Constance. A renovation of Spirit then began and was kept up until 1529, when the place was devastated by the Swiss followers of Martin Luther. We need never be afraid of the whole truth. But the five prior centuries of St. Gall's glory and her later history, the history of

the Iona of Columba, the history of the island of schools which was universally known as the island of doctors, the history of the light radiating into the barbarous continent—all this we should be ashamed to present to the teaching fraternity in the bald sentence, that "In 1291 of all the monks in the convent of St. Gall, there was not one who could read and write."³ And now we are going to take, further, the privilege of denying outright the assertion of the author. The most that we can do for him in extenuation is to presume that he did not know the terminology of what he was writing about. We have not space to discuss the occasion of the author's error in this little sentence into which he has squeezed the history of so many centuries. But we have said enough to show how unfit and unsafe his book is to be employed as a manual for purposes of history—in particular, the history of pedagogy. The illustration which we have given of the manner in which corrections will have to be made point to the difficulty which must attend the use of such a book in the class-room, a difficulty which involves little short of a detailed course of lectures upon universal history. The straightening out of the two passages cited above would serve admirably for the matter of a year's lectures to a competent professor.

Enough has been said, then, to indicate the historical value of the work of M. Compayré. His personal loves and hates are given a verbal emphasis which has never been recognized as admissible in the style proper to the historian. There are four things that he likes: Protestantism, the Jansenists, the French Revolution, and the suppression of liberty in teaching. There are four things that he does not like: the Church, the monks of the middle ages, the Jesuits and the syllogism. A few extracts will exhibit his mind. He says:

"Christianity at the first could not be a good school for a practical and humane system of education. . . . Individual initiative, if called into play, on the one hand by the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, was stifled, on the other, under the domination of the Church." (70.)

"Of the celebrated doctors who by their erudition and eloquence, if not by their taste, made illustrious the beginning of Christianity, some were jealous mystics and sectaries in whose eyes philosophical curiosity was a sin, and the love of letters a heresy." (71.)

"The syllogism . . . was the natural instrument of an age of faith. . . . It was not then a question of original thinking." (82.)

³ We may remark that the American translator has erred in his rendering of this little sentence. M. Compayré does not say that "there was not one who could read and write." Indeed, he affirms that there *was* one, that there was *only one* who could read and write. Here is the text: "En 1291, de tous les moines du couvent de Saint-Gall, il n'y avait qu'un qui sut lire et écrire." A variation of one monk more or less will not affect our argument. We wish merely to present the original text, which happens to allow one monk too many for the American translator.

"Nothing which can truly educate man, and develop his faculties as a whole, enlists the attention of the middle age." (84.)

"The methods employed in the ecclesiastical schools of the middle age were in accord with the spirit of the times, when men were not concerned with liberty and intellectual freedom; and when they thought more about teaching dogmas than about the training of the intelligence." (85.)

"The middle age in drawing to a close came nearer and nearer, in the way of continuous progress, to the decisive emancipation which the Renaissance and the Reformation were soon to perpetuate. . . . A higher education reserved to ecclesiastics and men of noble rank, an instruction which consisted in verbal legerdemain, which developed only the mechanism of reasoning, and made of the intelligence a prisoner of the formal syllogism; agreeably to the barbarism of primitive times, a fantastic pedantry which lost itself in superficial discussions and in verbal distinctions, popular education almost null and restricted to the teaching of the catechism in Latin; finally, a Church, absolute and sovereign, which determined for all, great and small, the limits of thought, of belief, and of action; such was, from our point of view, the condition of the middle age." (90.)

Entering upon the subject of the Renaissance our author says: "The education of the middle age . . . is to be succeeded, at least in theory, by an education broader and more liberal . . . which will enfranchise the intelligence, hitherto the prisoner of the syllogism." (92.)

"The pedagogy of Rabelais is the first appearance of what may be called *realism* in instruction, in distinction from the scholastic *formalism*. The author of *Gargantua* turns the mind of the young man towards objects truly worthy of occupying his attention." (101.)

"Notwithstanding some grave defects, the pedagogy of Montaigne is a pedagogy of good sense, and certain parts of it will always deserve to be admired. The Jansenists, and Locke, and Rousseau, in different degrees, draw their inspiration from Montaigne." (120.)

A few sentences will show how he feels towards Protestantism, Jansenism and rationalism:

"It is to the Protestant Reformers—to Luther in the sixteenth century, and to Comenius in the seventeenth—that must be ascribed the honor of having first organized schools for the people. In its origin, the primary school is the child of Protestantism, and its cradle was the Reformation. . . . The Reform, then, contained, in germ, a complete revolution in education; it enlisted the interests of religion in the service of instruction, and associated knowledge with faith." (123.)

"Among the religious orders (*sic*) that have consecrated their efforts to the work of teaching, the first place must be assigned to the Jesuits and the Jansenists. . . . For the Jesuits, education is reduced to a superficial culture of the brilliant faculties of the intelligence; while the Jansenists, on the contrary, aspire to develop the solid faculties, the judgment and the reason. . . . The merit of institutions ought not always to be measured by their apparent success. . . . Although the Jesuits have not ceased to rule in appearance, it is the Jansenists who triumph in reality, and who to-day control the secondary instruction of France." (149.)

Opening the subject of the eighteenth century, he says: "The most striking of the general characteristics of French pedagogy in the eighteenth century, is that in it the lay spirit comes into mortal collision with the ecclesiastical spirit. What a contrast between the clerical preceptors of the seventeenth century and the philosophical educators of the eighteenth! . . . The philosophical spirit, which associates the theory of education with the laws of the human spirit . . . will come to light in the *Emile*, and in some other writings of the same period. . . . Finally, and this last characteristic is but the consequence of the others, education tends to become national, and at the same time humane. Preparation for life replaces preparation for death. During the whole of the eighteenth century a conception is in process of elaboration which the men of the Revolution will exhibit in its true light—that of an education public and national, which makes citizens, which works for country and for real life." (302.)

For an appreciation of the author's advocacy of a completely socialistic (with him "lay and national") system of education, we must refer the reader to the whole volume.

All things considered, the extensive use of the book in schools of pedagogy is not a very flattering index of the status of scholarship in America. This wide use of the book we are not going to attribute to malice, to a deliberate design of spreading error, concealing truth and inculcating false principles. To do this would be to take to ourselves the prerogative of searching consciences. This aside, then, there is left to us only the other alternative of ascribing the repute in which the book is held to a lack of knowledge in the now very much affected study, the history of education. There are three things that go to make up scholarship: a broad and strong grasp of unassailable principles, an exhaustive erudition, an expedite power of applying principles to the sum total of material. This promptness of application demands long exercise in the ready handling of the principles, a panoramic view of the entire matter together with a memory of details, quickness in the discovery both of opposition

and relationship, power of classification which has grown to be as an instinct, a second nature. President Schurman, of Cornell University, referring in his report for 1900-1901 to the support of professors, says (page 3): "There is some danger of scholarship and science being starved out in America; there is serious danger of their falling into neglect, if not contempt." We present his testimony in support of our own observation, though we are not disposed to admit the ultimate cause assigned, namely, a lack of endowment. Endowment is now a favorite object of educational pursuit; and the result of the quest is even a super-abundance. But it is put into brick and mortar, instead of going into the head and stomach and on the back of the professor. Schools and libraries are going up at the cost of millions; but the libraries are few and far between where a professor can enter to prepare an unbiased and erudite lecture. Whereas the little that would be required to provide proper equipment for the professor would bring to his university more glory than can be purchased by the millions that are poured out on the architectural ornaments of an education. The epoch of building is not commonly an epoch of scholarship. The value of a school is really in the ability of its professors and in the opportunities afforded them to give full scope to their genius. It is the professor that makes the school. True scholarship and teaching ability on the part of the professor ought to be the drawing card which a school should aim at possessing. Yet, when do we now hear of students going to a particular school for the benefit to be derived from the lectures and experience of an individual professor? They are attracted by the size of the establishment, by the number of students, by the mere course as printed in a catalogue or year-book, by the Rugby, base-ball and general athletics which occupy a page in every morning's paper. And we all know very well that the essential thing, the professor, may often be found of better quality in the lower estate. And if we go further down the line to observe how things stand in the matter of primary instruction, we shall see that capability is an object of no greater reverence; we shall discover, not infrequently, in suburban obscurity, the genius that would have done honor to the neighboring metropolis.

We have been led to this digression by the wide favor accorded to the book of M. Compayré. This favor is clearest proof of a decline in scholarship, and of an imminent danger pointed out by President Schurman. When a book on education, so utterly untrustworthy, is hailed as a boon by professional educators, they pass sentence on themselves, and we need not seek further for witness.

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ANARCHISM.

EVER since the beginning of the last quarter of the century just past the nations of continental Europe have been persistently haunted by the grim spectre of Anarchy. During this period its appearances have been growing in frequency, and have been embracing a wider and wider area, whilst its manifestations have been growing more violent and more appalling. We have not been unfamiliar with Anarchism in the United States. But with us, if we except the Chicago outbreak of 1886, the phenomenon has been a passive one, and our interest in it has been largely of the sort termed academic. Aside from the Chicago manifestation and the period of excitement that followed it, the development of Anarchism here, or the discussion and dissemination of its principles, has not caused us much concern; nor has it impressed us as a serious menace to persons or things in these United States, or as presenting any dangers sufficiently actual or tangible to warrant our grappling with it as a practical problem.

It all seemed something rather remote from us. When from time to time an Anarchist, with pistol or dagger, has struck down some foreign ruler, or other high political personage, or with a bursting bomb has converted some dignified political assemblage or some quiet pleasure seeking gathering into a panic-stricken mob, and sent terror abroad throughout the state, we have been shocked in no small degree, and we have felt a natural and a sincere sympathy with the state or the community that has sustained the shock. But in the natural order our own sense of shock, and even our sympathy, have been tempered by distance; and we did not, and could not, appreciate the full shock or the full significance of Anarchist outrage, until, occurring at our own doors, it appalled and stunned our senses by its suddenness, its nearness, its wanton hideousness. Then Anarchism and Anarchists became a theme of all absorbing interest to us.

In the pulpit and the press, in club and in drawing room, in office, factory and shop, in the corner grocery and on the street curb, Anarchy was the theme, and every one was ready with a dogmatic theory as to its one and only source, and with clearly formulated remedy for its extirpation. Not that all this assurance came from any deeper study, or clearer knowledge of the subject than we had had before; it was merely that the calmness with which we had regarded Anarchy, and discussed it, when it seemed merely Europe's concern, had, nearly everywhere, given way precipitately to excited

thought and intemperate speech. "Stamping out" was the catch-word of the hour, and the retrospect of that feverish outburst is not entirely flattering. Even conservative papers opened their columns freely to letters proposing punishment of varying degrees of ferocity. This was nothing short of a recrudescence of savagery. Ministers of the sublime gospel of peace and forgiveness, standing in their high places and speaking as accredited leaders of thought, clamored for the fullest revenge, after the fashion of the most unregenerate humanity; and some of them—if reported correctly in the daily press—went so far as to regret that they had not been by to slay the assassin with their own hand—to revenge assassination by assassination. These men were of the stuff that mobs are made of; and it was aptly said of them that they were "invoking anarchy in one of its manifestations to stamp out anarchy in another of its manifestations." Then, too, we had a clamor for drastic legislation that should punish by banishment or imprisonment any one who "thought anarchy," or held any views subversive of the existing social order, and a huge secret service was to be established to spy out men's secret thoughts. Of course all this would have been thoroughly impracticable, even if it had been politic; and if it had been practical its consequence would have been to turn back the whole march of progress, and abandon in a moment of panic the choicest privileges, rights, and safeguards of freedom that the race had suffered and struggled through centuries to attain. But this frame of mind did not endure; it was merely a passing hysteric.

The days following the brutal assassination of President McKinley were days that tried severely men's powers of self-restraint and of measured thought and speech; and so few there were who withstood the test, that most of us would agree with the sober minded reviewer who wrote: "One fact that recent events must have impressed upon the country is the comparatively small proportion of those figuring prominently as moulders of public opinion whose counsels can be followed safely at critical periods."

Our calmer judgment is now resuming its sway, and the later articles that are appearing on the subject are dealing with the problem of Anarchism from a saner point of view. But the reaction seems to be inclining us too much the other way, and there is a tendency to minimize the character of the problem that Anarchism presents, and to mistake the nature of Anarchism itself. We are too much inclined to investigate the subject at long range, and, in consequence, we are not getting that intimate knowledge of it that we should possess before we try to determine its causes or formulate antidotes.

At the outset we must distinguish between the philosophy or the

theory of Anarchism, and the propaganda; and we must clearly understand the sense in which we are to take the term anarchy or anarchism.

Anarchy, etymologically, means simply "without government," and it is in this colorless sense that we must understand it in our discussion. The lesson of history almost everywhere has been that "no government" has meant disorder, riot, chaos, so that the term anarchy has come historically to signify political and social chaos. But we must dissociate this meaning from our word, if we are to make any progress in the attempt to understand the nature and the development of the "Anarchism" proposed by Proudhon and the later anarchists as a programme for social reform. In the light of all our experience, and with human nature as we know it, and as it has always been since that misty prehistoric "golden age" of the poets, it may of course be argued that chaos is what the adoption of any form of Anarchism would surely bring us to again; but this is not what the anarchist advocates, nor what he professedly anticipates, and in studying his theory we must take it first as he understands it. Let us, then, first, give the theory its mildest exposition; and, then, take it in its active expression.

The Century Dictionary gives as one definition of Anarchy, "A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty." This is a statement of the essence of the theory, and is accepted as a correct statement of it by Anarchists themselves—one Anarchist organ flying it at the masthead. Beyond these two ideas, of order and absence of government, there is nothing that can be added as an essential element of the root theory of Anarchism. Various economic systems have been advocated at different times by Anarchists. The Anarchism of Proudhon, for example, was a "collectivism," similar in many respects to the programme of Socialism at the present time. It differed from "State Socialism" chiefly in this, that it was not to be founded on compulsion, but was to be a voluntary organization entered into freely by all, and any organization or any form of organization was to be terminable at will. When asked what was to be the power that should secure order in such a society, Proudhon always answered, "Justice."

On the other hand, the economic system advocated by Kropotkin and his school—which is perhaps the representative school of present day Anarchism—is not a "collectivist" but a communistic régime. And the force that Kropotkin relies upon to preserve order in his free society is a "sense of solidarity," which he maintains is inherent in men.

We are not concerned here to discuss the practicability of either of these forms of economic and social organization, nor the weakness of the compelling forces upon which they depend to preserve order. Proudhon himself is quoted as having in his later life become "convinced and expressed his conviction in his work upon the federative principle (*Du Principe Fédératif*) that ordered Anarchy was an ideal, and as such could never be realized, but that nevertheless human society should strive to attain it by means of federative organizations, as he had sketched it in his earlier writings." (Zenker, p. 89.)

The theory of anarchy as sketched by Proudhon, and his hope of approximating towards it by education and perfection of the individual, did not impress even those of his contemporaries who were firm adherents of the established order as anything very terrible.

In 1850 a review of Proudhon's "*Les Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*," in the *Eclectic Magazine*, an English evangelical journal, thus passes judgment on Proudhon's plan of anarchism:

"If ever there was a system which deserved the name of Utopian, it is surely this. Obviously, however, there is nothing offensive or terrible in socialism of such a stamp. It aims at realizing for all what the choicest spirits do even now realize for themselves—that is, perfect independence of thought and action. The moral, well educated man never feels the existence of authority but as a grievous or necessary evil. Suppose all moral and well educated—what then? Government is only rendered necessary by vice and ignorance; and, these two enemies extirpated, becomes a useless burden. . . . But we confess that, as yet, we see nothing ahead that warrants us in supposing that man is about to be regenerated; and, for the present, must pronounce anarchy to be a delightful dream."

Nothing occurred to change this tolerant view of Anarchy until the renascence of its propaganda under new and more aggressive leaders, who were men of action more than of theory, revolutionists who gave to the new agitation the sanction of the dagger and the bomb.

Then the theory and the propaganda were not distinguished, and both alike came in for indiscriminate attack. After every outrage committed in its name, Anarchism comes in for a torrent of abuse. When the excitement of the hour has passed, the reaction sets in, as at present with us, and a distinction is made between what is termed "philosophic anarchy," and anarchist outrage; and whilst the latter comes in for all the excoriation it merits, the former is handled much in the spirit of the earlier period, as indicated in the review of 1850, above quoted.

Thus, for example, a distinguished rector of a New York parish

of one of our most conservative denominations, was quoted, some time after the assassination of the President, as having said :

"Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus Christ looked forward. Christ founded no Church, established no State, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law and make them self-legislating."

And the following, from a Western paper, is typical of the attitude towards Anarchism taken by most of the calmer minded who set themselves to oppose the violent outcry that was being raised against that theory :

"Anarchy is in itself no crime. If a man is a member of the Methodist Church and commits a murder, it doesn't follow that all Methodists must be hanged or exiled. There have, in fact, been many thousands of murders committed in the name of religion, while you can count on your fingers all that are charged to Anarchy in both hemispheres. The Anarchists are simply a society that holds that the world has arrived at that plane of intelligence wherein society would be better without formal laws than with it."

It is even said by many who wish to deal fairly with "philosophic Anarchy," that Anarchism is nothing more than the expression of man's longing for the ideal, the perfect moral state. The legends, it is pointed out, of all idealistic peoples have revelled in the picture of a prehistoric "golden age," when men lived with no other rule than that of each one's moral sense, when each one merely followed the law of his own unfallen, uncorrupted nature. Every age, in turn, has longed for the return of that lost paradise, and has fixed its hopes in the "millennium" that is yet to come, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and all strife shall cease, and love, not force, shall rule. All this, it is argued, is merely the ideal of Anarchism; in this sense it is said we may all be termed Anarchists; and that what differentiates the man we call the "philosophic Anarchist" from the rest of us is merely his belief that the world is ready now, or that it could be made ready in the not distant future, for the Anarchic régime that we all desire, but the realization of which most of us defer to the remote and misty future of our "millennium."

Now all this may possibly be true of the ideal of an individual Anarchist here or there; but we cannot accept the comparison as in any sense descriptive of the content or the philosophy of the *actual movement* for Anarchism that is going on about us to-day.

The present Anarchist movement rests upon a philosophy of Atheism, and upon the crudest and most materialistic interpretation of the hypothesis of evolution; and it seems inextricably bound up with these. The comparison of Anarchism, as it exists here and now, with the ideal of the Christian "millennium," with the longed for kingdom of God upon earth, cloaks a most serious error, and masks a hideous incongruity. Between the two things there is a difference that is just as wide and just as deep as the gulf that lies between two

fundamentally antagonistic systems of philosophy. This, I believe, will be fully borne out by a brief survey of some of the basic principles that underlie modern Anarchism.

It is not, of course, possible to give any statement of Anarchism and say that it is the only correct statement of the theory; for there is not, and from the very nature of the thing there cannot be any authoritative declaration of principles or formulation of platform. The Anarchism of one man may be very different from that of another; and neither can claim for his theory anything more than his own authority. In the same way it may seem equally impossible to predicate any system of philosophy as the basis of Anarchism; and this point has been explicitly urged by one Anarchist leader, who writes:

"Myself at one time asserted very stoutly that no one could be an Anarchist and believe in God at the same time. Others assert as stoutly that one cannot accept the spiritualistic philosophy and be an Anarchist. At present I hold with C. L. James, the most learned of American Anarchists, that one's metaphysical system has very little to do with the matter. The chain of reasoning which once appeared so conclusive to me, namely, that Anarchism, being a denial of authority over the individual, could not coexist with a belief in a Supreme Ruler of the universe, is contradicted in the case of Leo Tolstoy, who comes to the conclusion that none has a right to rule another just because of his belief in God, just because he believes that all are equal children of one father, and therefore none has a right to rule the other. I speak of him because he is a familiar and notable personage, but there have frequently been instances where the same idea has been worked out by a whole sect of believers, especially in the earlier (and persecuted) stages of their development. It no longer seems necessary to me, therefore, that one should base his Anarchism upon any particular world-conception; it is a theory of the relations of man to man, and comes as an offered solution to the society problems arising from the existence of these two tendencies of which I have spoken."

But none the less there is, as a matter of fact, enough that is common in the beliefs and the teachings of the leaders of the present movement for Anarchism to give a distinctive character to that movement; and I have made a conscientious effort to get at the dominant phases of Anarchism as it is preached here in the United States at the present time. I have read much of the pamphlet and the periodical literature that has been furnished by professed Anarchists, and which represents their current thought; and I have been in correspondence with a number of Anarchists, in widely scattered parts of the country to find out from them exactly their views.¹

I believe that it is a fair statement of the real case to say that a crude interpretation of the hypothesis of evolution and a consequent corresponding denial of God are basic characteristics of current Anarchism. It may, of course, be urged, as is done in the extract above, that these are not necessary bases for a theory that is purely social. It may, indeed, be argued that much is mixed up with the actual movement to-day that is not essential to Anarch-

¹ And I beg to acknowledge here the uniform courtesy that I have received from them, and the willingness and the frankness with which they have answered all my inquiries, either about themselves or their teaching.

ism; and that we can conceive of the movement as dissociate from all this. But be this as it may, it cannot be too clearly realized that it is the actual movement—and that movement in its entirety, or in its dominating aspects—with which we are concerned as a practical problem; and not with a conceivable Anarchism that exists only in some discriminating imaginations.

In answer to the question, asked of a number of Anarchists, as to what writers had most influenced their thinking, the names of Bakounine and Kropotkin were in nearly every case given. Let us, then, take some of the principles of these two writers under review.

Bakounine rests his Anarchism on man's animal evolution. He takes as a "fundamental and decisive truth," that "the social world, properly speaking, the human world—in short, humanity—is nothing other than the supreme development, the highest manifestation of animality, at least on our planet as far as we know." (Bakounine: "God and the State," p. 3.)

Our first ancestors were "omnivorous, intelligent and ferocious beasts;" and their point of departure from their fellows in the process of evolution was that they had come to be "endowed in a higher degree than the animals of any other species with two precious faculties—the power to think and the desire to rebel." ("God and the State," p. 3.)

Bakounine, assuming the rôle of Biblical expositor, regards the story of the Fall, narrated in Genesis, as a myth, but with a kernel of truth hidden in it. This truth, he insists, is clear, but it has been inverted in the accepted interpretation, and it was reserved for him to give us the true explanation. There was no Fall, he explains, by the act of disobedience chronicled in Genesis; it was a rise. It was the beginning of the human stage in evolution. By this act "man has emancipated himself; he has separated himself from animality and constituted himself a man; he has begun his distinctively human history by an act of disobedience and science—that is, by rebellion and thought." ("God and the State," p. 4.)

With the instinct of a mad revolutionist, Bakounine aspostrophises the Satan of the story as "the eternal rebel, the first free thinker and the emancipator of worlds." For Bakounine, Satan is the real creator of man, for "he emancipates him—stamps upon his brow the seal of liberty and humanity, in urging him to disobey and eat of the fruit of knowledge." ("God and the State," p. 4.)

Only under an anarchic régime, then, can man realize the omega of his evolution, the goal of his rebellion; and the anarchic society of Bakounine must set up Satan as its patron saint, for it is the realization of his kingdom, rather than the "millennium" of Christ and his saints.

Starting from this basis, Bakounine reasons that Anarchism, the true freedom of man, is not compatible with the acceptance of a belief in God. Not only must man throw off all external authority to obtain his rightful freedom, not only must he reject the yoke of the state, or the authority of a visible church, but he cannot even acknowledge a God, or any moral order that would limit in any way the free play of his desires and his passions.

Treating "this question of the existence of a God, or of the divine origin of the world or of man, solely from the standpoint of its moral and social utility," he writes: "The idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice." ("God and the State," p. 10.) He insists that the very ideas of God and of human liberty are logical contradictions, and that there can be no claim to liberty by a race holding to a belief in God. "For if God is, He is necessarily the eternal, supreme, absolute master, and if such a master exists, man is a slave; . . . His existence necessarily implies the slavery of all that is beneath Him. Therefore, if God existed, only in one way could He serve human liberty—that is, by ceasing to exist.

"A jealous lover of human liberty, and deeming it the absolute condition of all that we admire and respect in humanity, I reverse the phrase of Voltaire and say that if God existed, it would be necessary to abolish Him." ("God and the State," p. 12.) Is it from such seed as this that we are to reap on earth the kingdom of God and His justice?

There is no difficulty, then, in discovering the basis for Bakounine's demand for anarchic liberty; nor is it difficult to discern the nature and the extent of the liberty demanded for a deified, self-created humanity. Doubtless most of the "outsiders," who have been explaining "philosophic Anarchy" as merely the desire for the liberty that will come with moral development and self-restraint, would start back from the prospect of the "liberty" exercised in a social system based on the philosophy of Bakounine; and instead of confusing this type of Anarchism with the hope for the "millennium," we should rather proclaim that the liberty demanded is of a sort with which we have neither part nor sympathy.

In the writings of Kropotkin, who, after Bakounine, is one of the foremost of the godfathers and the prophets of modern Anarchism, we shall find more clearly worked out the moral principles that flow from the philosophy of Bakounine; and we shall understand just what is the nature of the moral force relied upon to secure the "order" that is to go hand in hand with absolute liberty in the day of Anarchism. Like Bakounine, he is an evolutionist who sees in

man only a higher development of animality, and he, consistently, goes to the animal kingdom to seek a basis for morality, and to find the standard for the distinction between what is good and what is evil.

For Kropotkin, the moral sense is merely "a feeling of solidarity," which he claims to find in beasts of every type as well as in man. "This feeling little by little became a habit, and was transmitted by heredity from the simplest microscopic organism to its descendants, insects, birds, reptiles, mammals, man." Finally, this feeling of solidarity, or in other words, the moral sentiment, becomes "a necessity to the animal, like food or the organ for digesting it." We need not fear that man will lose the moral sentiment, for "even if we wished to get rid of it, we could not. It would be easier for a man to accustom himself to walk on all fours than to get rid of the moral sentiment. It is anterior, in animal evolution, to the upright posture of man. The moral sense is a natural faculty in us, like the sense of smell or touch." (Kropotkin: "Anarchist Morality," p. 13.)

This "feeling of solidarity" leads all animals, man included, to recognize as good any action or line of conduct that tends to "the preservation of the race;" and as bad, all that operates against this preservation. The Anarchist standard of moral action, according to Kropotkin, is thus simply summed up: "Is this useful to society? Then it is good. Is this hurtful? Then it is bad." ("Anarchist Morality," p. 9.)

So much for the speculative basis of his philosophy. And we may, perhaps, argue that so far organized society need have no quarrel with this philosophy or this standard of morality, since they seem to make for the preservation of society itself. But when we come to the practical application that Kropotkin makes of the conclusions that naturally flow from his premises, we reach the point at which society will most certainly take issue with Anarchism. The brain, says Kropotkin, "released from religious terrors," asks itself, "why should any morality be obligatory?" Having founded his moral sense on an evolved animal instinct, having made it a natural faculty, "like the sense of smell or touch," he sees that we have no more right to force our own peculiar development of this instinct upon our neighbor than we have to try to force upon him our peculiar individual standard of touch or smell, and he, therefore, denies "both obligation and moral sanction." "We forego, with Gayau, even sanctions of all kinds, even obligations to morality. We are not afraid to say: 'Do what you will; act as you will;' because we are persuaded that the great majority of mankind, in proportion to their degree of enlightenment, and the completeness with which they free themselves from existing fetters, will behave and act always in

a direction useful to society; just as we are persuaded beforehand that a child will one day walk on its two feet, and not on all fours, simply because it is born of parents belonging to the genus homo."

This is, truly, the superlative of optimism—it sounds, indeed, like the very ecstasy of madness. But if such naïve optimism be as unwarranted as experience leads the judicious to suspect it is, our philosopher leaves us helpless. For he stoutly maintains that in dealing with the refractory "all we can do is to give advice;" and lest even this might seem an impertinent attempt to limit that absolute freedom of the individual so precious to the Anarchist, we must always modestly add: 'This advice will be valueless if your own experience and observation do not lead you to recognize that it is worth following.' . . . We have only the right to give advice, to which we add: Follow it, if it seems good to you." (*"Anarchist Morality,"* p. 16.)

So insistent is he that we must leave "to each one the right to act as he thinks best," that our philosopher denies utterly "the right of society to punish any one, in any way, for any anti-social act he may have committed." (*"Anarchist Morality,"* p. 16.) Here is no modest demand for "freedom of thought," but an unmistakable shriek for freedom of action. How much this means, what its logical consequences are, we shall understand better when we come to discuss the Anarchist theory of "propaganda by deed." But even in its abstract form we recognize it as a mild invitation to social suicide, and, with the recollection of such acts as Czolgosz's still fresh in our minds, society will most emphatically decline to leave to each one the right to act as he thinks best—with impunity.

The attitude of Anarchism towards marriage and the family is here shadowed forth. It naturally follows from Kropotkin's premises that marriage, as an institution, should cease. I have not come upon anything of Kropotkin's dealing specifically with the institution of marriage; but the consequence of his teaching is too plain to be mistaken. Some of his colleagues deal with the matter more directly, and state in exact terms the attitude of Anarchism towards marriage. Says Grave: "The Anarchists, therefore, reject the institution of marriage. . . . What they (the parties to a marriage) have made of their own free will they can unmake of their own free will. . . . Is it necessary that these two beings, because in a moment of passionate effervescence they deceived themselves with illusions, should pay a whole lifetime of suffering for the error of a moment, which made them take for a profound and eternal passion what was but the result of an over-excitation of the senses?" (Grave: *"Moribund Society and Anarchy,"* p. 39.)

It cannot be said that this is anything more than the logical conclusion from the premises of Bakounine and Kropotkin. It explicitly reduces marriage to a mere episode of "cohabitation-at-will," and ushers in the reign of "free love." A recognized Anarchist leader, writing in one of their journals of last May, regrets exceedingly that any one "should insult those who believe in free love by treating it as a heinous offense;" and he asks, "In the name of Liberalism, why should a man be discredited for believing in free love, any more than in free silver?"

I think it will be admitted that the nature and the extent of the "liberty" demanded for the individual by Bakounine, Kropotkin and their colleagues, is something very different from the ideal of liberty desired by the Christian and God-fearing men who have been mistakenly abetting the cause of Anarchism by identifying the two things. It cannot be repeated too emphatically, that the confusing of these two ideals is vicious. For, taking the words of the leaders of Anarchism themselves, their demand for liberty rests on a basis that necessitates the annihilation of all belief in a creating God, all belief in a redeeming Christ, all belief in the institution of marriage, and, in short, all belief in any obligatory morality or in any moral standard or moral sanction.

Let us now pass from "philosophic Anarchy" to "practical Anarchy," from the philosophy of Anarchism to the agitation for the spread of this philosophy and the inauguration of the actual revolution that is to usher in the new régime.

This propagandism has two representatives, "the man with a book, and the man with a bomb." Their respective activities may be described as a "campaign of education"—to borrow a phrase from "practical politics"—and a campaign of assassination.

So far as the first sort of campaign is concerned, it does not materially differ from any other peaceful propaganda carried on for the dissemination of a theory; but the extent of the activity in it is, perhaps, little understood.

The second method of propagandism, the campaign of assassination, is more novel; and its real nature and significance are, probably, not at all understood by "outsiders." The list of crimes, which, during the past quarter of a century, have been perpetrated in the name of Anarchism, have not by any means been merely those mad and aimless acts of irresponsible individuals, such as mark every acute social agitation. They have not been aimless. On the contrary, they have a philosophy behind them. They represent one phase of a systematic propagandism, styled by the Anarchists themselves, "propaganda by deed," or "propaganda by action"—which has been one of the distinguishing features of the later Anarchist

movement. It represents a policy borrowed from the Nihilist of Russia, and it was incorporated in the Anarchist movement when Anarchism, which, after a short celebrity, was passing into oblivion, was revived in Western Europe by Russian refugees. For it must be understood that it is the baleful and blasphemous influence of Michael Bakounine, and of his Russian disciples, and not the spirit of Proudhon, or his German contemporaries, that has given character to the modern Anarchist movement, and lent to it the sanction of the dagger and the bomb.

The conditions in Russia were such that many of the Nihilist leaders felt that the great body of the Russian people was ripe for revolt; and that it only needed a few acts of daring on the part of individuals to awaken the masses to the fact that the revolution had begun and to inspire them with a sense of their own power. What was needed, they felt, was not so much to convert the people to the principles of revolution—thanks to the despotism, that was already done; it was only necessary to arouse the masses to action, by acts of personal revolt. "Words," writes one of the Nihilist leaders, "have no value for us, unless followed at once by action. But all is not action that is so called; for example, the modest and too cautious organization of secret societies without external announcements to outsiders is in our eyes merely ridiculous and intolerable child's-play. By external announcements we mean a series of actions that positively destroy something—a person, a cause, a condition that hinders the emancipation of the people. Without sparing our lives, we must break into the life of the people with a series of rash, even senseless, actions, and inspire them with a belief in their powers, awake them, unite them, and lead them on to the triumph of their cause." (Net-schajew: quoted by Zenker, "Anarchism," p. 168.)

Brousse, another disciple of Bakounine, and one of the leading spirits of the Bakounist revival of Anarchism, seized the idea of this "propaganda by action," and advocated it for the spread of Anarchism in the Western world. "Deeds," says he, "are talked of on all sides; the indifferent masses inquire about their origin, and thus pay attention to the new doctrine, and discuss it. Let men once get as far as this, and it is not hard to win over many of them." (Zenker, p. 169.)

It is to be noted, therefore, that assassination and outrage are counseled, not because they directly realize the aim of Anarchy; not that it is thought that the removal of a Czar or a King or a President will at once overturn the system of which he is the head; but they are counseled as a sort of "sanguinary advertisement" to attract the mass of the people to the study of Anarchism. The man with the bomb thus acts as advance agent for the man with the book.

In the light of this sort of philosophy, acts of outrage that had seemed wanton and aimless take on another complexion.

Since the assassination of President McKinley it has been asserted on all sides, both by Anarchists themselves and by many who, while having no sympathy with their doctrines, have desired to deal with them in all fairness, that violence and murder are no essential part of the philosophy of Anarchism; and that these outrages, when perpetrated by individual Anarchists, should not be laid to the charge of Anarchism itself. Thus, Emma Goldman writes:

"Having shown that violence is not the result of personal influence or one particular ideal, I deem it unnecessary to go into a lengthy theoretical discussion as to whether Anarchism contains the element of force or not. The question has been discussed time and again, and it is proven that Anarchism and violence are as far apart from each other as liberty and tyranny. I care not what the rabble says, but to those who are still capable of understanding I would say that anarchism, being a philosophy of life, aims to establish a state of society in which man's inner make-up and the conditions around him can blend harmoniously together, so that he will be able to utilize all the forces to enlarge and beautify the life about him. To those I would also say that I do not advocate violence; government does this, and force begets force."—*Free Society*, October 6.

Another writer, not an Anarchist, takes up the cudgels for Anarchism, believing that it is being misrepresented, and hails it as a gospel of peace, and not "a message of blood:"

"Anarchy aims to abolish government not by killing rulers, but developing thoughts in the minds of men, that government is not necessary, that there is room enough on earth for men to dwell in peace and plenty, without standing armies, police, jails and scaffolds. The Anarchist propaganda is not a message of blood, but of peace; it appeals to reason, to human sympathy. Study their literature and it will be found that there is no connection between Czolgosz's act and the philosophy of Anarchy. Suppose Czolgosz was an Anarchist. It is cruel and inhuman to hold all Anarchists responsible for the act of one of their number. The slayer of Garfield claimed that he had a mission from God to kill the President, but did the world at large hold Christianity responsible for that bloody act?"—George B. Wheeler in the *Freethought Ideal*, quoted in *Free Society*, October 27.

From London comes the assurance that Anarchism has dispensed with bombs, and that when murder is wrought it is at the wicked instigation of the enemies of Anarchism—the police. "Anarchists do not make plots in these days; they know that in every case where bomb throwing is advocated the suggestion comes from a police pupil or a police dupe." (*Freedom*, London. Quoted in *Free Society*, October 20.)

Another Anarchist leader assures us that the Anarchists themselves deprecated the act of Czolgosz, as likely to injure their cause with the public:

"On September 7 last there was probably not an Anarchist in the United States who did not deprecate the act of Czolgosz, if as nothing else, then as probably a great blow to Anarchism."—*Free Society*, October 27.

And another Anarchist writer seeks to render "propaganda by deed" a mere statement of an old platitude:

"'Propaganda by deed' is now often quoted as an interpretation of assassination.

In reality its advocates meant to convey nothing else than the carrying out of our beliefs into action. All theories are of little value unless they are applied to our daily life and conduct."—*Free Society*, October 27.

These extracts assert: first, that there is no necessary connection between the philosophy of Anarchism and violence or assassination; and, second, that Anarchists do not, as a matter of expediency, counsel violence, and that "propaganda by deed" has no such sinister signification as is claimed by those who identify it with assassination. As to the first position, it is entirely beside the particular point that is of concern to us. The speculative philosophy of Anarchism may or may not be entirely separable in theory from violence, or murder; our concern is not with the philosophy of Anarchism, but with the present Anarchist movement. It may, in turn, be urged that violence and murder are, carefully speaking, not an essential part of the Anarchist movement. But this, too, is beside the point; the question of real interest to us is, does it actually form a part of that movement? We have little concern with a possible, or an imaginary, or an "expurgated" Anarchist movement; but we have much concern with the actual movement that is going on about us—and with that movement in its entirety. As to the contention that the Anarchists do not advocate violence, and that "propaganda by deed" does not mean assassination—all this is simply not true. It will be seen from what follows that the Anarchist movement has, as a matter of fact, incorporated within itself both the philosophy and the practice of the assassination feature of this diabolical "propaganda by deed." In proof of this, let us place in contrast to the disclaimers already quoted the following unequivocal statements, taken from writings at the present time current in Anarchist circles, and written by leaders whose influence is, admittedly, strongly felt in the movement now going on in the United States.

Let us first understand, from an accepted Anarchist source, just what is the interpretation of the phrase "propaganda by deed." We shall find it clearly interpreted in "Moribund Society and Anarchy," a work written in French by Jean Grave, and much esteemed by Anarchists. It was translated into English about two years ago, and has had much circulation in American Anarchist circles. Grave does not mince matters; he is sufficiently explicit for the most exacting. On pages 125-6 we find:

"'Propaganda by deed' is nothing more than thought transferred into action; and in the preceding chapter we observed that to feel a thing profoundly is to want to realize it. This is a sufficient reply to detractors. But, *per contra*, there are some Anarchists more incensed than enlightened who have, in turn, been more anxious to relegate everything to propaganda by deed; to kill the capitalists, to knock employers on the head, set fire to the factories and monu-

ments, that was all they could think of; whoever failed to talk about burning and killing was unworthy to call himself an Anarchist!

"Now, as to action our position is this: We have already said that action is the flowering of thought; but furthermore this action must have an aim, we must know what it is about, it must tend towards an end sought and not turn against itself. Let us take for example, the incendiary burning of a factory in full operation; it employs a large number of workmen. The director of this factory is an average employer, neither too good nor too bad, of whom nothing in particular is to be said. Evidently if this factory is set afire, without either rhyme or reason, it can have no other effect but to throw the workmen into the streets. These latter, furious at the temporary access of misery to which they are thereby reduced, will not hunt for the reasons which prompted the authors of the deed; they will most certainly devote all their anger to the incendiaries and the ideas which led them to take up the torch. Behold the consequences of an unreasonable act! But let us, on the other hand, suppose a struggle between employers and workmen—any sort of strife. In a strike there surely are some employers more cruel than others, who by their exactions have necessitated this strike or by their intrigues have kept it up longer by persuading their colleagues to resist the demands of the strikers; without doubt these employers draw upon themselves the hatred of the workers. Let us suppose one of the like executed in some corner, with a placard posted explaining that he has been killed as an exploiter, or that his factory has been burned from the same motive. In such a case there is no being mistaken as to the reasons prompting the authors of the deeds, and we may be sure that they will be applauded by the whole laboring world. Such are intelligent deeds, which show that actions should always follow a guiding principle."

With equal explicitness, Grave tells his Anarchist brethren of other lines of "action" besides assassination:

"At the outset Anarchists must renounce the warfare of army against army, battles arrayed on fields, struggles laid out by strategists and tacticians manœuvring armed bodies as the chess player manœuvres his figures upon the chess-board. The struggle should be directed chiefly towards the destruction of institutions. The burning up of deeds, registers of land surveys, proceedings of notaries and solicitors, tax collectors' books, the ignoring of the limits of holdings, destruction of the regulations of the civil staff, etc.; the expropriation of the capitalists, taking possession in the name of all, putting articles of consumption freely at the disposal of all—all this is the work of small and scattered groups, of skirmishes, not regular battles. And this is the warfare which the Anarchists must seek to

encourage everywhere in order to harass governments, compel them to scatter their forces; tire them out and decimate them piecemeal. No need of leaders for blows like these; as soon as some one realizes what should be done he preaches by example, acting so as to attract others to him." (P. 123.)

But we need not go so far from home, nor a year or more back, to find the principles of warfare that are recommended by those on the "inside" as proper to the Anarchist movement. A California exponent of principles—a woman—writing in a recognized organ of the Anarchists, under date of the past April, explicitly urges on her comrades a carnival of "looting," in which bank, church, government treasuries, shop, and private household, shall alike be the object of indiscriminate attack. For her text she takes, "The strong, from the beginning, have stolen their bread;" and then proceeds: "But, I would ask, why do those of us who recognize the thieves, hesitate, from 'principle,' to appropriate, 'without money and without price,' anything they 'own' which we want whenever it is handy for us to do so? . . . Courage is required to run the risk of detection and detention by the 'authorities,' but is the need for fearlessness greater than that demanded for the expression of revolutionary ideas, or to defy Grundy in everyday life? . . . Many conventional people excuse theft from vampires if the deed be done to ward off starvation. Is mere capacity for breathing life? To the lover of beauty it is hardship if prevented from having beautiful things. The hindering is, without question, the starving of the part of the individual. If 'self preservation is the first law of nature,' who shall blame a poverty pinched person from pilfering a privileged parasite?"

"Do I advocate theft as part of an economic system of society? By no means. In a FREE society theft would be impossible. In an authoritarian society it cannot be avoided. What I advocate is disobedience to authority, and I maintain that thwarting its schemes in any measure or by any means is estimable—it is revolutionary. . . .

"When a rebel refuses to pay rent or tax, or beats a railroad corporation out of the customary fare, the acts are commended by every genuine revolutionist. In my opinion the deed is not less deserving of praise if it be the looting of a bank, or church money-box, or government treasury, or if shoplifting, common burglary, or petty larceny, be practised. . . .

"Theft from the rich spongers is honorable, not only when committed to slay the wolf of hunger, but also when an artistic taste can be gratified or cultivated, a mechanical faculty developed, work and worry lessened, pleasure gained—in short, whenever the comfort of the oppressed can be enhanced thereby."

And this is the stuff that is preached in the name of the Anarchist movement!

Kropotkin probably stands foremost amongst the living prophets of modern Anarchism, and he is usually regarded as a "philosophic Anarchist," as one who would give no countenance to a campaign of violence, and who rejects the "propaganda of action." But I find him quoted very directly to the contrary. The following is given as his reply to the question of "how words must be translated into deeds:"

"The answer is easy; it is action, the continual, incessantly renewed action of the minority that will produce this transformation. Courage, devotion, self-sacrifice, are as contagious as cowardice, subjection, and terror. What form is action to take? Any form—as different as are circumstances, means, and temperaments. Sometimes arousing sorrow, sometimes scorn, but always bold; sometimes isolated, sometimes in common, it despises no means ready to hand, it neglects no opportunity of public life to propagate discontent, and to clothe it in words, to arouse hatred against the exploiter, to make the ruling powers ridiculous, to show their weakness, and ever to excite audacity, the spirit of revolt, by the preaching of example. If a feeling of revolution awakes in a country, and the spirit of open revolt is already sufficiently alive among the masses to break out in tumultuous disorders in the streets, *émeutes* and risings—then it is 'action' alone by which the minority can create this feeling of independence and that atmosphere of audacity without which no revolution can be completed. Men of courage who do not stop at words, but seek to transform them into deeds, pure characters for whom the action and the idea are inseparable, who prefer prisons, exile, or death, rather than a life not in accordance with their principles, fearless men, who know what must be risked in order to win success—those are the devoted outposts who begin the battle long before the masses are sufficiently moved to unfurl the standard of insurrection, and to march sword in hand to the conquest of their rights. Amid complaints, speeches, theoretical discussions, an act of personal or general revolt takes place. It cannot be otherwise than that the great mass at first remains indifferent; those especially who admire the courage of the person or group that took the initiative will apparently follow the wise and prudent in hastening to describe this act as folly, and in speaking of the fools and hot-headed people who compromise everything. These wise and prudent ones had fully calculated that their party, if it slowly pursued its objects, would perhaps have conquered the world in one, two, or three centuries, and now the unforeseen intrudes! The unforeseen is that which was not foreseen by the prudent. But those who know his-

tory and can lay claim to any well ordered reasoning power, however small, know quite well that a theoretical propaganda of revolution must necessarily be translated into action long before theorists have decided that the time for it has come. None the less, the theorists are enraged with the 'fools' and excommunicate and ban them. But the fools find sympathy, the mass of the people secretly applaud their boldness, and they find imitators. In proportion as the first of them fill the prisons, others come forward to continue their work. The acts of illegal protest, of revolt, of revenge increase. Indifference becomes impossible. Those who at first only asked what on earth the fools meant, are compelled to take them seriously, to discuss their ideas, and to take sides for or against. By acts which are done under the notice of the people the new idea communicates itself to men's minds and finds adherents. One such act makes in a few days more proselytes than thousands of books."²

In his work, "Anarchist Morality" (pp. 14-15), Kropotkin unequivocally, and quite coolly, concedes the right of theft and assassination to those who, in his jargon, "have conquered the right." Here are his words:

"Perhaps it may be said—it has been said sometimes—'But if you think you must always treat others as you would be treated yourself, what right have you to use force under any circumstances whatsoever? What right have you to level a cannon at any barbarous or civilized invaders of your country? What right have you to dispossess the exploiter? What right to kill not only a tyrant, but a mere viper?'

"What right? What do you mean by that singular word, borrowed from the law? Do you wish to know if I shall feel conscious of having acted well in doing this? If those I esteem will think I have done well? Is that what you ask? If so, the answer is simple.

"Yes, certainly! Because we, we ourselves, should ask to be killed, like venomous beasts, if we went to invade Burmese or Zulus, who have done us no harm. We should say to our son or our friend: 'Kill me, if I ever take part in the invasion!'

"Yes, certainly! Because we, we ourselves, should ask to be dispossessed if, giving the lie to our principles, we seized upon an inheritance, did it fall from on high, to use it for the exploitation of others.

"Yes, certainly! Because any man with a heart asks beforehand that he may be slain, if ever he becomes venomous; that a dagger may be plunged into his heart, if ever he should take the place of a dethroned tyrant. . . .

² I have taken this quotation at second hand. I have not been able to get the original containing it, but it is given in a reliable treatise, and the reference is to Kropotkin's work by title and page, "L'Esprit de Revolte," p. 7.

"Perovskaya and her comrades killed the Russian Czar. And all mankind, despite the repugnance to the spilling of blood, despite the sympathy for one who had allowed the serfs to be liberated, recognized their right to do as they did. Why? Not because the act was generally recognized as useful; two out of three still doubt if it was so; but because it was felt that not for all the gold in the world would Perovskaya and her comrades have consented to become tyrants themselves. Even those who know nothing of the drama are certain that it was no youthful bravado, no palace conspiracy, no attempt to gain power; it was hatred of tyranny, even to the scorn of self, even to the death.

" 'These men and women,' it was said, 'had conquered the right to kill;' as it was said of Louise Michel, 'she had the right to rob;' or again, 'they have the right to steal,' in speaking of those terrorists who lived on dry bread, and stole a million or two of the Kishineff treasure, taking, at their own peril, all possible precaution to free the sentinel, who guarded the wealth with fixed bayonet, from all responsibility.

"Mankind has never refused the right to use force to those who have conquered that right, be it exercised upon the barricades or in the shadow of a cross-way. But if such an act is to produce a deep impression upon men's minds, the right must be conquered. Without this, such an act, whether useful or no, will remain merely a brutal fact, of no importance in the progress of ideas. Folks will see in it nothing but a displacement of force, simply the substitution of one exploiter for another."

In view of utterances like these, all general disclaimers, all assertions that Anarchism, as it actually exists here and now, is purely a gospel of peace, a serene and beautiful philosophic ideal, that involves no theory of violence and neither encourages nor justifies pillage or assassination, simply become empty rhetoric. Not only do Anarchists encourage the ill balanced to acts of murder, but they applaud the actual commission, and accept the perpetrator as one of their heroes. In an Anarchist lecture delivered in Philadelphia last April, and republished in Chicago within a month after the assassination of the President, we find the following "as to methods" of propagandism:

"A few words as to the methods. In times past Anarchists have excluded each other on these grounds also; revolutionists contemptuously said 'Quaker' of peace men; 'savage Communists' anathematized the Quakers in return. This, too, is passing. I say this: all methods are to the individual capacity and decision."

The lecturer then goes on to describe the favorite methods of propagandism adopted by "John Most," "Peter Kropotkin," and other lights, and approves each for adopting the method best suited

to his temperament; and then, passing on to Bresci, the assassin of Humbert, acknowledges him as an Anarchist propagandist, and accepts his "method" as entirely proper:

"And over there in his coffin cell in Italy lies the man whose method was to kill a king and shock the nations into a sudden consciousness of the hollowness of their law and order. Him, too, him and his act, without reserve I accept, and bend in silent acknowledgment of the strength of the man. For there are some whose nature it is to think and plead, and yield, and yet return to the address and so make headway in the minds of their fellowmen; and there are others who are stern and still, resolute, implacable as Judah's dream of God; and those men strike—strike once and have ended. But the blow resounds across the world. And as on a night when the sky is heavy with storm some sudden great white flare sheets across it and every object starts sharply out, so in the flash of Bresci's pistol shot the whole world for a moment saw the tragic figure of the Italian people, starved, stunted, crippled, huddled, degraded, murdered; and at the same moment that their teeth chattered with fear, they came and asked the Anarchists to explain themselves. And hundreds of thousands of people read more in those few days than they had ever read of the idea before."

In conclusion, the lecturer speeds her parting hearers with this significant suggestion: "Each choose that method which expresses your selfhood best, and condemn no other man because he expresses his Self otherwise." And the obvious interpretation of this is, simply, that if any of her auditors have a murderous bent, let them not hesitate to give it sweep.

Here, then, is the real content, the true significance, of Anarchism as it exists about us to-day; and it is important for us to discuss the subject in a practical sense, and not from an academic viewpoint that regards a theoretical Anarchism which has little real likeness to the actual thing.

CHARLES P. NEILL.

Washington, D. C.

Scientific Chronicle.

RECENT TESTS OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES.

The daily press has recently published extracts from a report of a board appointed by Congress to test the Gathmann gun. At the head of the board was Major Knight, of the corps of engineers. The tests were made at the Sandy Hook proving grounds, and the report has been laid before Congress by Secretary Root. The summing up of the report is as follows:

"After a careful consideration of the effect of the various impacts on the respective targets of the Gathmann gun and the 12-inch army service rifle, the board finds that none of the impacts from the Gathmann gun would have endangered a modern battleship; that the Gathmann system is not effective as a means of attacking armored vessels, and that any one of the shots from the 12-inch army service rifle would have wrought serious injury to a modern battleship as regards its buoyancy, the interior mechanism and the armament and the personnel.

"It may be said in this connection that the destructive effect of the 12-inch army service rifle surpasses anything hitherto obtained from any gun as far as this board has knowledge or as the records show.

"There is nothing in the Gathmann system to recommend its adoption in the public service of the United States or to warrant further experiments."

This summing up, which appeared in many of the daily papers, was accompanied in many instances with the statement that the Gathmann gun was useless, that the Gathmann gun was a failure, and the like. These comments are in the light of the facts in the case exaggerations. In the tests it did not fail, but proved that it was exceedingly effective. It was, however, surpassed by its competitor, and hence the failure was one by comparison; it failed to win, although it did remarkably fine work.

There have been for a long time two schools among experimenters divided in their opinion as to the most effective way of destroying armored vessels by means of high explosives. One school claimed that all that was necessary was to explode a large amount of gun-cotton against the side or deck of the vessel to blow in the structure and sink the ship. The other school held that high explosives detonated on the outside of the armored battleship would be com-

paratively ineffective and that the only way was to carry these explosives in armor-piercing shells through the armor and explode them in the interior of the vessel.

At Sandy Hook both methods were tested under precisely the same conditions. Two face-hardened armor plates, each 16 feet long by $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, manufactured under the Krupp patents, were mounted so as to represent a section of the side of the battleship Iowa. Behind each plate was a 6-inch oak backing, then a $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch steel plate, which was supported by four vertical plate frames of the same dimensions as those which back up the armor at the water-line of the Iowa. Behind these was another plate reproducing the interior skin of the vessel. Back of this plate were four vertical 14 by 14-inch oak posts set up on four longitudinal posts of the same dimensions and braced diagonally by struts of like dimensions. These oak struts were completely buried in a backing of sand filled in to the height of the target and sloping backwards a distance of 40 or 50 feet. Against two such plates identical in make and supported in precisely the same way the two contending methods were tested.

Three of the Gathmann shells were fired. The first shot struck the centre of the target with a velocity of 1,660 feet per second. Only a partial detonation took place and the shell failed to make any impression on the plate. The second shot hit the plate with the same velocity, detonated more fully, but neither penetrated nor cracked the plate. This shot hit near the right-hand edge of the plate. Just at this point the plate lacked the support it would have if it formed a part of the continuous armor of a ship, and lacking this support it was forced backwards about 35 inches and to the left about 12 inches. The third shot hit the left-hand edge of the plate with a velocity of 2,100 feet, and the detonation was complete. The striking energy of the shell, together with the explosive force of the guncotton, forced back the plate, the backing, the timber struts and the sand backing, a mass of about 700 tons a distance of 8 feet to the rear and 8 feet to the left. The plate was broken in two near the end furthest from the point of impact. This break was not due to the explosive force, but to the transverse bending stress. The work done by the 500 pounds of guncotton argues anything but failure. The expert opinion, however, was that this result would not have been produced had the plate the support that it would have had as a part of the continuous armor of a vessel, and therefore it was inferior to that produced by the explosive in an armor-piercing shell.

This effect was shown in the other set of tests. The first round was a 1,000 pound armor-piercing shot with about 20 pounds of explosive. It struck the plate in the centre and exploded as it

passed through. It tore a conical-shaped hole through the latter half of the plate and the fragments of the plate and shell swept through the steel backing, cutting the oak struts and blowing a large cavity out of the sand backing. In the second round 25 pounds of maximite were used. It struck towards the right-hand edge, penetrated the plate, exploding as it passed through. The plate was completely wrecked, being cracked through both vertically and horizontally. An additional portion of the sand heap was also blown away. For the third round they took 65 pounds of explosive, which struck the target with a velocity of 2,000 feet, a velocity 200 feet in excess of that of the first shots. With ordinary explosive the shell would have been helpless against the 11½-inch plate. It struck towards the left-hand side of the plate, tore out a section weighing about one ton and a half and swept it, together with its own fragments and those of the backing, through the great sand heap and landed it at a distance of 200 feet to the rear of the target. The description in the *Scientific American* for November 30, from which these facts are taken, concludes: "After a personal inspection of this target, or rather what was left of it, we felt satisfied that in a duel, at point-blank range, a vessel armed with these high-explosive armor-piercing shells would have her opponent completely at her mercy. Any one of these shells bursting within a barbette would kill every man within it, and if it burst within a central rapid-fire battery, it would unquestionably paralyze the gun detachments, if it did not disable every gun within the battery."

While the results obtained at Sandy Hook go on record as the most remarkable yet reached in any country in the world, they at the same time, in the opinion of experts, settle the dispute as to the best way of attacking armored vessels in favor of the armor-piercing shell with high explosive that by means of a time fuse is delayed in exploding until it has entered the vessel.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

The activity with which wireless telegraphy is being applied to practical purposes is an encouraging argument for the future utility of this mode of communication. The successful communication between warships at sea, between merchant vessels and the shore and between land stations over two hundred miles apart is evidence of the rapid advance that is making in wireless telegraphy. The

success of the installation on Nantucket Island has been referred to frequently in the daily press.

At Siasconset on the island is a mast which carries 180 feet of vertical wire. In a cottage near the base of the mast the receiving and transmitting instruments are housed. On the Nantucket Shoals lightship, stationed about forty miles south of Siasconset, a similar outfit is placed.

By means of the apparatus on the lightship communication with the steamship *Lucania* was possible while that vessel was still 72 miles east of Nantucket. Within half an hour after the vessel communicated with the lightship she was in communication with New York, a distance of 200 miles. The messages were sent through the shore station on Nantucket.

This success reduces by half a day the time a transatlantic steamer is cut off from communication with the outside world.

Not long ago the *Lucania* on her trip eastward communicated with the *Campania* in mid-ocean and going in the opposite direction. During the time of communication the shortest distance between them was 33 miles and the longest 65. When during a recent fog the *Lucania* did not arrive at her New York dock on time, the agent of the company had the Marconi operator on the *Umbria*, which was then at the dock, try if he could communicate with her. As soon as the instruments on the *Umbria* were set going, a message came back from the *Lucania* stating that she was anchored outside the bar waiting for the fog to lift. Similar results are every day pointing to the practical use that may be made of this mode of communication.

There is, however, one point which has not yet been satisfactorily met, and that is selective wireless telegraphy. That is, at present, it is not feasible to send two messages at once. This was demonstrated in the reporting of the recent yacht races. There were three different systems at work to report these races. The Associated Press had a complete set of Marconi apparatus for the purpose, and everything was in first-class working condition. They transmitted messages which were received quickly and accurately at the land station, which was in the hotel at Long Beach, L. I. The rate of transmission was about twelve words per minute, and the greatest distance was about twenty miles.

The Publishers' Press Association at the same time and for the same purpose put in operation what is known as the de Forest system. The difficulty of selective signaling was brought out by the fact that in order to avoid interference when the systems were worked simultaneously it was agreed that they should operate their respective machines successively and alternately every five minutes.

Under this arrangement both systems seemed to have worked well, until a third and unexpected operator began to send messages. While he was sending out waves from his transmitter the other two systems were crippled. This brings out the fact that any system of wireless telegraphy to operate successfully must at present have a monopoly of the land, air and water. As this cannot be secured, some selective system is imperative whereby the messages will not interfere with each other. In experimental work in this direction something has been achieved, but as yet it is not applicable in practice.

Those interested in the success of wireless telegraphy are looking forward to the report which Mr. Marconi has promised of the result of the experiments which he is at present conducting near St. John's, Newfoundland. Among other things he is quoted as follows with regard to his work there: "My principal object is to make experiments so as to ascertain the relative values of different positions along the coast, with a view of locating one of our stations near St. John's. I have brought with me two balloons of about 15,000 cubic feet capacity. They will be used to suspend the vertical wires.

"In making these experiments I shall closely study the rock formation of the coast, for if it is found that good results can be obtained in Newfoundland, the knowledge gained about the physical character of the ground will be a guide to me in locating stations elsewhere. Certain kinds of rock formations are more favorable than others, better results in the way of long-distance signaling being obtained.

"After two or three tests at Signal Hill I intend to move the whole apparatus to Cape Spear, about five miles south of St. Johns, and experiment there, afterward making comparisons between the tests. A permanent station will be erected at the most favorable locality.

"I hope before we leave to be able to receive and send messages 250 or 300 miles or even further, but, of course, I cannot definitely say what may be done, as the weather may have a detrimental effect on the experiments."

The location selected for the experiments will undoubtedly give all desirable variety of bad weather to fully test the value of this mode of communication. If success crowns this work, the station erected will be one of a chain of stations to be erected along the Atlantic coast. At present there are forty stations fully equipped in different parts of Europe and five in America. The new station at South Wellfleet, back of Cape Cod, is a link in this chain of stations. About three weeks ago in a severe gale seven of the ten poles that surrounded the low brick receiving station were blown down and the building itself narrowly escaped destruction. While no reports that are authentic have been received with regard to the

work at these stations, still we can be certain that results important for etheric telegraphy will soon be announced.

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF PECULIARITIES OF STYLE.

In an interesting article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for December Dr. T. C. Mendenhall shows in a very striking way the utility of mechanical curves in representing peculiarities of literary style and with such a degree of fidelity that the graphic representation may become a means of identifying the author of a given production.

In the study presented in this article the method was restricted to the relative frequencies of words of different lengths. The graphic representation of the result is made by the system of rectangular coördinates. Figures expressing the number of letters are placed in succession at equal intervals along the horizontal axis. Above these numbers and on a vertical line a point is placed at a height which indicates the number of words of that length which were found in the portion of the author selected. These points are then connected by a continuous line which is the curve sought.

It is with great pleasure that one finds in this article an application of this method to the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. For this test Mr. Augustus Heminway, of Boston, defrayed the expenses of those employed to count and classify nearly two millions of words. About 400,000 words of Shakespeare were counted and classified. His characteristic curve was found to be most persistent, the curve based on the first 50,000 words differing little from that of the whole count. From a study of the curve it is evident that the most frequent use of the four-letter word is a characteristic of Shakespeare. It was thought that this might be a characteristic of the writers of his time, but this was found not to be the case.

Having proved that an author agrees with himself very accurately when curves are plotted from different groups of words taken from different parts of his works or from different parts of the same work, a fact graphically portrayed in the two curves of groups of words from Ben Jonson which are almost identical, and having shown, at least in one interesting case, that even when an author tries to change his style that still his peculiarities will show in the curve, the curves from Shakespeare and Bacon were compared. The two lines

show extraordinary differences. In Bacon the three-letter word is used most frequently. This is a characteristic of writers of English. In the number of writers studied before the plotting of Shakespeare, the only exception found was John Stuart Mill. His use of the two-letter word is eminently characteristic. This comes from the frequent use of prepositional phrases. The study of groups of 5,000 words from two different periods of his life reveal the same peculiarity.

As marked peculiarities always assert themselves, even when the writer composes in prose and poetry, writes history, essays or dramas, even when he tries to vary his style, the great disagreement of the Bacon and Shakespeare curves, if the method is a good test, throws Bacon out when there is a question of the authorship of the works attributed to Shakespeare.

Mr. Edward Atkinson gave the opportunity of testing whether an author can purposely hide his peculiarities. The case is thus stated by the writer: "Mr. Atkinson, having addressed a body of college alumni on a certain topic, afterward gave what he meant to be the same address to a body of workingmen, but in the latter instance he made a special effort to use simple, short words and sentences of the simplest and plainest construction. Although relating to the same topic the two addresses 'read' very differently, but their diagrams are strikingly alike in their main feature."

A surprise was in store for those engaged in the work when they came to plot the curve of the plays of Christopher Marlowe. It was found that Marlowe agrees as well with Shakespeare as Shakespeare agrees with himself. It has always been acknowledged that Shakespeare was deeply indebted to Marlowe, and some critics have declared that he might have written the plays of Shakespeare. A book has been published recently to prove this declaration. This coincidence does not, however, give a conclusive proof of the identity of Marlowe and the writer of the plays of Shakespeare. It might well happen that both caught the same spirit and style. An incident in point is that cited by the writer in the *Popular Science Monthly*. It is thus given: "an interesting incident developed in an examination of a bit of dramatic composition by Professor Shaler, of Harvard University, entitled 'Armada Days.' It was a brochure of only about twenty thousand words, printed for private circulation, in which the author had endeavored to compose in the spirit and style of the Elizabethan age. Although too small to produce anything like a normal curve it was counted and plotted and the diagram indicated that Professor Shaler had not only caught the spirit of the literature of the time, but that he had also unconsciously adopted the mechanism which seems to characterize it. In the

excess of the four-letter word and in other respects the curve was rather decidedly Shakespearean, although it was written before its author knew anything of such an analysis as this."

After giving the facts obtained by the method adopted Mr. Mendenhall leaves the conclusions to the reader. If to some it appears that Bacon is thrown out of the discussion in which he has so long figured, it is only to make room for Marlowe. This method then can never settle the question, who did write the plays of Shakespeare? It can at best never do more than direct inquiry or suspicion. The results obtained have been looked forward to for twenty years by Mr. Mendenhall, for the opportunity described above enabled him to test a method which he devised at that time. The test of this method will certainly always prove interesting and in many ways will give results of value in linguistic studies.

WIRE GRASS.

There are fully a million acres of marsh land, following the glacial belt and extending from the Ohio river far into the British Northwest. The cost of reclaiming this vast tract for the cultivation of higher plants is prohibitive. It is useless for grazing and feeding purposes, for the wire grass that grows there is tough and devoid of nutritive substance. Hence for years these lands have been considered worse than useless.

A study of wire grass, known to the botanist as *Carex stricta*, shows that it possesses a peculiarly strong, durable and workable fiber. Unlike other grasses its stem is not jointed. It has no lateral leaves, but the round stem grows up straight from the ground to a height of from three to four feet. As it grows in peat and bog marshes, in which there is a small supply of mineral matter, it lacks mineral substances and hence is pithy and tough and retains its pliability indefinitely. Wire grass is in fact valuable only for fiber.

This suggested to some the possibility of using it for binder twine, and the invention by George A. Lowry of a machine for spinning grass twine was the beginning of a new and large industry. This twine began to be manufactured on a commercial scale in November, 1897, at Oshkosh, Wis. New fields soon opened up for the use of this fiber, and to-day various interests are united in the American Grass Twine Company, which owns and leases large tracts of land on which wire grass grows.

The grass is harvested in much the same way in which wheat is harvested. The early harvest is cut by a self-raking reaper, which lays the grass in heaps on the field, where it cures for about twenty-four hours, when it is gathered into bundles and tied by a machine designed for that purpose. The weather does not affect the harvest, as rain does not in any way damage the grass. It is then gathered into great stacks protected from the rain and snow, where it goes through the sweat or ordinary curing process. The grass is then baled and stored in warehouses, whence it is shipped to the factories for use. In the *Scientific American Supplement*, to which we are indebted for these facts, it is stated that over 2,000 men are engaged in the harvesting and that last year the area harvested was larger than that harvested by any individual or corporation in America.

In treating the grass the first operation is that of combing. During this operation the short stems and extraneous matter are separated from the long grass. As the latter comes from the comber it is tied up in ten-pound bundles, each blade being clean, straight and of a bright green color, a fiber between three and four feet long.

It next passes through the spinning machine, where the fibers are drawn out and laid end to end, in which condition they are drawn through the presses. As they pass through the presses they are given the proper twist to make them a continuous cord or twine. This twine is then roped with a thread of cotton, flax or hemp to keep the ends from projecting and to render the twine smooth and even.

Especially adapted looms weave the wire grass twine into matting, rugs, carpet linings, floor deadenings, etc. As the process of treatment from the cutting of the grass to the finished article for use is purely mechanical, the natural strength and pliability of the fiber is in no way weakened. Moreover, it retains the beautiful surface and color of the perfect grass.

In a large factory in Brooklyn, N. Y., this fiber is used in the manufacture of chairs, settees, tables, screens, doors, baby carriages, music and flower stands, baskets and other novelties. Even the short blades which are removed at the comber are utilized for bottle covers. Thus some idea may be formed of the extent of this new industry and of the utility of what was regarded as a useless growth on still more useless land.

ELECTRICITY IN THE MANUFACTURE OF GLASS.

Among the other numerous applications of the electric current is its use in an electric furnace for the purpose of glass making. Dr. Brembach describes, in a recent number of the *Electrochemische Zeit-*

schrift, a furnace suitable for this object. Hitherto the mixture of silica and alkalies was either placed in clay pots arranged within a furnace and the heat was applied externally to the pots from an adjacent grate, or the mixture was fused on the hearth of a reverberatory furnace by gas firing.

With the introduction of the electric furnace the material will be fused in an electric arc. While the fusing of material in an electric arc is not new, still the application of the electric arc to glass making introduces some new features which distinguish it from the well-known use of the arc in the manufacture of carborundum and calcium carbide. In these latter cases the material is arranged as a charge in the furnace, the electric current is turned on and continues to flow until the operation is completed. The current is then turned off, the mass is allowed to cool, after which it is removed and a new charge is placed in the furnace. Such a furnace is evidently intermittent in its operation. Attempts have been made to construct a continuously working furnace, but as yet they do not seem to be practical.

In the furnace described by Dr. Brembach the material is fed to and the fused glass is drawn off from the furnace in a continuous stream. This is effected by an ingenious arrangement of three electric arcs at different heights along an inclined plane. The material previously crushed and thoroughly mixed is fed by gravity to the first arc. Here the first fusing of the material takes place and the fused mass flows into a pocket just below the first arc. From this pocket it overflows to the second arc, where a more thorough fusion occurs. From a second pocket it flows to the third arc, where it is converted into a perfectly fluid glass. This glass flows into a collecting pot, from which it can be taken for use.

The carbon electrodes used are prepared by impregnating them with various salts in solutions of soda, potash, sodium sulphate, etc. This treatment of the carbons makes it possible to obtain a long arc with a current of comparatively low pressure. This preparation of the electrodes, together with the fact that melted glass is a good conductor of electricity, enables the manufacturer to work with a current having a pressure of 40 volts. One hundred amperes will be required for each of the first two arcs and fifty for the third. The current employed is the alternating, for the direct current would decompose the material.

It is evident that the size of a glass-making plant is considerably reduced by the introduction of the electric process, and if the new method be adopted in a locality where water power is available for the generation of the electric current the cost of production will be greatly reduced.

The operation is, moreover, under complete control. It may be stopped at any moment by simply turning off the electric current and cutting off the flow of material. It can be started as readily, for the great heat of the arc produces an immediate fusion of the powdered materials.

SOLAR ACTIVITY AND CLIMATIC CHANGES.

The sun may be regarded as a variable star, its luminous radiation undergoing periodic variations within narrow limits. It has been known for some time that the mean period between the maximum and minimum of sunspots is eleven years. This, then, is the period between minimum and maximum radiation. Superimposed upon this period there is, according to Sir Norman Lockyer, a further period of approximately thirty-five years. He brought this out in an address before the Royal Society of Great Britain in a paper on the "Solar Activity During the Period 1833-1900."

It is natural to expect that cyclic changes in the activity of the sun would repeat themselves in the earth's meteorology. Still, the changes in the seasons from decade to decade are so small that they escape ordinary observation and can be detected only by a study of observations which extend over long periods. Hence it is of interest to know whether meteorological observations reveal a corresponding periodic change in the climate of the earth.

In analyzing the observations of magnetic variations the influence of both the eleven-year cycle and a thirty-five year cycle is indicated. Moreover, in examining the frequency curve of the aurora borealis a thirty-five year cycle is shown.

The most interesting coincidence, however, is discovered in a study of Professor Bruckner's examination of meteorological records for the past 200 years. He finds that there is a small periodic variation in the climates of the earth in a period of very nearly thirty-five years. From his work it is also clear that there is also a thirty-five year period between maximum and minimum rainfall, there being a slight increase in the rainfall during maximum sunspot development, and on the contrary a reduced rainfall when the sunspot development is least. In addition to these very striking agreements between the variation of solar activity and that of our climate we might add the conclusion reached by Professor Richter that there is a thirty-five year period in the movements of glaciers.

Although the thirty-five year period of Mr. Lockyer cannot be

said to be yet fully established, still should subsequent observations confirm it, its utility to the community in the predetermination of weather and climate cannot be overestimated. Its importance should lead to further investigations in this direction.

TANNIN.

The steady increase of the world's population and the diffusion of civilization has caused a steady increase in the consumption of leather. In the preparation of leather tannin is required. The chief source of tannin up to the present has been the oak and hemlock trees, which require about fifteen years to mature sufficiently to permit of their bark being stripped off without injury to the tree. When all precaution has been taken the tree usually dies. Gambier, sumac and their extracts are also used. But these sources of supply did not keep pace with the demand for tannin in the preparation of leather. All danger of a deficit in this important article is, however, removed by the introduction of a new source of supply which can be cultivated with comparative ease and which yields a high percentage of tannin.

This new source is canaigre. This is a plant which can be harvested in crop form annually. Canaigre is a bulb or tuber like the potato, growing under ground and sending up a stalk with large leaves to the height of from fifteen inches to three feet above the surface. The roots contain about forty per cent. of tannic acid. The first supply of tannic acid from this plant was taken from the wild canaigre until this supply was so depleted that it was no longer profitable to collect the scattered wild plants for this purpose. Only then did they think of cultivating it. Experiments made by the Arizona Agricultural Department at the experimental station at Phoenix, Arizona, under the direction of Professor F. A. Gulley showed that the plant could be cultivated. This conclusion was confirmed by the bold venture of J. B. Carruthers in planting 1,000 acres in the valley of the Salt river. The venture was a success and the crop was sold in advance. The Anglo-American Canaigre Company has 8,000 acres planted in the San Bernardino Valley of California. This means that a wild and little known root has by science been developed into a standard article of commerce and a recognized article in the great leather industry.

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Book Notices.

CONCILIUM TRIDENTINUM. Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio. Edidit Societas Goerresiana. Tomus Primus: Diariorum Pars Prima. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder, 1901. Price, \$18.00 net.

Nothing could better illustrate the great change which has taken place in the methods of historical research during the last generation than the gigantic undertaking of Herder to publish all the original documents relating to the Council of Trent, the first volume of which lies before us in a magnificent quarto of over nine hundred pages. To both the publisher and the illustrious Goerres Society, which has undertaken the work of editorship, the task can be nothing else than a labor of love, for they cannot have embarked upon it with any reasonable prospect of financial gain. It is a work the sale of which will be almost exclusively confined to public libraries: for how many private students can afford to pay the price which it has been necessary to set upon it? But no institution of learning can afford to be deprived of it, as it will always be one of the first works to be sought for in libraries by students of ecclesiastical history.

In the estimation of scholars of previous generations the history of the Council of Trent had been thoroughly threshed out. It was, indeed, a twice-told tale, having been narrated *in extenso* by a virulent enemy, Fra Paolo Sarpi, and by a strenuous advocate, the Jesuit Cardinal Pallavicino. Neither of these writers had given perfect satisfaction; their antagonistic "tendencies" were apparent on every page. But in those days people loved their pet "tendencies" as much as they now admire the ardent partisanship of their daily newspaper. To the Protestant, Fra Paolo was a holy father of modern times, the very incarnation of progress, and his brilliant invective against Rome ranked in importance next after the Bible; and, to do him justice, it must be owned that this Venetian Friar was the most dangerous serpent that the Church of Christ ever warmed into life in her maternal bosom. The Catholic, on the other hand, rose from a perusal of the elaborate work of Cardinal Pallavicino with the feeling that the great Jesuit had pulverized his adversary and had exhausted both the subject and the reader. It does not surprise us, therefore, to hear that the prospect of being compelled to wade through an indefinite number of new volumes on the Council awakened dismay in some of the scholars of the old school. Dr. Merkle, to whom the Goerres Society committed the

work of editing the first volumes of the new collection of documents, tells us in his preface, with a quiet suggestion of humor, of the effect of the intelligence on "a certain popular German writer of an ecclesiastical history" residing in Rome. This good man, when informed of the Society's intention of publishing all the documents pertaining to the Council, cried out in a tone twixt pity and contempt: "*Quid novi elicitori estis? an Sarpium vultis confutare?*" This describes graphically the mental attitude of a man who was willing to obtain his information at second hand and who had read so much *about* the great Council that the subject palled upon him. How different was the case with Bishop Hefele, who announced in the seventh volume of his "*History of the Councils*" that he would not attempt the story of Trent, not only because of his advancing age, but chiefly because he could not gain access to the *Acta* hidden away in the secret archives of the Vatican. Ranke, too, in an extended critique of Sarpi and Pallavicino, annexed to his "*History of the Popes*" (Vol. III., pp. 103-138, Bohn translation), states his reasons why, in his opinion, the true story of the Council must ever remain untold. His words, written nearly seventy years ago, are worth repeating:

"Would any one now undertake a new history of the Council of Trent—a thing which is not to be very confidently expected, since the subject has lost much of its interest—he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, of which very little that is authentic has been made known; he must also procure the despatches of one or other of the ambassadors who were present. Then only could he obtain a complete view of his subject, or be in a condition to examine the two antagonistic writers who have already attempted this history. But this is an undertaking that will never be entered on, since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done, and will therefore not make the attempt, and those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means."

These pessimistic remarks of the great Protestant historian remind us of similar expressions found in the preface of his history. He there admits that his work would have been fuller and more satisfactory if he could have obtained access to the treasures concealed in the secret archives of the Popes. "But was it to be expected," he says with philosophic resignation, "that a foreigner, and one professing a different faith, would then be permitted to have free access to the public collections for the purpose of revealing the secrets of the Papacy?" In the year 1836, when Ranke penned these lines, this would have seemed preposterous; for at that period the archives not only of Rome, but of all the powers, were jealously concealed from the eyes of the curious. Historians at that time received pretty

much the same treatment which is accorded at the present day to the prying representatives of the press. Even such official defenders of the Holy See as Pallavicino and Rainaldi were permitted to see and examine only such extracts from the documents as the wise custodians of said documents deemed essential to the purpose. Ranke's common sense view of the subject is very pertinent, and not devoid of humor. The policy of permitting students, even foreigners and Protestants, to see these much-guarded documents, he says, "would not perhaps have been so ill-advised as it may appear, since no search can bring to light anything worse than what is already assumed by unfounded conjecture, and received by the world as established truth. But," he continues with a sigh, "I cannot boast of having had any such permission."

Needless to say, the enlightened policy of our gloriously reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., has frustrated the pessimistic prophecy of Ranke, as also the famous dictum of Leibnitz regarding Burchard's Diary: *latet, aeternumque latebit*. If Ranke could now repeat his visit to the Eternal City he would find every door thrown open to him, and a numerous body of scholars willing to guide him in his researches. As his historical genius led him to surmise, the results of this liberal policy would have been visible in a more sympathetic treatment of his subject.

As Dr. Merkle points out in his admirable *prolegomena*, it had been far from the original intention of the Holy See to suppress the *Acta* of the Council of Trent. In fact, the secretary of the Council had received the commission to draw up his notes for publication. Circumstances caused the matter to drag along until the death of the secretary, Mossarelli. Meanwhile the interest in the subject began to flag, and new views regarding the opportuneness of the publication prevailed. A prominent element in bringing about the resolution to lock up the *Acta* was the dread of giving any handle of attack to the virulent and unscrupulous foes of the Church who would not fail to gloat over and exaggerate every exhibition of human infirmity on the part of the fathers of the Council.

Now, however, under the auspices of the Goerres Society (which represents the best talent of united Catholic Germany) and with the approval and benediction of the Supreme Pontiff (who inaugurates the work with a special brief couched in terms of the warmest laudation), the great Council reappears just as it really was, and we are not compelled to study it through Sarpian or Pallavicinian spectacles.

The first volume contains the original notes or commentaries, made day by day by Severali, the *promotor*, and by Massarelli, the secretary of the Council, the whole enriched by the copious annota-

tions of the learned editor, Dr. Merkle, and brought out in all the typographical beauty which we are grown accustomed to expect from the press of Herder.

LUKE DELMEGE. By Rev. P. A. Sheehan, author of "My New Curate," etc. 8vo., pp. 580. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The readers of *The American Ecclesiastical Review* will recognize in Luke Delmege an old friend from whom they have but recently parted. They will be glad, no doubt, to meet him again in a new form. Some persons never read a serial story, because the connection is broken so often that the interest is not kept up. Sometimes a reader who is a busy person and has many distractions, does not remember previous chapters that are referred to later, and that are necessary for a complete understanding of the subject. For such persons serials are not unalloyed pleasures, and the appearance of the finished story is a joy. The writer of the present notice must confess that although he read the history of Luke Delmege as it appeared in the *Ecclesiastical*, he was very much disappointed when the last chapter closed without completing the life of the hero. When he took up the finished story he learned that the hero had died in the first chapter or introduction.

This experience might suggest the question, is the author's plan a good one? Perhaps the writer was slightly prejudiced by the confession of the author that his story was made to order and hastily. He imagined that he saw evidences of this several times as the work progressed, and although he enjoyed the story as a whole, and admired the brightness and learning and power of the author, he could not altogether avoid regretting that "My New Curate" was not permitted to occupy the field alone for awhile. We are not satisfied with only reading a good book; we want to dwell on it afterwards, and recall its scenes and talk about its characters.

And then there is the inevitable comparison—not altogether fair, perhaps, but inevitable. Is it not better for an author who has achieved a success to wait until his triumph is complete before trying for new honors?

"Luke Delmege" will not be as popular as "My New Curate," because it is not so human, and because the hand of the teacher is more apparent in its pages. The hero will not excite as much sympathy, because his mistakes are too continuous for a man of his ability, and sometimes they seem to be very inconsistent with a man of his piety. For instance, it is very hard to understand how any priest of piety and learning, who had been ordained for seventeen years, and had been engaged in the active work of the ministry all

the time, could so far forget himself as to repulse a young woman whom he found among the penitents in the House of the Good Shepherd, and whom he had known in former years as a person of good family, education, refinement and virtue. Even if she were all that her dress and environment seemed to indicate, she had been a professed penitent for ten years, and yet we are told that instead of stretching out his hand and saying a kind word of farewell to her, whom he should never see again, he was only tempted to do so, "but one side glance at that ill-made, coarse, bulky dress of penitence deterred him. He bowed stiffly and said good-day with a frown. Barbara continued staring blindly through the window. Then slowly, as her heart broke under the agony, her hot tears fell, burned her hand and blistered the book which she held."

As we read this passage the house of Simon the Pharisee rose up before us, and we saw Magdalen at the feet of Jesus. Then we tried to imagine an educated, pious priest with seventeen years of experience acting like Luke Delmege. Can this be good art? Does it not lack the first quality of all art, truth to nature?

In the same chapter we see the hero cited before his bishop to answer the charge of denying the sacramental system and denouncing the use of the ordinary means sanctioned by the Church for the sanctification of the faithful, and insisting on the individual power of self-sanctification, apart from the ordinary channels of divine grace. What bishop would be so silly as to entertain a charge of that kind against a learned pious man of unblemished character and unquestioned zeal, coming from an unknown accuser, or a drunken, ignorant fellow who was angry because he was rightly corrected? When we read the passage we were tempted to think that the bishop ought to be suspended for entertaining such a charge under such circumstances.

But "Luke Delmege" is a delightful and instructive book, notwithstanding these blemishes and some others which we have not space to notice. We were surprised to find ourselves reading it a second time when we took it up only for a glance.

THE FAITH OF THE MILLIONS. A Selection of Past Essays. By *George Tyrrell, S. J.* Two volumes, first and second series. 8vo., pp. xxv., 344, 369. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

As the title page states, this is a collection of past essays. They have all appeared in the *Month*, except those on "The Use of Scholasticism" and on "The True and the False Mysticism." The former appeared, as "The Church and Scholasticism," in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, and the latter in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*. The author informs us that he wishes it to be under-

stood that this selection of articles published up to date is to be taken as a repudiation, for one reason or another, of those not selected—whether it be for faults in style or for inaccuracies or obscurities in statement. In his introduction the author lays down certain principles which should guide those who are trying to lead the millions to the true faith and preserve them in it. He says that “so far as the following essays have any unity it is as constituting a most imperfect effort to give effect to the principles here advocated. They are, as every patient and intelligent reader will see, entirely conservative in their aim and spirit; for ‘liberal’ and ‘conservative’ are terms that have reference to the end by which, as the scholastics say, a movement is specified or characterized.”

He does not agree with those who think that in order to bring the faith to the multitude, we should make efforts “to meet the religious questionings of the semi-educated in a way adapted rather to their incapacity than to the demands of the better informed and more cultivated minds. We hold, however, that this can be at most a temporary palliative, but never a radical remedy against the spreading epidemic of unbelief. Sand-barriers may retard the advancing tide here and there, but eventually it creeps around and over. History shows us that the beliefs of the masses (we are not dealing with units in this discussion) follow, at a certain distance of time, the beliefs of those who lead or form public opinion—that eventually the many depend upon the few, and the glaciers formed on the hills slip down to the valleys. Hence the constant and wise endeavor of the Church in the interests of the dependent crowds to secure a Christianized public opinion, if not necessarily a Christianized government. At first she drew the multitudes by her miracles, by the death of her martyrs, by the glow of her primitive purity and fervor; nay, even by the very freshness and novelty of her ideas and methods; but as soon as she had captured the leaders of the people—as soon as the Empire was Christianized—the need of these extraordinary credentials ceased with the establishment of the normal and ordinary conditions. Now that the difficulties of the primitive period bid fair to recur, and the power of public opinion is passing over from the side of faith to that of doubt, dragging the fluent multitude after it as the sea is dragged by the moon, it would seem natural to look for remedy either in a renewal of those preternatural energies whence the Church derived that initial impetus on which she has lived ever since; or else in an endeavor to reverse the present current of public opinion by acting upon those who determine it, and not merely on those who are determined by it. But besides the enormous practical difficulty of giving effect to the latter method, there are some other objections to be considered.”

After due consideration of these objections, the essays which make up the two volumes follow. They are twenty-three in number, beginning with one entitled "A More Excellent Way," in which it is shown that in dealing with those outside of the Church, the time for controversy and polemics is past, and that "what is needed now above all things is a clear manifestation of the Catholic religion in its ethical and intellectual beauty; not as *a* religion, but as eminently *the* religion of mankind; as the complement of human nature, the desire of nations; as the one God-given answer to the problem of life and the social problem."

The other essays deal with a variety of subjects, in several instances being reviews of books that demand special attention.

We shall not attempt to say anything of Father Tyrrell's merits as a writer. We have had the pleasure of speaking of them in the highest terms frequently in these pages. He is always clear, elegant, interesting and instructive. We quite agree with a writer in the *Month*, who said when reviewing these essays, that no one since Newman has appealed more strongly to cultivated minds.

ROADS TO ROME. Being Personal Records of Some of the More Recent Converts to the Catholic Faith. With Introduction by Cardinal Vaughan. Compiled and Edited by the Author of "Ten Years in Anglican Orders." 8vo., pp. viii, 344. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

Here is a collection of papers, written independently by sixty-five men and women of education, to account for their return to the Catholic Church. It is remarkable in more ways than one. It is surely consoling to learn "of the existence of a religious conviction, capable of creating in men's minds, one after another, and quite independently of each other, a revolution involving the greatest losses in the natural order and oftentimes the most acute personal agony. It challenges the attention of the most languid as it does of the worldly. It is a practical declaration that there are people who really live upon a belief and a hope in the invisible, and who count all as dross to win Christ." It will surely appeal to "the hundreds of thousands, lay and clerical, men and women, who feel that the foundations of Protestantism have been broken down under them; who are secretly asking themselves whether there be any solid and divinely inspired religion; who are half and more than half convinced of the claim of the old Church to their submission. Many of these will eagerly peruse and examine a book full of such personal experiences, in the expectation of obtaining useful and instructive information."

There is no connection among these narratives, nor are they complete histories. They vary in length from one page to twenty pages.

The book is rather "a collection of indications, suggestions, reminiscences and facts. It is a miscellany of episodes, of phases of thought, all ending in the same conclusion. It is a book of sketches of many minds in their search after Divine Truth."

Some persons may wonder because the reasons given by the writers do not all appeal to them, but they should remember that these reasons are not complete. In many cases only what prompted the last step in a long journey is mentioned. Let it not be forgotten that faith is a gift which cannot be won by argument or controversy. It is not surprising then if the reason which leads one person into the true Church does not appeal at all to another. Cardinal Vaughan states this truth very nicely in the Introduction. He says: "Some persons may expect to find the gift of Faith within the covers of this volume. They will be disappointed. They will not find it within any volume, not even within the volume of the Gospels. Divine Faith is a supernatural gift. It is as a direct a gift of God as the created human soul. The latter is never created until certain definite antecedent conditions have been laid by man; and the former is never bestowed until man has fulfilled the conditions required for the reception of the gift of Faith. These conditions are ordinarily: Correspondence with God's light and invitation, prayer, humility and self-denial." "The present volume is an unconscious record of the fulfilment of these conditions."

THE PRE-COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY THE NORTHMEN, with Translations from the Icelandic Sagas. By *B. F. De Costa*. Third edition revised. 8vo., pp. 230, with Index. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons.

"The chief aim of this work is to place within the reach of the English-reading public every portion of the Icelandic-Sagas relating to the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, and to indicate the movements by which that discovery was preceded. The reader will, therefore, find in this volume material from the Sagas not to be found in any other work in an English form. The Sagas have been left, in the main, to tell their own story, though the necessary notes and explanations have been added."

This quotation from the Preface makes known to us the purpose of the author, and indicates the importance of his work. The first edition was published in 1868 and soon went out of print. The second followed in 1890, called forth by the progress of discussion and by the near approach of the Columbian celebration. It contained many improvements, and was soon exhausted. The present edition is rendered necessary by the discovery in the Vatican Library at Rome of a number of Papal letters that exhibit the subject in a new light. The testimony of these letters is of the highest value. A translation of them is printed in full at the end of the volume.

The author assures us that he has not changed his views on any important point since the publication of the original work. "Time has only served to strengthen the belief of scholars in the historical character of the Sagas, while geographical studies now point as formerly to New England as one scene of the Northman's exploits, many of which have left no record, though traces of Icelandic occupation may yet be found on the coast between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia."

This work is not intended to detract in any way from the glory of the achievements of Columbus. That were impossible. The purpose is rather to place before the reader the story preceding 1492, which is very interesting and important.

A very high compliment was paid to the work after the publication of the second edition by the historian of the United States, George Bancroft. He informed the author that he had withdrawn his objections to the historic character of the voyages recorded in the Sagas, and that he had struck out reference to the subject in his last work, not only for the reason that he was engaged in condensing the narrative, but because he recognized that he had long been in error. This was an important admission and a high compliment.

The book is most interesting besides being instructive, and the author is to be congratulated on his success in handling so difficult a subject. The historical value of the book is very great.

RENAISSANCE TYPES. By *William Samuel Lilly*. 8vo., pp. xxiv+400. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author informs us in a note at the end of this volume that much of the book appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, and that one chapter is, to a large extent, reprinted from his work entitled "Chapters in European History."

The present volume is divided into seven chapters. The first treats of "The Genesis of the Renaissance," and the last is devoted to "The Results of the Renaissance."

At the close of the first chapter the author says: "In the next five chapters I propose to consider some of the more marked characteristics of the period as revealed to us by five great men who may be taken to be types of it. . . . History has been called the essence of innumerable biographies. The vast majority of them, of course, tell the same monotonous tale. But in the lives of great men the spirit of the age in which they worked is, in some sort, incarnate, and so may be most fruitfully studied. . . . And so it appears to me that if we carefully consider the careers of Michael Angelo, Erasmus, Reuchlin, Luther and Sir Thomas More, we shall find

abundant light upon the astonishing epoch of transition in which their lot was cast."

The author calls attention to the difficulty of finding a historian who is altogether impartial. "In history, as elsewhere," he says, "the rule of rigid and inflexible justice commends itself to our understanding. But who is so utterly unswayed by prepossession, prejudice, passion, as undeviatingly to follow it? It is by men, not by beings of a higher order, as Schiller laments, that the annals of mankind are written. . . ."

"True is this of historical judgments generally. It is especially true in judging epochs of religious strife. . . . Now, in what I am about to write I shall endeavor to set aside altogether theological tests. I propose to speak of the memorable men who are the subjects of the next five chapters from the point of view of secular history, without trying them or their works by the standards of any school of divinity. It will be for my readers to judge how far I succeed in this undertaking."

Mr. Lilly's reputation as an essayist is sufficient to secure for him a large number of readers, but we fear that his work as a historian will not merit such high commendation, and we are quite sure that as he differs with several standard authorities in his deductions, he will find many readers who will differ with him.

PRACTICAL PREACHING FOR PRIESTS AND PEOPLE. Twenty-five Plain Catholic Sermons on Useful Subjects, with a Synopsis of each Sermon. By *Father Clement Holland*. 12mo., pp. 325. London: Thomas Baker. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

Sermon books are rapidly increasing in number, and like all other classes of books they may be grouped under the heads good, bad and indifferent. The reviewer must be careful in expressing an opinion about them, because so much depends on the purpose and plan of the author, and so much on the mood and needs of the reader.

Some preachers think that all sermon books are bad, because they prevent the individual effort which each preacher should make, and destroy that individuality which is one of the greatest charms of a sermon, and at the same time one of its greatest powers. This is an extreme opinion. The danger does, however, exist, and every preacher should be on his guard against it. If the use of sermon books should tempt any man from thinking out and writing and preaching his own sermons then for him they are an evil indeed.

A second class of preachers approve of good sermon books, because the sermons which they contain serve as models which may be followed by the individual writer and preacher. This is certainly a lawful and wise use of this form of literature, but the pupil must take care to follow only a master.

A third class of preachers approve of sermon books for the busy priest who has not time to prepare his own sermons. There is such a class, but it is very small, and we should be constantly on our guard lest we deceive ourselves and think that we belong to that class. It is so easy to excuse ourselves from the performance of some duty by imagining that we are too busy. But for that small class who are prevented by the performance of other duties from giving to the preparation of their sermons that attention which they require, the good sermon book is a blessing. If a man must use the sermons of others, he should try to find those which he might have written and which will suit the needs and capacity of his hearers. In doubt, let him always choose the short, simple sermon on plain essential truths.

The sermons before us belong to this class. They are on subjects which all without exception should understand; they are written in plain, clear language; they are logical in order, and they are convincing. The synopsis at the beginning of each is very useful, because it enables the preacher to grasp the plan at once, and it serves afterwards as a guide for the memory. We think that these sermons could be very much improved by more frequent quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers, and by giving the reference in every instance.

CHURCH BUILDING. A Study of the Principles of Architecture in their Relation to the Church. By *Ralph Adams Cram*. 8vo., pp. 227, copiously illustrated. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

The greater portion of the contents of this book appeared originally in serial form in the columns of *The Churchman*. As here printed the chapters have been carefully revised and somewhat enlarged, and a number of new illustrations have been included. The author says that art is the measure of civilization. "We may assert such claims as we choose, if we have not an art that is instinctive, the natural expression of a healthy people, then we protest in vain. We do not possess a genuine, vital civilization."

He declares that such art as we had was hardly worthy of the name until the Centennial Exposition awoke us sufficiently to induce us to begin to create the art which until then had been considered only one of the amenities of life. We do not seem to have made much progress, and this is not so surprising in secular affairs, but what of the Church? "Surely, if there is any power in the world to-day capable of evoking a vital art, demanding art as her true means of outward expression, it is the Church."

"But this is not the case if we are to judge from results, for the

Church here in America does not stand a degree higher than secular powers in her artistic expressions. In fact, she seems even to fall behind. She has created no religious painter, no music, no school of art work, and above all, no logical architecture."

The author then goes on to show why art in every form should be employed in the service of religion, and points out the two great dangers in the way: haste and mere utility. We want to build a church in a year which should require a century, and we think of it rather as the abode of man than as the house of God. He takes up the different kinds of church buildings, beginning with the country chapel and ending with the cathedral, and with the aid of clear text and suitable illustration he points out the right course, and warns us against the wrong.

The book is beautifully made, and should be in the hands of all church builders and those who are interested in their work. They may not always agree with the author, but they must admire his earnestness and commend his zeal.

JOAN OF ARC. By *L. Pettit de Julleville*. Translated by Hester Davenport. 12mo., pp. 190. London: Duckworth & Co.

This latter series of the lives of the saints progresses steadily, and already includes about ten volumes. From every point of view they are most attractive. They appeal especially to persons living in the world who desire to advance in perfection, but who do not receive practical encouragement from the history of the saints as it is ordinarily written. In its pages too often we read only of the triumphs of the hero or heroine and learn too little of their temptations and trials. We do not see the whole living person, but only part of him. In the present series the purpose of the writer is to place the saint before us as a living person, in the midst of the very surroundings in which he moved, and to show his relations to the men and events of his time. Far from detracting from the reputation of the saint or diminishing his sanctity, this method serves to bring it out more clearly, as shadows emphasize the brightness of the sun.

We extend a special welcome to the latest volume of the series because it gives us an excellent picture of the glorious Maid of Orleans who has been wronged for centuries. The picture is the more attractive because it brings before us the Venerable Servant of God as she really was.

The writer says: "The life of Joan of Arc has been written by eminent historians, and in these pages it is not our intention to attempt afresh that which has been already well done by them. We shall only recall in a summary manner the political and military

events which composed her wonderful history, and shall speak very briefly of those persons who furthered or hindered her mission. Our object is not to make a study of Charles VII., La Trémoille, the Duke of Alençon, Dunois or of the soldiers, politicians, theologians and prelates—all the contemporaneous history connected with Joan of Arc—but of Joan herself and of Joan only. It is her soul which we wish to try to understand and explain. We shall therefore pay especial attention to her own words, words spoken to her king, to her companions in arms or to her judges. Her own testimony is by far the most trustworthy, simple, candid and expressive, and Joan of Arc still remains the best historian of Joan of Arc."

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM WITHIN. With Preface by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. 8vo., pp. xviii.x396. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

This is a picture of the Catholic Church from within sketched by a lay hand. "It is written by a member of the laity, by one who has lived for years—from childhood—among men and women of the world; who has mixed freely with Catholics, old and new, as well as with Protestants; who has traveled much, and has also lived much at home, occupied with books as well as with the discharge of many and diverse duties.

"It has a special interest and a special value for those who care to inquire what ordinary Catholics of the world, well educated in their religion and familiar with the ways of what is called society, have to say on the inner life of Catholics." It is the purpose of the author to sketch the many and various phases of Catholic life, so as to produce a complete picture of the whole. When the reader has finished the book he will have been introduced to a Catholic home of the educated class.

The work is intended, first for persons outside of the Church who constantly hear of Catholic views, feelings and practices, without being able to understand them, or at best, understanding them only imperfectly. Here they are enabled to get a comprehensive view, and a clearer understanding. It is also intended for converts, who find themselves like strangers in a strange land, and need some one to reach out a friendly hand to them. It is finally intended for Catholics who do not take advantage of the opportunities which they have to learn their religion, and who never appreciate its beauties.

The book deals with many important questions, but attention is specially called to chapters on "Liberal Catholicism," "Mixed Marriages" and "Catholic and Public Schools." Particular attention is paid to the Liturgy of the Church, a hundred pages being devoted

to the subject. It is not, however, a systematic or exhaustive treatise on the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church, nor will it take the place of works of that kind.

THE DIVINE PLAN OF THE CHURCH. By the *Rev. John MacLaughlin*, author of "Is One Religion as Good as Another?" 12mo., pp. xxiii.-324. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author's former book is well and favorably known. In the present volume he continues the same line of reasoning, and seeks the divine plan of the Church in the mind of its Founder. He argues that such a plan must have existed before the foundation of the Church, and that the organization which possesses the qualities of this Divine Plan must be the original authentic organization. He contends that this Plan can be found in the Divine Mind, and that if it can be proved that the essential form which Christ intended to give to His Church is found in the Roman Catholic Church only, all sincere Christians will enter her fold. He has noticed that the great conflict between opposing parties in the Church of England in recent years is about the externals of religion and not about its essence. Hence he wishes to draw attention away from forms for a time in order to fix it on substance.

The author tells us that he has not aimed at style, because he has written for the multitude. He begins with the key to the building—"Love of truth and belief in the Incarnation." Then follows a chapter to prove that there was a plan, distinct and definite, in the mind of Christ, according to which His Church was to be formed and developed. The next step is to show the antiquity and eternity of that plan, and therefore its absolute inviolability—its exclusion of, and freedom from, all human or even angelic influence. Then we come to the plan itself, and learn what it necessarily contained, and what it necessarily excluded. The next two chapters treat of infallibility and infallibility with certain corollaries, and the second part of the book is devoted to the Church of England to show that the Divine Plan is not realized in that body.

One may learn from this short sketch of the work that it is a very important one, and that it will accomplish much good.

A SAINT OF THE ORATORY: the Life of Blessed Antony Grassi, of the Fermo Congregation. By *Lady Annabel Kerr*. 12mo., pp. 271. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is well for us that sanctity is not confined to any state or condition of life and that we can find in the calendar of saints persons of every condition. King and subject, rich and poor, learned and

ignorant, young and old—all have succeeded in serving God so well as to be worthy to be enrolled on the list of the blessed. Many persons are tempted to think that in order to be saints they must be called to do some extraordinary work, and that they must do it in such a way as to draw the eyes of the world to them. It is true that some of the saints were distinguished in this unusual manner, but it is also true that others attained to the highest sanctity by performing the most ordinary duties well. We have an illustration of this truth in the life of Blessed Antony Grassi, the priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, who has been recently beatified. His biographer says of him: "The life of Blessed Antony Grassi was a wonderful revelation of God, though not, perhaps, in the same sense that the lives of other saints—missionaries, founders or martyrs—are to be called wonderful. His may be called so in a sense almost peculiarly his own. The hiddenness of his life, the absence in it of all excitement, either exterior or interior, or of any event in it, and the sanctification of his soul by what many would be inclined to call narrow and commonplace circumstances give a special stamp to the holiness of the new Beatus.

"There was nothing from beginning to end to make Blessed Antony's eighty years of life remarkable in the ordinary sense of the word, for they were devoid of every element of sensation, heroism or exterior interest. He was born, lived and died in one small Italian town, the immediate radius of which he left on only one occasion. . . . He became a saint by the faithful performance of apparently insignificant duties towards God and man, it being part of his sanctity that he found such duties pleasant."

Such was the gentle, simple, untroubled life of him who at this moment is proposed to our veneration. Certainly an excellent model for this rushing age, when men live in constant turmoil, nor ever pause to ask themselves why or whither.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS DECALOGALIS ET SACRAMENTALIS. Auctore Clarissimo P. Patritio Sporer, Ord. FF. Min. Novis curis edidit P. F. Bierbaum, Ord. FF. Min. Tomus III. Paderbornae MDCCCXI. Ex Typographia Bonifaciana. Price, mk. 9.80; bound, mk. 12.

With the present volume the new edition of Sporer's treatises on the moral theology of the Decalogue and the Sacraments is brought to a conclusion. The two preceding volumes have been previously reviewed in these pages. Nothing need here be added to the recommendation then given. What Lehmkuhl says of the work as a whole is particularly applicable to this latter portion—*opus solide et erudite scriptum*. That Sporer was *aliquando benignior in sententiis* will not be deemed an unpardonable fault by those who without min-

imizing precept seek like the Master to make the yoke sweet and the burden light.

The volume at hand includes the treatises on the Sacraments in general, Orders, the Eucharist, Penance and Matrimony. The editor has added an Appendix *De Libris Prohibitis*. That eleven and a half hundred solidly printed pages should be devoted to these subjects will not be considered too ample an exposition by those who are alive to their importance. At the same time this breadth of treatment indicates that the work appeals primarily to the more advanced student of moral theology. On the other hand, the perfect transparency of the style and the orderly arrangement of the matter adapt it to the attainments of the beginner. Like the works of the great masters generally it reflects the author's science unbroken to every eye accustomed to the light of such subjects, whilst of course it will reveal deeper depths to those whose sight has been longest trained in the moral relations of the soul with God and the nature and laws of His sacramental communications.

"A STORMY LIFE," "TOO STRANGE NOT TO BE TRUE," "MRS. GERALD'S NIECE."
By *Lady Georgiana Fullerton*. Large 8vo., pp. 304, 276 and 178. Philadelphia:
John Joseph McVey.

Mrs. Fullerton's stories, like good things generally, never lose their flavor. This is more than can be said for most of the modern tales. Her novels have a permanent value, because they have real merit. They not only amuse, but they teach. Most of our modern stories amuse only, and not always in an innocent way. There is much consolation for right minded persons in the thought that the *popular* novel is short lived, and that it has no resurrection. The good novel does not share the mushroom growth of its neighbor, but it blooms for succeeding generations with all the beauty and fragrance of its first growth.

This applies to Mrs. Fullerton's stories with more than usual force, and therefore we welcome their reappearance cordially. Mr. McVey has brought out new editions of the three books before us in his usual tasteful manner as to paper, type and binding, and at a cost to the purchaser that places them within the reach of all who wish to combine literature with fiction.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By *Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S.*, Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and author of General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, etc. Part I., The Historical Books. 8vo., pp. 381. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This is the second volume of the series which the reverend author

is preparing on the "Introduction to the Holy Scriptures." We have had the "General Introduction," now we have the "Special Introduction to the Historical Books of the Old Testament," then will follow "Special Introduction to the Didactic and Prophetic Writings of the Old Testament," and finally the "Special Introduction to the Books of the New Testament." It was originally intended that the work should be in three volumes, but as it progressed the matter became so extensive as to require two volumes for the Old Testament.

All the excellencies of the first volume appear in this one. The concise yet clear treatment, the helpful arrangement, the copious references continue to be the distinguishing features of the work which make it very valuable for students. Indeed, throughout the book the hand of the experienced teacher is apparent.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- L'EGLISE ET LES ORIGINES DE LA RENAISSANCE. Par *Jean Guiraud*. 12mo., pp. 339. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1902.
- THE TRIUMPH OF THE CROSS. By *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*. 12mo., pp. xxi-213. London: Sands & Co., 1901.
- THE LITTLE IMPERFECTIONS. By *Rev. F. P. Garesché, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 251. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1901.
- THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS. By *Hermann Gunkel*. 12mo., pp. 164. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901.
- SERMONS ON THE HOLY GHOST. By *A Diocesan Priest*. 12mo., pp. 235. New York: Cathedral Library Association, 1901.
- SAINTE THÉRÈSE. Par *M. Henri Joly*. 2me edition. 12mo., pp. 244. Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1902.
- JUVENILE ROUND TABLE. Stories by the foremost Catholic Writers. 12mo., pp. 216. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- CHATS WITHIN THE FOLD. By *H. J. Desmond*. 16mo., pp. 205. Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1901.
- HER FATHER'S DAUGHTER. By *Katherine Tynan Hinkson*. 12mo., pp. 160. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1901.
- "BUT THY LOVE AND THY GRACE." By *Francis J. Finn, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 138. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1901.
- A LIFE'S LABYRINTH. By *Mary F. Mannis*. 12mo., pp. 304. The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, 1901.
- FIRST CONFESSION. By *Mother M. Loyola*. 16mo., pp. xxvi-63. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1901.
- "FORGIVE US OUR TRESPASSES." By *Mother M. Loyola*. 16mo., pp. xvi-142. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1901.
- THE RETREAT MANUAL. By *Madame Cecilia*. 16mo., pp. 208. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1901.
- THE CROWN OF THORNS. By *Paul Carus*. 16mo., pp. 74. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901.
- THE FEAST OF THALARCHUS. By *Condé Benoist Pallen*. 16mo., pp. 73. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1901.
- THE VICTORIES OF ROME. By *Kennelm Digby Best*, of the Oratory. 16mo., pp. 149. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited, 1901.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXVII.—APRIL, 1902—No. 106.

FRANCE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

TRUE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAW ON ASSOCIATIONS.

THE Law on Associations, recently enacted by the French Parliament, is extremely valuable to students of French history as a fair measure and test of the ideas of civil and religious liberty entertained by the ruling elements in the third Republic, or of those factions which constituted the Ministerial majority at the beginning of the twentieth century.

This important law is worthy of note, also, as having preceded a decided effort to withdraw all State aid from the Church (both Catholic, Protestant and Hebraic), and as making a distinct advance towards a realization of the declared aim of radicals and socialists, separation of the State from the Church; if possible, the destruction of the latter.

While it is true that the French Republic has no official religion, it is also true that the government appropriates annually some 40,000,000 francs towards the maintenance of public worship, this sum being distributed impartially among Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews in France, and among Mahomedans in Algiers.

In its relations with the Roman Catholic Church the government has, heretofore, professed to be governed by the Concordat, a pact solemnly entered into between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII. As M. Waldeck-Rousseau has expressed it: "Bonaparte found himself before Catholicism. The question proposed itself, to know what would be the rights of the one and of the other. The ecclesiastical

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1901, by P. J. Ryan, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

hierarchy is regulated from the bishop to the officiating priest. There is not a nomination without the government; no parish could be established but with the authorization of the government."

So complete is the dependence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy upon the secular arm that, in 1900, Premier Waldeck-Rousseau, in his capacity of Minister of Public Worship, withheld a year's salary from one archbishop and four bishops who had ventured to criticize, in a private letter, the action of the government in availing itself of an obsolete law to declare judicially the dissolution of the Paris congregation known as the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption. The mere fact that this criticism was caustic, though dignified, does not change the arbitrary character of this act of the Premier, nor is it justified by the publication of these letters, by the Assumptionists, who have not hesitated to sacrifice their friends in order to arouse public sympathy in their own behalf.

It is not necessary to remind any educated man of the fact that the Concordat was intended to enable Napoleon to reestablish the Church in France, after its destruction in the Revolution. The essential object of this compact was to place upon a working basis the framework of ecclesiastical organization, the vital components of which were the bishops and parochial, secular clergy.

The first article of the Concordat guarantees that "the Catholic religion, apostolic and Roman, will be freely exercised in France." Referring to religious orders and congregations, Pope Leo XIII., in a recent letter to Cardinal Richard of Paris, declares that: "Born under the action of the Church, the authority of which sanctions their government and their discipline, the religious orders form a chosen portion of the flock of Jesus Christ."

In the Concordat the religious orders were not specifically mentioned or provided for, though Portalis, Lucien Bonaparte, Cardinal Consalvi and Napoleon himself considered them as the natural concomitant of Catholic life and certain to exist. They grew up, after their destruction in the Revolution, quite independent of State support, deriving their subsistence and only aid in religious, educational and charitable work, as in the United States, from free-will offerings of the people.

About all the great teaching orders of the Roman Catholic Church have thus developed educational institutions in France quite free from State aid and not controlled, either by the State or by immediate episcopal supervision, more or less influenced by State pressure or influence. All State education having been long since secularized, this great teaching body aroused the jealousy of secularists who have virtually undermined the foundations of faith in institutions that are sometimes both secular and anti-Christian. This

jealousy has lately been exemplified by M. Poirrier, in taking possession of the presidential chair of the Republican Union of the French Senate. In his speech he said: "For half a century, indeed, two educations, completely different, contend for the mind of our French youth: the one directs childhood by ideas which are the negation of the principles of modern society and which conduce to the supremacy of religious authority over the civil power; the other trains the child in the principles of the French Revolution."

This jealousy has also been illustrated by the speech of M. Leygues, Minister of Public Instruction, in defense of the worst feature of this Law on Associations. Responding to the charge that doctrinal morality could not be found outside of the Church, M. Leygues said: "I respond that there is a moral doctrine outside of the Church. It is the lay doctrine, proceeding from the Revolution which reposes upon liberty of conscience, upon individual liberty, upon property, upon the equality of civil and political rights. The doctrine of the Revolution lays down, as the basis of modern society, all the principles that I have just recalled. It is strange to hear maintained that France, the nation which has emancipated the human spirit by her literature in the seventeenth century, her philosophy in the eighteenth century and her arts and her literature at the commencement of the nineteenth century could not have a doctrine; that the country of Descartes, of Voltaire and of Rousseau cannot find, in herself, directing principles for the government of consciences. I believe, on the contrary, that in this way is it necessary to seek them."

This jealousy and, to some extent, mutual antagonism culminated in the anti-clerical measures of 1879 and 1880. Jules Ferry and M. de Freycinet declared: "We do not wish to terminate the tolerance which covers the existence of all these unauthorized congregations; we wish only to demand of them not to teach." This distinction must be noticed, that while the Brothers of the Christian Schools were then, and are still, recognized by the government as "of public utility," for the primary education of the poor (at no expense to the State), the greater orders, giving secondary or higher education, were not so recognized by the government and are styled "unauthorized" congregations.

The famous "Article 7" of Jules Ferry did not comprehend a scheme of spoliation and robbery. That was left to our day, to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and to his so-called "Ministry of Republican Defense." Schools and colleges of religious orders were closed up in the time of Jules Ferry, but they were not confiscated by the State.

As a result, however, of the anti-clerical measures of 1880 many of

the great religious orders left France. Many of the Jesuits went to England and a number of their French pupils followed them there. Other orders did likewise and the result to the country was that the tuition fees of wealthy French parents that had formerly been freely given to French religious institutions and spent by the orders in France, now passed out of her borders.

As the better sense of French people revived, or as the anti-clericals lost popular favor, the orders returned and the anti-Catholic measures of 1880 became a dead letter. An important element in their failure had been the absence of spoliation from the indirect plan of virtual banishment. M. Waldeck-Rousseau desired to pass a more effective law and, in 1882, he made an ineffectual attempt to carry it through the Council and Parliament. Later he tried again and failed. He has inaugurated the new century with a project of law which violated both letter and spirit of the Declaration of the Rights of Man (that of 1791), which proclaims all the liberties to-day withdrawn from those who have (according to M. Waldeck-Rousseau) violated the civil code by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, unless, forsooth, they can wring permission to live under these vows from a ministerial majority of Radicals and Socialists, many of them open infidels and scoffers, all of them anti-clericals, and some of them notoriously refusing Christian baptism to their children and disinheriting (by will) any relative burying their remains with religious rites.

The political mountebanks who have assisted in this great work have, as aptly put, "Republican principles upon the lips, but not in the heart." Article 17 of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" reads:

"The right of property is an inviolable and sacred right; no one can be deprived of it except when the public necessity, legally established, evidently exacts it, and under the condition of a just and preliminary indemnity."

M. Waldeck-Rousseau's indifference to such fundamental rights was exemplified by the measure first advocated by him in Parliament. In Article 14 of the Law on Associations, as first offered to the Chamber, it was ordained that six months would be allowed unauthorized orders to seek authorization. Orders failing to obtain authorization in that time were to be considered dissolved. Securities belonging to members of religious orders before their formation, or property since falling to members by inheritance, were to be restored to them.

Securities voluntarily given to religious orders could be claimed back by the donor, his heirs or rightful claimants, or by heirs or rightful claimants of a testator at any time during a period of one

year from the judgment of dissolution of the order. After this period, in the terms of the law first proposed: "*The property*" (of religious orders) "*will be acquired by the State as well as the surplus of the capital and devoted to the endowment of a fund for the pensioning of workingmen.*"

Although M. Waldeck-Rousseau was afterwards obliged to modify his first plan of robbing Peter to aid Paul, the odium of this dishonest project of confiscation, as presented to the Chamber and endorsed by the Premier, will forever attach to his name.

This astute statesman foresaw that such a clause would appeal with tremendous force to the cupidity of Socialists, a class jealous not only of all property devoted to religious and charitable purposes, but eager to "revise" private fortunes as well. This class, in former years, M. Waldeck-Rousseau has strongly opposed, and his Law on Associations proposed in 1882, comprising lay as well as clerical associations, was bitterly opposed by the element that now constitutes, in anti-clerical measures, his main reliance and support.

The formal presentation of the law was preceded by an alarmist speech at Toulouse, delivered by the President of the Ministerial Council (M. Waldeck-Rousseau), in November, 1900. In this speech he declared that the property of the religious orders and congregations amounted in value to 1,000,000,000 francs. "The Mil-liard of the Congregations" at once became a war cry of Radicals, Socialists and anti-Catholic ranters, both in and out of Parliament.

The shameful mendacity of this estimate was soon exposed by examination of the government's own figures, upon which it was alleged to have been based. From these same government statistics it was shown that in this sum were included mission churches of foreign Protestant evangelical bodies, chapels and churches of the Church of England for the use of British subjects visiting France; even Jewish properties were in the list. Of items set down to swell the list were buildings *occupied*, but *not owned*, by religious orders and congregations of the Roman Catholic Church, who there conduct charitable works which they would be glad to enlarge and increase, did they possess any such property. Among the various institutions wholly apart from ordinary educational work are orphanages, homes for the aged, institutions for the instruction of the blind and of deaf-mutes, asylums for abandoned children and refuges for young girls and women rescued from a career of vice, hospitals, etc.

Of course all houses, schools and colleges of the teaching orders of the Church were included. The entire property of every order or congregation recognized by the government as "of public utility" formed a part of the sum total, although it was not the intention or

desire of the Premier either to suppress them or confiscate their property. In the details of the list the buildings of foreign Protestant religious bodies using the English language, which the government regards with indifference, were undervalued, while exaggerated over-valuations were sometimes given to buildings owned by Catholic orders. Local prefects are responsible, probably, for such over and under-valuations.

The exposure of this false total, announced at Toulouse by the Premier himself, came too late to counteract the baneful effect of this useful lie which had time to germinate in the minds of timid Republicans, rabid Radicals and Socialists throughout France before Parliament opened the debate in the early part of 1901.

In presenting this project of Law on Associations, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, as President of the Council, or Premier, declared this measure to be indispensable and warned the Chamber that the Ministry would resign if this law was rejected. This, of course, was an appeal for support from timid Republicans, whose consciences revolted from the extreme form of the measure first proposed, but who saw in a resignation of the Ministry only an aftermath of chaos and confusion.

When all France was distracted by the Dreyfus affair this Ministry was organized from most incongruous elements, but came into being, styling itself the "Ministry of Republican Defense." When, towards the end of the last century, M. Loubet entered the semicircle of the Palais Bourbon with the strange declaration that he had been charged with the government of the country, the extreme Left almost spat at General de Galliffet, Minister of War, open insults coming from Socialistic members; the Radicals repudiated (with the loud voice of M. Mirman) M. de Lanessan, Minister of Marine; a shiver of horror seized the Centre and "Progressist Republicans" at the mere sight of M. Millerand, Minister of Commerce and an avowed Socialist; the Right smiled ironically and shrugged their shoulders.

Nevertheless, this Ministry has survived two years, largely owing to the ability and skill in handling men shown by M. Waldeck-Rousseau. The near approach of the Exposition of 1900 was virtually the salvation of his Ministry. It is poor policy to "swap horses when crossing a stream," and the thrifty French bourgeoisie had too much at stake in the great fair of that year to have it marred by political experiments or changes.

The Exposition is now a thing of the past, but that dread of change remains, and Premier Waldeck-Rousseau forced a supporting vote from many Deputies by making a vote for his law of oppression a vote of confidence in the Ministry. In a choice be-

tween "the devil and the deep sea" many an unwilling Deputy has reluctantly sustained the President of the Ministerial Council.

As a justification of the Law on Associations two dangers to France have been conjured up: the economic peril and the clerical peril. The economic peril was the burden or key-note of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's speech at Toulouse, where was sounded the warning note of the Milliard of the religious congregations. In the matter of the clerical peril, some of the clergy of France having furnished the best kind of ammunition to their enemies, the innocent will now suffer for the follies, or worse, of such ecclesiastics, both regular and secular, as played a discreditable part during and after the Dreyfus excitement. Conspicuous among these latter were members of the Paris house of the religious institute, or congregation, known as "the Augustinian Fathers of the Assumption."

Until relieved of its management by the Pope, these Assumptionist priests conducted a paper called *La Croix*. It was ostensibly a religious paper, but the editorial columns were almost wholly political and noticeably anti-Dreyfusard. From an American point of view it was a narrow, partisan sheet that ought to have discredited either laymen or priests identified with its management. For some reason, best known to themselves, the Assumptionists were bitterly hostile to the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry. There are houses of the Assumptionists in other parts of France, and their priestly occupants are accused, by their enemies, of having used all their influence to defeat Ministerialist candidates in the Parliamentary elections. There probably is some ground for these charges. When, however, Premier Waldeck-Rousseau asserts, as he has done in the Chamber of Deputies, that the religious orders and congregations constitute a menace to the State, he not only classes all orders with the Assumptionists, but he also says "menace to the State" when he really means menace to the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry. With the Premier, however, the two terms are synonomous; not so, however, to other people.

During the debate the Jesuit Fathers have been accused of hostility to the government and with infusing into the minds of their pupils a spirit of antagonism to it. Not only has no evidence been brought forward to substantiate these accusations, but their untruthfulness is shown by the fact that the students in Jesuit colleges are sons of men of many different political beliefs and their existence and success, as schools of learning, has depended upon close adherence to scholastic work only, with nothing to arouse antagonistic sentiments between professors and the student body.

The brief sketch just given shows conditions and causes out of which has been brought forward a measure of religious persecution,

fraught with momentous consequences. The law itself can be better understood in the light of this recent past; so, also, can a forecast of the future be made with greater precision.

The first portion of the law makes it legal for associations of lay persons, seeking no standing in the courts as owners of property, or parties to a suit, to exist freely without governmental authorization or preliminary declaration of intention by organizers of the association. This makes it easy for revolutionary Socialists to organize societies everywhere throughout France, to hold conventions and declare all government to be oppression and private property robbery, or advance any social or religious heresy dear to their hearts. Religious associations are specifically excluded from the benefit of this provision.

The exemption from control thus given to secular associations was not part of the original Ministerial project, but was demanded and obtained by the Socialistic element in the Chamber of Deputies.

Associations desiring to obtain a standing at court or a "legal capacity" must file a preliminary declaration with the prefect of the department, or sub-prefect of the *arrondissement* (ward) where the association is to have its principal seat or headquarters. This declaration must make known the title and object of the association, the location of its establishments, the names, professions and residences of all who, under any title whatsoever, are charged with its administration or direction. This declaration must be accompanied by two copies of the rules and by-laws. This clause applies to lay associations of all kinds as well as to religious orders. All modifications of rules and by-laws must be recorded in like manner.

Every association founded upon a cause, or pursuing an illicit object, contrary to the laws, to public order, to good morals, to the national unity and to the form of government of the Republic, is null and void. The Government is quite free to interpret and apply this clause in any spirit that seems fitting to the Ministry in power.

Article 8 of the law imposes a fine of from 50 to 500 francs upon the founders, directors or administrators of an association formed in violation of the clause last stated, and an additional penalty of imprisonment for any time from six days to one year, with a heavier fine of from 500 to 5,000 francs, awaits the founders, directors or administrators of an association maintained or reconstituted after judgment of dissolution has been pronounced against it.

The last clause of Article 8 of the law imposes a "fine of from sixteen to five thousand francs and an imprisonment of from six days to one year" upon the "persons who will have favored the reunion of the members of a dissolved association, in consenting to the use of a place of which they have the disposal."

It is good evidence of the temper and spirit of the Ministerialist majority that the official spokesman of the commission that framed this law opposed the insertion of the word "*knowingly*," to make it read: "*knowingly favored* the reunion of members of a dissolved association." He gave as his reason that "he desired in this law to subvert that which is of general order in the penal code, that is to say, the proof" (proof of guilty knowledge). His desire was expressed at the private meeting of the Commission, but afterwards quoted in open session of the Chamber and not denied by him, though he then gave other reasons for opposing the insertion of the word "*knowingly*." The insertion of this word was voted down in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of fourteen.

Note well this clause. When, by an arbitrary interpretation of Article 3, the government may declare an association to be "in pursuit of an illicit object, contrary to the national unity or the form of government," and ordain its dissolution, any persons who may dare to offer shelter or temporary asylum to members of the dissolved association, if received as a community, are liable to heavy fines and imprisonment.

Priests, or Sisters whose communities may have been considered hostile to the "national unity or the form of government" are to be hounded out of France, and those who give them, as a body, house-room are to be thrown into jail, or can be, at any time.

Dispassionately viewing the causes which are hastening the decadence of France, one might suppose the low standards of public decency in the drama, art and literature would be regarded as matters of graver concern than the political opinions of priests, nursing Sisters or cloistered nuns.

Instead of making France too hot to hold the strongest and best of the teaching orders of the Catholic Church, M. Waldeck-Rousseau might well direct his energies towards aiding any moral forces combatting the ever increasing sensuality of French fiction and the French stage and to lessening the difficulties attending marriage. The social evil and frightful destruction of childlife are evidently matters of minor importance in this *régime*.

During the debate on this law in the Chamber of Deputies several supporters of the Ministry declared vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to be immoral! M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself declared such vows to be contrary to the Civil Code. The immoralities of Paris are apparently not considered contrary, either to the civil or criminal code by this "Ministry of Republican Defense."

In connection with this very Law on Associations Pope Leo XIII. has defined vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to be: "Those sublime, evangelical counsels that our Divine Redeemer addresses,

throughout the course of the centuries, to all who wish to attain to Christian perfection." On the other hand, supporters of the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry "of Republican Defense" declare such vows to be both illegal and immoral, and the Premier himself has declared a Parliamentary authorization necessary to permit persons who have taken these vows to live under them, since they "are contrary to the civil code." The views of Radicals, Socialists and Republicans who oppose vows, on the vices of Paris, would make interesting reading. No vows of chastity for them, however, or for their sons and daughters.

"Associations composed in greater part of foreigners, those having foreign administrators, or their principal seat in a foreign country and the transactions of which would be of a nature either to disturb the normal conditions of the market, of securities and of merchandise, *or to menace the interior or exterior safety of the State*, in the conditions foreseen by Articles 75 to 101 of the Penal Code, can be dissolved by decree of the President of the Republic, rendered in Council of Ministers. Founders, directors or administrators of an association that will be maintained or reestablished illegally after the decree of dissolution, will be punished by penalties indicated by Article 8, Paragraph 2."

The article last quoted (No. 12 in the law), as originally constituted, read as follows: "Every association composed in greater part of foreigners, or having its seat in a foreign country, or having foreign administrators, can be dissolved by decree of the President of the Republic, rendered in Council of Ministers." This clause savors more of the King who said: "The State, that is myself," than of a republic, as Americans, or Anglo-Saxons, understand the term. Although ostensibly aimed at religious orders having a general head in Rome, no specific distinction was made between clerical and lay associations. The Socialists became alarmed for the safety of their international associations having branches in Paris. So great was their opposition that a new form was presented and afterwards adopted which also made concessions to Conservatives, who fear strikes ordered by international associations of workmen. Still, the Socialists were not satisfied. M. Vaillant expressed their views with more candor and honesty than the Government has shown. He said, in part: "The article menaces, therefore, above all, international associations of French and foreign Socialists. In these conditions it is unacceptable *to us unless* it designates clearly *those whom it is aimed at*, and that it stipulates that *it is to religious associations it applies!*"

In what sense the Government will interpret this clause, as adopted, in spite of Socialistic fears, may be gathered from the speech, in

the Chamber of Deputies, of M. Trouillot, official spokesman of the Commission that framed the law. He said: "Why are we waging this conflict? In order to prevent the Catholic Church from imposing its will and doctrine upon us. We are fighting *against the monastic army whose headquarters are in Rome* and who seek to enslave us."

Article 13, as adopted, ordains that "No religious congregation shall be able to organize without an authorization given by a law which will determine the conditions of its working. It shall not be able to found any new establishment, but in virtue of a decree rendered in Council of State."

"The dissolution of the congregation, or the closing of every establishment, can be pronounced by decree rendered in Council of the Ministers" (the President's Cabinet).

The presentation of this article was the occasion of an amendment, or substitute, offered by a Socialist, more logical than the Premier and more consistent. M. Zévaès proposed the complete suppression of all religious orders and congregations, whether already recognized by the Government as of public utility, or now existing without recognition. The vows of all religious orders, recognized or otherwise, are precisely the same. If vows of poverty, chastity and obedience are "contrary to progress, to public order and therefore illegal," if these vows are "immoral and pernicious," as these Radicals and Socialists have declared, then they are equally so in all orders and congregations, authorized or unauthorized.

Here, however, the thrifty soul of the Premier took alarm. He reminded the Chamber that "the number of the assisted, children, the aged and infirm amounts to seventy thousand for the authorized religious congregations. To suppress, brutally, these congregations would be to compromise the law, to render its execution impossible and to impose upon the government a charge it would not be able to support." In other words, all this work is now carried on by private charity. The Premier might have added the number of children, women, of the aged and infirm and of the ill that are assisted and maintained by *unauthorized* congregations and orders.

Fancy, however, these religious orders and congregations seeking Parliamentary authorization from a Ministerialist majority made up of men like M. Gouzy, who declared himself willing to waive, for the present, the wholesale suppression now demanded by M. Zévaès, "*persuaded that these ideas would become, in the near future, the Republican reality!*" This is the future looked forward to by what some Americans curiously style: "The sister Republic across the seas."

The worst feature of the law is contained in Article 14, which ordains that: "No one is to be admitted to direct, either directly or

by another interposed, an establishment of education, of whatsoever sort it may be, nor there to give instruction, if he belongs to an unauthorized religious congregation. The transgressors will be punished by the penalties provided by Article 8, Paragraph 2. The closing of the establishment can also be pronounced by the judgment of condemnation."

This monstrous clause not only deprives every member (male or female) of an unauthorized religious order of the right to teach, but it also makes it criminal for any private school to employ them, and deprives every French parent of the right, within the borders of France, to religious education for his children.

This feature of the law is quite on a par with the infamous verdict at Rennes, illustrating French governmental ideas of civil and religious liberty as well as French notions of justice. In this article M. Waldeck-Rousseau reveals his real purpose, to drive out of France the great teaching orders of the Catholic Church. First, their existence is dependent on the arbitrary will and caprice of the Government, which may, at any time, affect to consider them a "menace to the interior or exterior safety or security of the State," and, being composed in part of foreigners, or having their principal seat in a foreign country (Italy), are subject to dissolution at the pleasure of the party in power.

Secondly, if not crushed by this method, they can only exist in France by virtue of a law of authorization, obtained, if at all, from a Parliamentary majority, now openly hostile to them, made up of men who declare their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to be "pernicious, immoral and anti-social."

Only by favor of Radicals, Socialists and Communards, such as these, can French parents hereafter give secondary and higher religious education to their children in their own country. After these teaching orders shall have been dissolved and their property sold (perhaps confiscated by the State, posing as a "rightful claimant"), any stray member (man or woman) of a dissolved teaching order who may be employed in a private school will be arrested and prosecuted, criminally, as the article provides. Any school giving employment to a priest or nun in any teaching capacity can be closed at once. And we are told that this is to promote the "moral unity of the country."

It is the fashion in France to herald acts of tyranny as harbingers of peace; to call laws of obvious oppression beneficent legislation. When the President of the Council affirmed to a *Paris Herald* reporter that this law "is a law of conciliation," he deceived nobody, not even himself.

Nothing illustrates better the Jacobin Republicanism of the

- present *régime*—a Jacobinism that seeks to create a “moral unity in France” by curbing the wills, violating the consciences of all who think differently from their official masters of the hour. In the vote on Article 14, unwilling and scrupulous Deputies were forced into line by Premier Waldeck-Rousseau’s demand for its passage as “a vote of confidence not only in the policy of the Government, but a vote of confidence in yourselves, and above all a vote of *fidelity to the Republican tradition*.”

He should have said the Napoleonic tradition, illustrated by Bonaparte’s remark: “In the establishment of a teaching corps, my principal aim is to have the means of directing political and moral opinions.” As M. Aynard has noted, while Napoleonic Jacobinism had, perhaps, the excuse of grandeur and glory, the Republican Jacobinism of Waldeck-Rousseau’s Ministry of so-called “Republican Defense” gives to the nation but misery and disorder.

Article 15 revives dead ordinances, reënacts a Governmental requirement of 1717, a curious idea of Republican tradition. It was not part of this law, as originally framed, but was readily accepted by the Government, always open for anything that will make it difficult or impossible for religious orders to exist in France, if in competition with the secularized instruction of State institutions.

This clause requires every religious congregation or order to keep an account of its receipts and expenses; to draw up each year a financial statement of the year last expired, giving an inventoried list of its lands, houses, furniture and any funds in hand; also a list of its members, stating not only their patronymic names, but as well the names under which they are designated in the congregation or order, their nationality, age and place of birth, date of entrance into the order, etc.

These accounts and lists must be furnished upon requisition of the Prefect, or his delegate, and any false statement appearing in these documents, or refusal by directors of religious congregations to furnish them upon demand will be punished, criminally, by penalties provided by Article 8, Paragraph 2, of the law (fine and imprisonment).

Article 17 declares null certain acts of the living, or of the nature of a testamentary bequest tending to enable members of religious orders to shelter or shield themselves from the inquisitorial rigor of articles of the law already described.

Article 17 is also more particularly concerned with what are styled “persons interposed;” that is, kindly disposed persons who might desire to lend their names to deeds of sale, gifts, mortgages or any other form of disposal by which religious orders might be able to retain, with their assistance, their own community property, real or

personal, and thus save it from arbitrary sale or forced partition by the State, or confiscation outright.

In any disputed transaction there is, in French common law, a presumption of innocence on the part of the accused, but this article, as first presented, practically denied this common right to anybody having bona fide relations with religious orders or congregations, if suspected of acting as an interposed person. As first framed, the law virtually reputed fraudulent all acts regarding gifts, donations, legacies, realty, owned or occupied, in which members of religious congregations would take part, except the one case where the individual member, acting for himself, would be an heir to donation or bequest in lineal descent.

In spite of the fierce opposition of M. Trouillot, official spokesman of the Commission that framed this law, the saving clause: "Under reserve of proof to the contrary" was inserted to save those who might be wrongly suspected of acting as "interposed persons," incurring otherwise a possible nullification of their various transactions.

Article 18 embodies remnants of Article 14, first presented to the Chamber, and already quoted, to mark the contrast between this measure and that of Jules Ferry, of 1880. The scheme of wholesale confiscation of religious property, first attempted by the Premier, was materially modified by himself and the Commission charged with its original framing. After these modifications had been adopted in the Chamber a determined effort was made to revive the plan of spoliation by a new clause offered in the Senate. By a hard fight the modifications of the Chamber were virtually restored and the following article is the outcome:

"Congregations existing at the moment of the promulgation of the present law, which have not been anteriorly authorized or recognized, are bound, in a period of three months, to prove that they have taken the steps necessary to conform themselves to its prescriptions.

"In default of this proof they are reputed dissolved by right. It will be likewise with congregations to whom authorization will have been refused."

Then follow provisions for legal distribution of the property of dissolved congregations and orders, through the medium of an official named by the judicial tribunals to act as a "sequestration administrator."

Any of this property, real or personal, that can be shown to have belonged to members of religious orders or congregations prior to their entrance into the order, can be claimed back by its former owners, and any securities that may have accrued to them since

by family donation or inheritance will likewise be restored to them.

Any gifts or legacies made to members of religious orders, otherwise than by right of descent, can be claimed back, provided the beneficiaries can prove that they are not persons interposed, after the manner explained in a former article of the law.

Personal property, or goods which may have been given to the orders or congregations, can be claimed back by the donors, their heirs or rightful claimants, or by the heirs or rightful claimants of a testator, in the case of a bequest. Donations made for a specific object, however, cannot be recovered. All such claims must be presented to the official administrator within six months after the publication of judgment of dissolution of a religious order, otherwise they are invalidated. After the expiration of this delay of six months the administrator will proceed to a sale of all real property not claimed back or otherwise exempted, for reasons just given. Amounts realized by these sales, together with the personal property or securities, will be deposited at the Government Deposit and Consignment Office.

The maintenance of the poor, sheltered or cared for in hospitals, orphanages, asylums or other charitable institutions, previously owned or operated by religious orders to whom the Ministerialist majority may refuse authorization, constitutes a first or privileged expense of the liquidation of such properties.

In cases where there is no dispute or when all actions instituted within the prescribed six months shall have been adjudicated, the net capital will be distributed among the rightful claimants. There is a fine chance here for "the State" to pose as a "rightful claimant," an opportunity not likely to be neglected.

An allowance upon the capital remaining free after the various deductions already specified, as a principal, or in the form of a life annuity, will be allowed to members of religious orders thus forcibly dissolved and robbed of their property as a community, in cases where they have no assured means of individual support or can prove that they have contributed, by their personal labor, to the acquisition of the property thus distributed.

While this Article 18, just described and defined, is impracticable in several of its provisions and probably reflects the secret intentions of the Government, it is, nevertheless, not the unblushing scheme of spoliation and robbery first proposed to the Chamber and afterwards attempted in the Senate. The sort of morality held by the Government was fully brought out in a discussion of the claim of the State to the property of dissolved religious orders. M. Waldeck-Rousseau said: "If there remain some goods not having been con-

tributed by a member, by whom could they be claimed back? The congregation had not the right to receive them, to acquire them. It then belongs to the State to receive them by hereditary vocation."

M. Trouillot, official spokesman of the Commission that framed the law, a blatant little egotist, was more explicit. "The fortune of the congregations," said he, "is not in the Sun, it is in the coffers. To whom does it belong, or rather, to whom ought it to belong, when the congregations will be dissolved? To the State; it is to the State that revert, by right, all goods without owner and the goods of the religious congregations are, in the eye of the law, as goods without owner. To whom, in fact, should goods that belong to nobody revert, unless it be to the collectivity represented by the State?"

"There is an apparent society, but to constitute a society members are necessary; therefore the society, in fact, does not exist. Of proprietors there is but one, that is the State, which, in the terms of Article 713, is proprietor of goods without owner. In so much as a realty has not been validly transferred, it is the property of the State, which has the right to claim it back. The religious congregations not authorized are not able to acquire; when they acquire they violate the law and the State has the right to destroy their work. These principles are evident. There cannot be transmission of property to the profit of a non-existing congregation. There is jurisprudence!"

Such is the political morality of the Ministry of Republican Defense, as put forward by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and, more boldly, by his henchman, M. Trouillot, spokesman of the Commission to whom belongs the honor (or odium?) of this law, a measure that takes equal rank with the infamous verdict at Rennes; recalling, also, the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

The promulgation of this Law on Associations was accompanied by a decree of the Minister of the Interior, setting forth the conditions with which all religious orders and congregations must comply when applying for a law of authorization permitting them to exist in France. This decree has been followed by a Presidential decree, drawn up under supervision of the Council of State, covering conditions of application to be observed by all seeking authorization now or in the future and provisions relating to pensions to be given to members of dissolved religious orders, who may be without personal resources or means of support when robbed of their community houses in the manner already described.

In addition to the requirements already indicated by the law itself, the rules and by-laws of religious orders and congregations applying for authorization must contain an agreement of every member of

the order to yield submission to the bishop or ordinary of the diocese in which they live, and formal approbation of these rules and by-laws, given by the bishop, is also exacted, with a declaration of willingness on the part of the bishop to exercise jurisdiction over them.

In the case of new religious orders, or congregations, applying for authorization, besides the preceding requirements other preliminaries are demanded, such as the name of any member who may formerly have belonged to another congregation, detailed information of the title and object of this congregation, of the date of his entrance into and exit from this earlier connection, also his religious name while a member of another order or congregation. Full details are exacted of the conditions of membership in the congregation desiring authorization, the nature of its receipts and other financial data, acts of civil life proposed, etc.

Religious orders, new or old, seeking Parliamentary authorization to exist in France, are required to obtain the opinion, on their application, of the municipal council and prefect of communes and departments where religious houses of the order may be located or contemplated. If these municipal councils happen to have a Socialistic majority, the "preliminary view" they are likely to express on applications from men or women whose vows of poverty, chastity and obedience these Socialists call "anti-social and immoral," can well be imagined. France has recently witnessed adverse action by not a few councils having Socialistic majorities.

The National Government reserves the right to recommend to Parliament the rejection of all applications for authorization disapproved by the Premier and Ministers of the Presidential Council. Where authorization is recommended and granted the decree of authorization will regulate the special conditions under which the religious house or establishment must be operated.

In every private school, college or other educational establishment throughout France there must now be opened a special register, recording the full names, nationality, date and place of birth of teachers and employés, details of their last previous employment and of the places where they have formerly resided, as well as the nature and date of diplomas acquired by them. This register must always be readily tendered to the public administrative, academic and judicial authorities, upon every requisition on their part. Its object is to enable the Government to put under arrest and prosecute criminally any male or female member of a religious order to which the anti-Catholic majority in Parliament may have refused authorization, but still attempting to teach. The school, academy or college which may be found to have employed any stray priest or nun thus circumstanced can be closed at once. Such is civil and religious

liberty under the Ministry of so-called "Republican Defense." God help the Republic that needs or avails itself of such defense!

The measure of liberality which the Government desires to extend to male and female members of religious orders whose houses have been seized and whose charitable establishments have been put in liquidation, by processes already indicated, is shown by the Presidential decree regarding pensions to priests or nuns destitute of personal resources. The decree provides that, where a member of a religious order is unprovided with sufficient means of existence, the allowance is to equal the capital it would be necessary to set aside according to rates of the national fund of pensions to the aged, and to yield an annual life income, proportioned to his essential needs, taking into account his age, state of health and personal resources. In no case is the amount to exceed an annuity of \$240. If the applicant for relief has contributed, by his labor, to the acquisition of property of the dissolved religious order, the grant is equal to the sum which he would have been able to husband in living outside of the order had he been placed in the conditions of every free laborer; in any case his annuity is not to exceed the munificent sum of \$240!

When it is remembered that the men whom the State plans thus to pension off, when robbed of their houses and forbidden to exercise their office of teacher, are among the most brilliant, scholarly and cultivated priests in France, the spirit of the Government in offering such annuities is proportionate to Governmental ideas of individual liberty. Its generosity is only equaled by its sense of freedom and tolerance.

That France will lose infinitely more than she will gain by this measure of persecution and spoliation is evident to every foreigner who takes the trouble to inform himself upon the subject. The loss of France will be both internal and external. By forcing this issue, as a test of "loyalty to the Republican tradition," M. Waldeck-Rousseau is blindly, stupidly raising a dangerous antagonism between the Republic and liberty, between the Republic, on the one hand, and, on the other, all tolerance, respect for religious belief and the maintenance of the fundamental principles of social order. So much the worse for the Republic, to be henceforth identified with Socialism, incompatible, now, with all the guarantees of civil and religious liberty and soon, perhaps, to be incompatible with respect of private property.

The first scholars of the French Institute, of the College of France, of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, of the School of Higher Studies, of the French Academy and of the University of Paris have formally and publicly protested against this infamous measure, foreseeing, as they do, a weakening, if not destruction, of

French influence and prestige in the Orient, where the religious orders, now to be driven out of France, have extensive colleges, schools and missions. Pope Leo XIII. has warned the Government of the same danger. But to what purpose?

Incapable of learning anything from the history of his own country, M. Waldeck-Rousseau demanded and obtained the passage of this law, "for reasons of State." For precisely the same reasons innocent men were sent to the Bastille. To-day, where is the Bastille? To-morrow, where will be Monsieur Waldeck-Rousseau, the evil genius of Republicanism in France?

French Radicals and Socialists hailed the bill with delight as the first step towards a repudiation of the Concordat, towards the destruction of the Church. As a witness to civil and religious authority as against the individualism of the later revolution and commune; to the right of private property, as against the collectivism of the Socialists, the Church is a force with which Radicals and Republican-Socialists have to reckon.

On the purely spiritual side the cry of the Socialists is that of the man in demoniacal possession: "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of David?"

The priest, monk, nun and nursing Sister each constitute a living protest against the lust and alcoholism that are eating out the manhood of France and that have helped to lower the birth-rate to alarming proportions. These hated orders give testimony also to death, judgment and the wrath to come. For all these reasons Socialists hate them with the hatred that extends also to the Church itself.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau has sought to crush out the only moral force strong enough to resist the encroachments of an overbearing, secularized, apostate State. Not satisfied with that, his supporters now attack the Church itself. What will be the end?

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ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE CHINESE CRISIS.

1900.

THE aim of this article is to trace the origin and, principally, to investigate the causes of the bloody drama that desolated the Chinese Empire during the year 1900. To define these causes is not an easy task, as we are not in possession of all the elements of the question. We know many facts from their apparent side only; of the deliberations in the councils of the Chinese government and the intrigues of the palace, so frequently surrounding Oriental thrones, we are ignorant. However, the knowledge which we possess is more than sufficient to enable us to reach very probable conclusions on some points and certain deductions on others, thanks to the revelations of diplomats, the correspondence from China and the letters of Catholic missionaries. These documents have been happily collected and kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. A. Guasco, Secretary General of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris.

I.

Although the continual agitations of the Celestial Empire have somewhat accustomed us to outbursts of partial revolts, here and there, organized by men without principle and looked upon as rebels, it must nevertheless be admitted that the events of the past few years never prepared us for a violent revolution favored by the government itself.

When the war between France and China broke out, fifteen years ago, missions were not disturbed. In a letter, dated February 1, 1885, and addressed to the Emperor Kouang-Su, Pope Leo XIII. said: "We know that, at the beginning of the war, Your Authority decreed that the Christians should be respected and that no harm should befall missionaries, even the French. . . ." The reply from the Chinese government was favorable.

On September 19 of the same year the Tsong-ly-Yamen* promised to issue proclamations in all localities where missions were established, "informing the people that the aim of Catholic missions is to exhort men to do good and that they are not occupied with any other affair; that the men who profess this religion do not cease to be Chinamen, and that both parties should do their duty quietly without harboring mistrust and hatred against each other."

During the Chino-Japanese War the attitude of belligerents who

*The "Tsong-ly-Yamen" is the tribunal for treating affairs with the Foreign Ministers at the court of Peking.

were neighbors of missionaries and religious establishments was always courteous. An imperial edict ordered Chinese authorities to protect their institutions; in Manchuria, where the last scene of the struggle between China and Japan was laid, the local authorities watched over them constantly. It was the same everywhere else, excepting Sze-chuan. Perhaps this moderation was exercised to enlist the sympathies of America and Europe when terms of peace should be considered. Whatever the case, the Chinese seemed grateful to Catholic missionaries for their conduct during the Chino-Japanese War; several of these even recorded a mark of their appreciation in the edict of the following year.

This imperial decree, given *motu proprio* March 15, 1899, aims to define the relations between local authorities and the Catholic clergy. It approves the Catholic religion and its cult, recognizes its diffusion throughout the Empire and grants bishops a distinction and power which they never before enjoyed in China. In rank and dignity they are declared equals of Viceroys and Governors. It began to be believed that Christians had finally found peace and liberty in the Celestial Empire.

A very short time afterwards, however, in fact, when the decree was beginning to produce marvelous results, anxiety began to be felt in the legations. Secret societies showed signs of movement and several warnings, given some time before, were recalled. From certain documents, since published, it seemed that a movement beginning from the month of May, 1899, was to be feared; but would it be of any importance? and was more weight to be attached to it than to those that were almost of an endemic nature?

In 1899 a Mongolian chief, the King of Djoungar, who governed seven tribes claiming to be descendant from the army of Gengis Khan, informed Mr. Bonin, the European Charge d'Affaires in Central Asia, "that by reason of troubles which he foresaw in the early future, it would be difficult for him, notwithstanding his good-will, to assure protection and prevent the destruction of Catholic stations established in his territory, for this year (1899) and the year after, and that, in such case, he begged not to be held responsible." Mr. Bonin, in forwarding this communication to Peking, added the following observation: "This warning agrees with the rumors, learned at the other extremity of China, of a general and speedy uprising against Europeans, Americans and Christians."

On January 4, 1900, a decree published by the *Gazette of Peking* announced, in pursuance of a telegram from Yuan-che-kai, temporary Governor of Shantung, the murder of an English missionary and prescribed the search for the mandarin guilty of negligence and the assassins. On January 11 another decree, concerning the

numerous societies in the province, stated: "That leads us to consider that a distinction must be made among the societies. Those formed of malcontents who are seeking in an association the union which permits them to foment trouble shall, indeed, surely not escape punishment. Those good men, respectful of their duty, who are practicing the use of arms to be in a position to defend their persons or their families and are uniting several villages to enable them to defend their territory mutually, are acting in a true spirit of mutual protection." Does this decree not contain in vague and equivocal terms a semi-official encouragement to the action of secret societies? At least, so it was understood by several of them, particularly the Boxers.

And so it was understood also by the Ministers of the United States, France, Germany and England; for, a few days afterwards, they presented a petition for the publication of an edict pronouncing the dissolution of secret societies whose development in Shantung and Chi-li was a "serious menace to religious missions and, eventually, to foreigners." The decree was published, but was considered insufficient by the representatives of Christian nations; fresh, though ineffective, efforts were made and several American and European war vessels cast anchor in Chinese waters.

On April 20 the French Minister wrote: "The general state of affairs seems to be improved, but it cannot be considered reassuring. *The blind hostility of the government of the Empress against all foreigners is manifest.* The sovereign is surrounded by mandarins who, on the whole, have been chosen from among those most ignorant of foreign affairs, and most prejudiced against all that departs from Chinese tradition. Her favor is accorded to those who believe in refusing everything to the representatives of the powers.. She has just bestowed a high dignity upon Kang-Yi, one of the most bitter against strangers. . . . The secret societies are not ignorant of these dispositions, and those among them that dream only of revolution are ready to profit by the situation. At the given signal they can stir up bloody tumults."

Menacing placards against foreigners were posted in the capital of the Empire itself, something that had not happened for a long time. The situation began to grow critical and Right Rev. A. Favier, Bishop of Peking, declared that the greatest calamities were imminent. The foreign ministers, it must be remarked, were altogether so surprised by the rapidity of the operations of the Boxers that they did not have time to remove their families to a place of safety. It suffices to say that, in spite of the precursory signs which have just been stated, no one foresaw the horrible storm which has desolated the northern provinces of the Celestial Empire.

II.

It is not our present purpose to write the history of that catastrophe. What has already been published on the subject is more than sufficient to give an idea of the extent of the disaster. Moreover, whatever the opinion of certain writers may be, many facts are wanting to write the history of the Chinese revolution of 1900. The missionaries themselves say that the losses of the Catholic apostolate cannot yet be determined with certainty. In some distant parts of the Empire quiet is far from being restored, and from time to time the press informs us of the sad news of insurrection followed by massacres.

Let us rather try to determine the causes of this catastrophe. Why is the rage of the sects in rebellion so violent against Christians? To what causes is the sudden change produced in the Chinese government, the evident accomplice of these barbarous hordes, attributable? Were the manifestations of sympathy on the part of the Mandchoue dynasty toward Americans and Europeans sincere? Was the promise of protection to their works given seriously or was it only the manœuvre of a government with which duplicity is a habit and lying a means of ruling? Or is it rather a true revolution that has broken out in the north of China, and has the government which signed the decree of March 15, 1899, been the first victim of a reactionary party supported by powerful societies with a prince at their head? To answer briefly it seems that the reasons which may be assigned to the revolution in question are of a threefold nature. The first are of a purely psychological order and are to be sought in the Chinese soul itself; the second may be referred to the action of European powers, and the third, which determine the immediate cause of the insurrection and its character, are to be found in the interior policy of China.

I. It is almost an axiom that a latent hatred against strangers always exists in the heart of Celestials. The yellow race is essentially proud, most proud of its greatness and self-conceived superiority over foreign nations. How could the case be otherwise, when they possess annals dating back to remotest antiquity; when they were civilized whilst others were barbarian; when they can glory in a long line of philosophers, moralists, authors and illustrious scholars; when, in their indefinite list of monarchs, they number sovereigns eminent in the arts of peace and practice of war; when they knew no other nations but their vassals? We, on the other hand, want to see the Chinese lost in admiration before our customs, our traditions, our ancestors, our moral, political, social and industrial leaders. But are we sure of being right in everything? Let

us be candid and inquire if the proofs which we give them in the cities where we are largely represented, of our customs, our honesty, our courtesy and our morality, are always calculated to make them conceive a very high idea of the superiority of Europeans and Americans. Many of those upon whom we are trying to force ourselves give us an example of propriety and personal dignity. An important American review commenting on the Chinese protocol remarked that it was the closing of a chapter of history that has been the reverse of creditable to the Powers.

Moreover, the Celestial Empire, the last survivor of the great States of antiquity, governed, as it were, by the dead, immovable in its past, has preserved many traits of character of the civilizations with which it has been contemporaneous. In general the nations of antiquity professed the deepest scorn for strangers. China feels the same sentiment; and as the yellow race possesses violent passions not governed by any elevating thought and oftentimes excited by misery, it happens from time to time that the Christian people look with amazement on explosions of anger provoking acts of savage atrocity. The history of the massacres of Tientsin (1870) is still fresh in the memory of man. Generally the hatred of foreigners served as a pretext for depredations and acts of brigandage, such as occurred in the province of Szechuan about two years since. The bands of Yu-Mantze ran through cities and villages carrying banners with the inscription: "Death to foreigners! save the dynasty!" and when a bandit, whoever he may be, writes on his standard: "Death to foreigners! save the dynasty!" he will find other bandits to understand him, educated men to encourage him and authorities to protect him either openly or covertly, as circumstances permit.

In 1900 the turbulent undercurrent rose to the surface. Even the regular army, under the direction of high dignitaries, worked to destroy European and American elements with which the government had been negotiating for forty years; and if the legations with the Pei-Tang (Catholic Cathedral) in Pekin were able to resist the combined besieging forces for more than two months, it was very likely because some generals did not obey all the orders received.

II. Writers, not well informed or impelled by hostile intentions, have tried to hold missionaries responsible for the recent events, passing the same condemnation on all ministers of the different creeds. We are not in a position to defend Protestant missionaries from the imputations directed against them. Not being sufficiently versed in their affairs, we cannot point out the mistakes that have been published with respect to them. Besides, their societies see

that they are respected and have already replied to the attacks and repaired the mistakes of a misinformed or ill-disposed press.

In so far as Catholic missionaries are concerned, let our first remark be that they are beyond the reach of the accusation of cupidity brought against missionaries in general. There is not among them an outcast with a burdensome past; no one lazily seeking an easy and lucrative present; no one ambitious for a brilliant future. They are all men who have abandoned everything for all time: fortune, family and country; and in a sublime folly, the folly of the Cross, have gone to live the life of the poor, having many times nothing but a stone on which to rest their heads and being often without the bole of rice necessary for their existence. They are men who know how to suffer and die, as they have proved in the last persecution. Catholic missionaries serve the cause of mankind and Christian civilization by their works of charity; they call down the blessing of the poor, the sick and the orphaned on the generous souls who have sent them on their mission. They faithfully follow the orders of Leo XIII., who in a letter addressed to the Emperor said that "those who labor in the name of the Gospel should refrain from political affairs, and that one of the principal precepts of the Christian religion is to preserve justice in all things, to submit to authority and to honor the King."

To what then must we attribute the outbursts of popular fury against our missionaries and the semi-official protection granted to their assassins? Is the cause found in the nature of the doctrine which they preach? It would seem rather that a people as skeptical as the Celestials would be thoroughly indifferent to the propagation of the Gospel; moreover, their scholars should recognize the fact that our books of religion contain moral precepts which might improve theirs. Many edicts of the Emperors speak with honor of the Christian religion and pay homage to it. Why, then, when millions who profess the religion of Mahomet, together with devotees of many different divinities, enjoy peace, are Christian missions so often threatened and so cruelly persecuted? May it not be because back of the Christian missionary China sees Europe and America, and that in missionaries they recognize the advance guard of armies ready to destroy them?

Before quoting facts to support this suggestion, a few words may be permitted on the question whether the political protectorate is desirable for Catholic missions. Opinions differ and we are reticent about taking any side on the delicate question, as those whom it concerns directly are divided on the subject.

Missionaries are charged with making conversions only among the lower classes. If they alone accept Christianity, it implies that

it is not worth the consideration of the upper classes. True, the conversion of a scholar and, above all, of a mandarin, is a difficult matter, but it is not the character of the missionary nor the grandeur of his Gospel message which is at fault. There was a time when the most brilliant conquests were made among those highest in station in the Empire. At that time the moral standard of the educated class was, perhaps, higher than it is to-day; but at that time, too, the Chinese government did not fear European and American interference in its affairs. Missionaries did not labor under the protection of foreign bayonets and cannon. Cannon and bayonets may be feared in official circles, but it would be difficult to love them. How can the Orientals be made to understand that men backed by naval and military force are not the agents of their respective countries, and that priests are trying to extend the Kingdom of God, preferring, in order to attain this end, days of anxiety on hostile soil to a happy and peaceful existence in their native country? Naturally, there is a confusion of ideas in the minds of infidels between apostolic action and the reasons of political interference when there is a call for it. As for the native converts, they are, of course, looked upon as friends of the invaders and, consequently, as traitors to their country. Would we reason otherwise? Does not the readiness with which the different nations seek the benefits of the religious protectorate for themselves indicate the advantages which they hope to derive from their missionaries, and does it not tend, by manifesting the intentions of the Powers, to cast suspicion on the apostolate itself? Some therefore consider that the use of force is an obstacle to the diffusion of the Gospel.

Others, on the contrary, thinking that the propagation of the Christian religion among a people that yields only to superior physical force will encounter insurmountable obstacles, believe that the régime of protection is preferable to all others. They remember the innumerable difficulties met with in the past in the preaching of the Gospel and the continual persecutions suffered, together with their long list of evils. The occasional anxieties of the present were then uninterrupted. If we compare the first sixty years of the nineteenth century to the last forty, the advantages of the religious protectorate seem evident; missions, Christians and works have multiplied instead of the former constant struggles, difficulty in reaching souls, repeated new beginnings. It is a law of history, as the learned historian, Mgr. Duchesne, remarks, that the diffusion of Christianity keeps pace with the conquests of Western civilization; and can we doubt that the latter is destined to extend over the entire world? The religious protectorate thus becomes an historical factor destined to bear fruit, for it has come at its appointed time, at the hour when

Western nations and those who owe their origin to them are laboring to impose their customs, their discoveries and their conception of life on the entire world.

Whatever view of the question is taken, it may be found, upon consideration of several facts which we shall give, that certain European governments have somewhat abused the right of the protectorate to obtain undue indemnities and even an unjustifiable extension of territory. At all events, the attitude for several years of Europe, and recently Japan, is one of the principal causes of the political revolution and religious persecution.

For several years the proudest people of the world have been hearing that their country was to be parceled out to other nations. Newspapers have been filled with accounts of possible or probable combinations and have discussed the question of the division of China without the least hesitation. The different European boards of trade in China itself thought out different solutions. Some advocated the open door policy; others that of the sphere of influence, apportioning Mongolia and Manchuria to Russia, Northern China proper to Germany, the valley of the Yangsi, the river of the west and Thibet to England, certain portions of the three southern provinces to France and a part of Fokien and Tche-Kiang to Japan. Some British organs spoke with their accustomed bold self-assurance of the *Egyptianization* of China. "We should organize and administer the valley of the Yangsi, as we have organized and administer the valley of the Nile," they wrote. All the powers were to be satisfied excepting the one among them most interested in being so, China herself. The different countries made contracts with one another and the Celestial Empire defrayed the costs. They mutually acknowledged a sphere of industrial influence and claimed acquisitions under various pretexts, the purpose of which was easily discernible. In a word, there was once a sick man on the banks of the Bosphorus; now there was one more sick still on the shores bathed by the waters of the far east. All those who considered themselves heirs to the seemingly dying man were ready to divide the heritage.

After the treaty of Simonosaki which followed the Chino-Japanese war, Germany obtained two concessions of territory; but it still needed a large port in Oriental waters. For a long time it had Kia-chau in view, and was only awaiting its opportunity to carry out an idea entertained since 1870. The opportunity was presented in the massacre of two German Catholic missionaries belonging to the seminary of Steyl, which has charge of the evangelization of Southern Shantung. Fathers Nies and Henle were killed November 1, 1897. Before this double murder the vicar apostolic of Southern Shantung, Bishop Anzer, a Bavarian prelate, had claimed the pro-

tection of Germany. This country was not slow to respond. On November 14 three vessels appeared in the bay of Kia-chau; the citadel was taken and, a few months afterwards, when the squadron commanded by Prince Henry of Prussia arrived, China was forced to come to terms. Kia-chau was ceded to Germany, which also obtained a number of privileges in Shan-tung.

As long as none of the eighteen provinces which form the true soil of China had been touched, it was possible to support dispossessions; but such was no longer the case. An attempt at seizing the sacred ground of ancestors has been made. The Celestials were deeply incensed by the occupation of Kia-chau. Their spirit of resentment gave birth to the sect of "Boxers" who were not long in spreading through the northern provinces, and reinforced by other societies like the "Fasters," were one day to put all to fire and sword.

Without pausing to enumerate the demands of Russia, France and England, the pretensions of Italy and the claims of Japan that followed the important concession obtained by Germany at the point of arms, may we not conclude that the Chinese are justified in regarding Europeans as robbers desirous of enriching themselves with Chinese spoils?

If to spoliation, more or less legitimate, if to the immoderate desire of transporting the riches of the Orient to the Occident, we add the violations of Chinese etiquette, the interests disturbed by European and American industry, the overthrow of customs twenty centuries old, need we be surprised to see this people indignant and ready, when they believe themselves strong enough, to destroy the "foreign devils?" Need we be astonished to see them possessed of a blind hatred against missionaries whom they consider the advance guard of the enemy's army and against native Christians whom they believe to be allies of the stranger, traitors to their own country?

During the war with Japan the Tartars had arrows and flint muskets. Old rusty cannon were mounted on the walls of Peking and men ignorant of military practices were compelled to join the army. The accounts of the last siege mention Mauser rifles and the latest models of Krupp cannon manned by the Chinese. The Europeans furnished their enemies arms and even taught them how to use them. But if the Chinese believed that the moment had come to throw off the yoke, they were in too great haste. Who knows, however, but they will profit by the lesson they have just received? Who knows but they will not follow the example of Japan, an unknown factor among the Powers a quarter of a century ago, but which to-day is defying Russia? Who can assure us that the twentieth century will not see one of those inundations from Asia into Europe that at different times afflicted ages passed? On

that day the insatiable cupidity of our age will have borne its fruit. The extension of the kingdom of God will be more and more retarded and, as in the last war, the innocent will suffer for the guilty.

III. Finally, another cause of the Chinese revolution and the character which it has assumed may be found in the interior policy of the country. This also explains to a greater extent why the blind rage of the sects in revolt has been directed against the Church and why the Chinese government became their accomplice.

It must not be forgotten that the Chinese dynasty of Ming, succeeded in 1644 by the Manchu Tartar dynasty still on the throne, is far from having lost all its adherents. In fact, the numerous secret societies in China are ramifications of the party of Ming most hostile against the Tartars whom they hope, one day, to drive back into Manchuria. At the time of the great war of Teen Wang (1850) against the court of Peking, as some years afterwards (1864) the Europeans took the part of the latter. This continues to be the attitude of European powers and the United States who, at the time of the Chino-Japanese War prevented the Tartar dynasty from being replaced by another. American and European missionaries are protected by Mandchoue Emperors, so they are enemies to the followers of the Ming dynasty, as the Chinese who accept their doctrines are also enemies. The reasoning is simple and the partisans of Ming could not forego the opportunity offered to them last year to satisfy their hatred and, perhaps, attain their purpose of overthrowing the Mandchoue dynasty.

Moreover, we have said that the society of "Closed Fists," called "Boxers" by the English, rose in Shantung the day after the Germans took possession of Kia-chau. The "Boxers" were at first recruited from the lower classes. They appealed to the ignorance and fanaticism of the people, assembled in the suburbs of cities and the squares of villages to perform their incantations, contortions and magnetic tricks, pretending that their adepts became invulnerable or were resuscitated within a certain lapse of time. Their aim was clear: "Death to invaders, death to foreigners," and this title included native Christians, whom they called foreigners of the second category. They were not slow in finding followers in higher spheres, where it was quickly understood that they could be made use of. We need not repeat the excesses of all kinds in which they indulged when the revolution broke out and the innumerable massacres that marked their advance toward Peking. Suffice it to say that when they arrived at the capital, the "Boxers" found in the upper official circles men ready to place themselves at their head and lead them on to the massacre of the "foreign devils." A kind of legal leaders had succeeded to the friends of foreigners who had governed China since 1860 and had directed it toward progress.

For many years Prince Tuan had lived away from court, almost an exile in Moukden. He had tasted the bitterness of a double denial of justice; an exclusion from the regency to which his father was subjected and his own exclusion from the throne. As the Emperor, Kouang-Su, had no son, it happened that a son of Tuan became heir presumptive. Thus it was that Tuan, who was ignorant of the events of the past forty years, returned to Peking. All the malcontents, all those who pretended to have been wronged by foreign innovations, thronged around this prince who came back with his ignorance and his hatred. The Empress yielded to the ascendancy of this great personage and seemed struggling between two contrary tendencies, which explains her contradictory edicts. On the one hand she had reason to fear the Europeans; on the other, she had reason to tremble before a party supported by hordes so audacious, so numerous and animated by such a ferocious fanaticism. English dispatches frequently represented the Empress, Si-tai-heon, as retrogressive; we incline to believe that the Empress and Emperor were simply the first prisoners of Prince Tuan, father of the heir presumptive to the throne, who has certainly played the principal part in the horrible drama enacted.

What consequences will the sad events have for the future, the causes of which we have endeavored to determine? It is difficult to foresee. There are many who hardly entertain any hope for the future of China, and not a few who fear another anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement. Such is not the opinion of the Catholic Bishop of Peking, the Right Rev. A. Favier. In a letter lately published in the *New York Sun* (November 3, 1901), he seems to be full of confidence for the future of the Empire and the Christian missions. According to him, there may be here and there occasional outbreaks. Personal revenges and local annoyances will doubtless harass Christian settlements now and then, but no general persecution is anticipated. It will be long before China exposes itself to another catastrophe similar to that of 1900, in which Empire and dynasty came very near foundering.

We are informed that the Christian missions are fast recovering from their losses. The blood of martyrs and the sublime attitude of Catholics face to face with death or spoliation are already producing fruit, and every day some new members are entered in the roll of catechumens, while Christians and pagans are living in perfect peace and harmony. May such a state of affairs continue, and sanguinary persecution never disgrace the oldest Empire of the world!

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THE TRUE AUTHORS OF ENGLAND'S REFORMATION.

PROTESTANT ecclesiastical historians candidly admit that Convocation was never consulted upon the various doctrinal alterations introduced into the Church of England during the short, but eventful reign, of Edward VI. They even inform us that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Bonner of London, Tunstal of Durham, Voysey of Exeter, Heath of Worcester and Day of Chichester were deprived of their sees on account of their opposition to the New Gospel, introduced by the Council; that Rugg of Norwich resigned his see to save his conscience, and that Kitchen of Llandaff, Salcot of Salisbury and Sampson of Lichfield showed such sullen unwillingness to accept the new code of religion that the Council punished them by practically confiscating the revenues of their respective sees. It is furthermore narrated that Thirlby of Westminster, Skyp of Hereford, Aldrick of Carlisle, King of Oxford, and Gooderick of Ely, all of whom held Catholic opinions, sacrificed their consciences in order to retain their sees. Only four bishops out of the whole hierarchy of England, viz.: Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; Holbeach, of Lincoln, and Ferrars, of St. Davids, willingly espoused the cause of the Reformation in the beginning of this reign.

Any impartial reader of history can form a true idea of the unwillingness of the English Bishops, as a body, to accept the complete "reformation" contained in the second Book of Common Prayer, with the ordinal and Articles, by reading the debate which took place in the House of Lords, and examining the votes recorded before the comparatively mild reforms contained in the First Common Prayer Book, received the sanction of Parliament. Although thirteen bishops, either personally or by proxy, voted in its favor, yet, notwithstanding the frowns of Somerset and the threats of Warwick, no less than ten openly opposed it. Gardiner, who was then in prison, and Kitchen, an absentee, whose Catholic views were notorious, certainly agreed with the minority, as did, no doubt, the other absent bishops, for had these been of one mind with the majority, it is difficult to conceive that they would have refrained from recording votes which must have won them the good will and gratitude of the Council. The whole weight of evidence, therefore, tends to show that the English bishops, as a body, were opposed to the reformation, even in its mildest form.

The proofs that the people of England, both at that time and during the previous reigns, still loved the faith of their fathers, are so convincing that they can be called in question only by those who are

ready to maintain that the general rioting, culminating in open rebellion, provoked by the reformation, were infallible signs of the people's love for the new religion.

The insurrection in Lincolnshire and the later and more formidable rebellion of the Pilgrims of Grace during the reign of Henry VIII., and the written statement of their grievances drawn up by the insurgents, make clearly manifest the Catholic spirit of the country. In Edward the Sixth's reign the attempts to force the latest reforms provoked insurrections in the counties of Devonshire, Cornwall, Kent, Sussex, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Rutlandshire, Oxfordshire, Hertfordshire and Norfolkshire. Sir William Herbert, commanding the Royal troops in Wiltshire, and Lord Grey in Oxfordshire, easily suppressed the tumults in these two counties. But the men of Devon, exasperated by the promulgation of the First Common Prayer Book, gave vent to their anger in a rebellion so formidable that Lord Russell, the leader of the Royal troops, finding himself utterly powerless to suppress it, temporized with the insurgents by offering to submit their grievances to the Council. Unsatisfied by the King's and Cranmer's answers to their petition, the insurgents besieged Exeter. In Norfolk 20,000 insurgents, under the leadership of Kent, succeeded in driving the Marquis of Northampton, with the King's troops beyond the borders of the county. The various insurrections were, however, eventually suppressed with the aid of German and Italian mercenaries, whose services the government, anticipating the likelihood of outbreaks, had secured in the commencement of King Edward's reign.

The principal grievances of the insurgents are stated by Collier (vol. v., p. 331) and clearly reveal the popular opinion concerning the so-called "blessings of the reformation." "They complained that they dragged out a wretched life, and were treated little better than beasts of burden. However, the miseries of this world would not always last, and therefore ought to be borne with patience, if that were the worse of the case. But when the loss of their souls was the question, the ruin from that quarter ought to be prevented at the utmost hazard. Now here they had the unhappiness to be concerned, for the holy ceremonies of antiquity were abolished and a new face and form of religion forced upon them. That by compliance with these innovations, they should fall under the terrors of the other world, and the hardships of this life would be succeeded by the unsupportable punishment of the damned. As things stood, therefore, they had no remedy left them but marching up to the court and rescuing the King from evil counsellors—from men who took advantage of his minority; who, under the covert of Royal authority, plunder the Church and ruin the Kingdom, who have no

other aim but wealth and dominion and making their fortune out of the public calamity."

It is with feelings of painful surprise that we read in Heylyn's narrative a statement to the effect that the members of both Houses of Parliament, though favorable to the ancient faith, were induced by mercenary motives to abet the reformers. These are his words: "Though a great part of the nobility, and not a few of the chief gentry, were cordially affected to the Church of Rome, yet they were willing to give way to all such acts and statutes as were made against it, out of fear of losing such church land as they were possessed of, if that religion should prevail again. As to the rest, who either were to make or improve their fortunes, there is no question, but that they came resolved to further such a reformation as should most visibly conduce to the advancement of their several ends." (Ed. vi., p. 48.)

It is open to all who wish to test the truth of the grave statements just made to consult the "History of the Reformation of the Church of England," written by a learned Anglican divine, Peter Heylyn, D. D., chaplain in ordinary to James the First, or the "History of the Church of Great Britain," by Jeremy Collier, a still more distinguished clergyman of the same Church, both of whom stand in the first rank of able and learned Church historians.

All the quotations given from the writings of the Fathers of the early Church can easily be verified, as there are Protestant translations of the original writings, which will be found in the Ante-Nicene Library published by Clark, of Edinburgh, in 1870.

As there is no authentic translation of the Thirteenth Canon of the Council of Nice, the original is given in Latin. Fleury's ecclesiastical history from A. D. 381 to 400 is certainly quoted, but only from the translation published by Parker, Oxford, 1842, given here.

Edward VI. was but a boy in his ninth year when he ascended the throne. By his father's will no less than sixteen executors, with equal powers, had been appointed to carry out the provisions of the will until the young Monarch should attain his majority. In spite, however, of these, the Earl of Hertford, Edward's uncle, was elected by the Council of Executors to be "protector of the King's realm and governor of his person," but only on the express condition, which indeed was soon ignored, that he should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors. Soon after the Royal coronation, the Lord Protector was created Duke of Somerset and Earl Marshal. Having secured for himself by Royal letters patent fixity of tenure in his high office during the King's minority, he next provided to secure for himself complete control over the Council by the simple process of nominating an overwhelming number of his followers as its members.

Henry VIII., satisfied with being acknowledged as "Supreme Head on Earth of the Church in England," had made no alteration in the regular system of divine worship, but on the accession of Edward VI., the Lord Protector, a Calvinist at heart, knowing well that he could depend on the members of both Houses of Parliament, and on the Council, for reasons already given, determined to introduce without delay the "Reformation" in all its completeness into England. Ignoring altogether the spiritual authority of the hierarchy, the Council easily induced the boy King to follow the example set by his royal father in 1536 by issuing on his own responsibility certain "religious injunctions." These, together with a "New Book of Homilies" composed by Cranmer, and a "Paraphrase of the New Testament" by Erasmus, were ordered to be placed in every church in the kingdom by commissioners—a mixed body of laymen and clerics—who were appointed to make a general visitation with the view to making inquiries into all "ecclesiastical concerns." These commissioners were everywhere accompanied by special preachers, who were deputed to dissuade the people "from invoking saints, praying for the dead, honoring images, using beads, or ashes on Ash Wednesday, taking part in processions or having dirges sung for the dead."

Acting on a special order from the Council, Bonner, Bishop of London, as dean of the bishops, commanded the provincial prelates to abstain from preaching or making visitations whilst the commissioners were on circuit. All preachers except those specially licensed by the Council were silenced. This, Collier candidly admits, was done "to hinder those who opposed the intended Reformation from spreading their opinions and haranguing where they pleased. Whereas those of the Protestant sentiment might move at large, have the countenance of a royal authority and make as many proselytes as they were able" (vol. v., p. 194). Detecting clear evidences of Germanic Protestantism in the homilies and injunctions spread broadcast throughout England, Bonner, Bishop of London; Tunstal, of Durham, and Gardiner, of Winchester, openly protested against the religious changes, which, even without the formality of Episcopal sanction and against the will of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, had been imposed on the nation. Bonner, notwithstanding the humiliating retraction which he had speedily made, was imprisoned in the Fleet; Tunstal soon discovered that his place in the Council was filled by another; Gardiner, on account of his great popularity, was spared for a time, but the Lord Chancellor was at once called upon to resign the Great Seal of his high office.

Protestants, both at home and abroad, openly rejoiced at the repeal in the first year of this reign of all the statutes against

heretics passed during the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV. and Henry VIII.

In the same session of Parliament an act was passed ordaining "that the most Blessed Sacrament should be hereafter commonly delivered and ministered unto the people within the Church of England and Ireland and other of the King's dominions under both kinds, that is to say, of bread and wine." The King was authorized to provide a suitable form, and this task he entrusted not to a convocation of the hierarchy, but to a selected number of bishops and divines whose names will be afterwards given.

The last act in this winter session (December, 1537) was specially calculated, as Heylyn admits, "to weaken the authority of the Episcopal order, by forcing them from their stronghold of divine institution and making them no other than King's Ministers only, his ecclesiastical sheriffs, as a man might say, to execute his will and dispense his mandates" (Edward VI., p. 51). In this statute, entitled "An Act for the Election of Bishops," it was ordered that bishops in future should be appointed by the King's Letters Patent, and not, as of old, by the election of deans and chapters.

Having completely shelved the bishops, the Council proceeded to further reforms by commanding Bonner to send a circular letter to all the suffragan bishops, requiring them to cease from the use of the ancient ceremonies customary on Candlemas Day, Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday. Bonner's letter speaks for itself:

MY DEAR GOOD LORD: After my most hearty congratulations, this is to advertise your Lordship that my Lord of Canterbury this 28th day of January (1538) sent unto me these letters missive, containing this to effect, that my Lord Protector's Grace, with advice of other of the King's Majesty's Honourable Privy Council (for certain considerations them moving), are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne on Candlemas Day; nor else, from henceforth Ashes, and Palms used any longer, requiring me thereupon, by the said letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given to your Lordship and the other bishops with celerity accordingly. In consideration, I do send at this present these said letters to your Lordship, that you may thereupon give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your Diocese as appertaineth.

Thus committing your good Lordship to Almighty, to as well to fare as your heart can desire,
EDMUND, London.

A further proof of the contempt with which the Council regarded both the spiritual authority of the bishops and the religious connections of the nation is contained in a second order addressed by the Council to the Bishop of London. This second mandate of the Council to Bonner, which runs as follows, well displays the methods employed to force the Reformation on an unwilling clergy and people:

After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, where now of late, in the King's Majesty's visitations, amongst other goodly injunctions commanded generally to be observed through all parts of His Majesty's realm one was set forth for the taking down of such images, as had at any time been abused, Pilgrimages, offerings, or censures; albeit this said Injunction hath, in many parts of the realm been quietly obeyed and executed; yet, in many other places much

strife and contention hath arisen, and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good wills, retain all such images still, though they have been most manifestly abused; and almost, in every place, is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. And whilst these men go on both sides continuously contentiously to obtain their minds; contending whether this image or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused; parts have been taken in some places, in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore that in almost no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of this realm, for this matter, be clearly taken away; and the lively image of Christ should not contend with dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many years. We have thought good to signify unto you, that His Highness's pleasure with the advice and consent of Us, the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, is, that immediately upon sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your Diocese be removed and taken away, but also, by your letters, signify unto the rest of the Bishops within your Province this, His Highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given to them and every one of them within their several Dioceses. And, in the execution hereof we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight that the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction to the people as may be.

Your Lordship's loving friends,
 EDWARD SOMERSET, ANTHONY WINGFIELD, THOMAS SEYMOUR,
 HENRY ARUNDEL, JOHN RUSSELL, WILLIAM PAGET.
 Somerset Place, February 11, 1548.

Without consulting the wishes of the bishops, and in spite of the violent protests of an indignant people, the Council had thus in a very short time made a considerable advance in the work of "reforming" the country. The Lord Protector and his followers and not the King, a boy aged 10, must be held accountable for Cranmer's Homilies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus and the "Injunctions" which aimed a death blow at many a Catholic doctrine. By them the ancient ceremonies usual on Candlemas Day, Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday were suppressed and made illegal in the Church of England.

Constantine the Great had ordered that crucifixes should be erected throughout the Roman Empire (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, Lib. I). But the new Christians of the Reformation were of another way of thinking, and, by order of the Protector and Council, all crucifixes and sacred images were removed from the churches.

Heylyn shrewdly observes "that covetousness more than religious zeal prompted the last act, there being none of the images so poor the spoil whereof would not afford them (the courtiers) some gold and silver, if not jewels also, besides censers, candlesticks and other rich utensils appertaining to them. In this respect the commissioners hitherto authorized were received in many places with scorn and railing, and the further they went from London, the worse they were handled" (Heylyn, p. 56).

While the Council was thus effacing every aspect of Catholicity from the Church in England, no protest against these acts of desecration was raised by the bishops. Indeed, as the bishops well knew,

any protest they might make must remain ineffectual. Their exalted position was no longer recognized. The Act for the election of bishops had reduced them to the condition of mere servants of the State, and Cranmer, the most prominent man amongst them, had openly proclaimed his dependence on the Crown by seeking a reinvestiture of his spiritual jurisdiction at the hands of the present monarch on his accession to the throne. The dependence of the bishops in spiritual matters on the secular authority is indeed the point insisted upon in the two "Injunctions."

The first injunction was to the effect "that they, the bishops, should, to the utmost of their power, wit and understanding, see and cause all and singular the King's injunctions heretofore given, or hereafter to be given from time to time in and through their diocese, duly, faithfully to be kept, observed and accomplished, etc.," while the second injunction received was "that they should not at any time preach or set forth unto the people any doctrine repugnant to that effect and intent contained or set forth unto the people in the King's Highness' homilies; neither yet should they admit or give license to preach to any within their diocese, but to such as they should know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same" (Heylyn, p. 37). Parliament during this year (1548) reenacted a statute passed in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII., but till now never enforced, by which all chantries or foundations for daily Masses for deceased persons, obits or foundations for anniversary Masses for deceased persons, free chapels, colleges and hospitals, with all their endowments, were placed at the disposal of the King.

These, together with the lands belonging to various guilds and endowments left for church lights, became now the booty of the courtiers. The chantries and obits were suppressed on the pretext that they rested on a basis of superstition, inasmuch as they supposed the existence of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers for the departed (Heylyn, p. 51). But no matter what the pretext, it was clear that the end was plunder. Even such a favorer of the new order as Latimer freely admitted that the followers of Somerset had a greater desire for the goods than the good of the Church. Preaching in the royal presence during Lent (1548) at St. Paul's Cross, he bitterly complained "that the holy revenues of the Church were seized by the rich laity; that the incumbent was only a proprietor in title; that chantry priests were presented to several cures, to excuse the patrons from paying their pensions; that many benefices were let out in fee farms by secular men, or else given to their servants as a consideration for keeping their hounds, hawks and horses, and, lastly, that the poor clergy were reduced to such short allowances that they were forced to go to service" (Collier, vol. v., p. 244).

The next step taken in the onward march of the Reformation was the assembling of a selected number of bishops and learned divines at Windsor in compliance with the King's command to devise a method for carrying out the Act of Parliament recently passed for "Administering Holy Communion in the English tongue, and under both kinds of bread and wine."

The following bishops and divines formed the commission: Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Holgate, Bishop of York; Bonner, of London; Tunstal, of Durham; Heath, of Worcester; Reps, of Norwich; Parfue, of St. Asaphs; Salcot, of Salisbury; Sampson, of Coventry and Lichfield; Aldrick, of Carlisle; Ferrars, of St. Davids; Gooderich, of Ely; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Day, of Chichester; Skyp, of Hereford; Thirlby, of Westminster; Ridley, of Rochester; Doctor Cox, dean of Christchurch; Doctor May, dean of St. Paul's; Doctor Taylor, dean of Lincoln; Doctor Heynes, dean of Exeter; Doctor Robertson, dean of Durham, and Doctor Redmayne, master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Before drawing up the Form for Communion under both kinds some interesting discussions on several points of Catholic doctrine took place which are of interest as illustrating the different religious views of the members of the Commission. Only the subjects which have a special interest will be referred to here. With very little variation and some necessary explanation, Collier's account of what took place during the discussion will be given. The different interchange of views was clearly brought out by the question proposed.

Question III. What is the oblation and the Sacrifice of Christ in the Mass?

Cranmer, Ridley, Ferrars and Holbeach adopted the following definition: "The oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the Mass is not so called because Christ indeed is there offered and sacrificed by the priest and the people (for that was done but once by Himself on the cross), but it is so called because it is a memory and representation of that very true sacrifice and immolation which before was made upon the cross."

Drs. Cox and Taylor would have it that "the oblation in the Eucharist was nothing more than prayer, thanksgiving and the remembrance of our Saviour's Passion." Holgate, Heath, Reps, Parfue, Tunstal, Salcot, Gooderich, Sampson, Day and Skyp adopted a far more Catholic definition, which was: "The oblation and Sacrifice of Christ in the Mass is the presenting of the very body and blood of Christ to God the Father under the form of bread and wine; that these Eucharistic elements are consecrated with prayer and thanksgiving, for the Universal Church, and in remembrance of our Saviour's Passion."

Aldrich, Bishop of Carlisle, insisted on giving a more striking definition of his own: "The oblation and Sacrifice in the Mass," he insisted, "is even the same which was offered by Christ on the cross, ever and everywhere abiding and enduring of like strength, virtue and power. The difference is that on the cross, Christ being priest and sacrifice, offered Himself visibly, and in the Mass, being likewise both priest and sacrifice, offers Himself invisibly by the common minister of the Church, who, in the name and stead of the whole congregation, offers and presents as he is commanded by Christ."

Whatever may be thought of the respective merits of the two last definitions, it must be admitted that they are framed in a more Catholic spirit than the first and second, both of which savor strongly of Calvinism. It is evident from the discussion itself that eleven bishops on the committee believed that in the Mass "the very body and blood of Christ" are presented "to God the Father." Only four bishops, viz.: Cranmer, Ridley, Holbeach and Ferrars, denied the reality of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

The next question is of great interest as illustrating the bishops' faith in Masses and prayers for the dead:

Question VII. Whether it is convenient that satisfactory Masses should continue, and priests hired to sing Masses for souls departed?

Cranmer, Ridley and Holbeach think "it not convenient that satisfactory Masses should continue." Bonner, Skyp, Heath, Reps, Day and Parfue all believe "that the priest in praying in the Mass for the quick and the dead, and officiating in other circumstances of the Sacrament, may receive maintenance on that score." Tunstal, of Durham, held "that all priests were bound to say Mass for the living and the dead, though they are not acting under any agreement for that purpose." He nevertheless maintains that the people are bound to support the priest. Gooderich, of Ely, held "that praying for the dead is a commendable primitive and uninterrupted custom, and seems to have some ground in Scripture, and further he appealed to the testimony of St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom and others. But to say Mass for money by way of commerce and exchange, as if there were a just proportion between the money, between the performance and the reward, managing thus, as it were, by way of articles, looks, he thinks, like simoniacal covetousness; and yet, all this must be understood with a due reserve for those texts of Scripture where the "laborer" is said to be "worthy of his hire" and "the Lord hath ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel."

Aldrich, of Carlisle, declared "that if anything or any action of the priest is interpreted to be a full satisfaction for sins, venial or mortal, there is no authority in proof of such an assertion, and he professes

himself unwilling to admit that priests are hired, by way of bargain, to offer up Masses for departed souls. He would rather put it that praying for the living and the dead is part of the church service; that it is performed by the priest as part of his duty, without any regard to pecuniary advantage. However, he holds that the clergy ought to be considered for their administration. Then, as to perfect and plenary indulgence for sins, that is only to be attributed to our Saviour's Passion. At the same time, those who go out of this world charged only with venial sins unrepented, may be relieved by the Eucharistic Sacrifice and the prayers of the Church, and for this he cited St. Augustine, St. Jerome, "*Pro non valde malis propitiationes fiant, et de levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati, defuncti sunt, possunt post mortem absolvi.*"

In summing up this controversy it will be seen that Cranmer, Ridley and Holbeach adopt the Protestant view as to the value of satisfactory Masses. Bonner, Tunstal, Skyp, Heath, Reps, Day, Parfue, Gooderich and Aldrich, whilst condemning simony, as all Catholics do, are agreed as to benefits to be derived from Masses for the dead. If we add the name of Ferrars, who has not spoken, to the partisans of Cranmer, the result is four bishops are against satisfactory Masses and nine believe in their efficacy.

Question IX. Whether in the Mass it is convenient to use such language as the people understand?

Cranmer, Holgate, Holbeach, Gooderich, Ridley and Aldrich voted in favor of the vernacular. Bonner, Heath, Skyp, Day, Reps, Parfue, Tunstal and Bush were unfavorable to any change, and wished to retain the Latin language.

Question. When did the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, and the "hanging up" of the same first begin?

Cranmer and Holbeach were both of opinion that reservation began six or seven hundred years after Christ, and "hanging up" at a later period.

It may be worth while to show how absolutely without foundation was the opinion of Cranmer and Holbeach. The question of "reservation" is indeed one of pressing interest. The recent decision of the Anglican bishops that "reservation," though primitive, is illegal, will be fresh in the minds of our readers. Tertullian (born about 160 and died about 230) narrates that the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in the houses of faithful Christians who were permitted to communicate themselves at home during the time of persecution.

He thus addresses the Christian wife: "Will your husband know what it is you secretly taste before any food; and if he knew it to be bread, does he not believe it to be that (bread) which it is said to be?" (*Ad Uxorem Lib. ii., c. 5.*)

St. Jerome, arguing against Iovinian, asserts that "the faithful, even the married, communicated daily, and that when they did not think themselves in a condition to enter the church, still they did not fail to receive the Body of Christ at home." (Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, A. D. 381-400. Parker's translation, Oxford, 1842. Vol. I., p. 175.)

Dionysius, of Alexandria, in his account of Serapion's death, makes it clear that reservation of the Blessed Sacrament either in the church or at the presbytery was common A. D. 249. "I will give you an example of what occurred to us," writes Dionysius. "There was a certain Serapion, an aged believer, who had passed his life irreproachably, but as he had sacrificed during the persecution, though he frequently begged, no one would listen to him. He was taken sick and continued three days speechless and senseless. On the fourth day, recovering a little, he called his grandchild to him and said: 'O son, how long do you detain me; I beseech you, hasten and quickly absolve me. Call one of the presbyters to me.' Saying this, he again became speechless. The boy ran to the presbyter. But it was night, and the presbyter was sick. As he had, however, before issued an injunction that those at the point of death, if they desired it, and especially if they entreated for it before, should receive absolution that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a small portion of the Eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and drop it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel. When he came near, before he entered, Serapion, having again recovered himself, said: 'Thou art come, my son, but the presbyter could not come; but do thou quickly what thou art commanded, and dismiss me.' The boy moistened it, and at the same time dropped it into the old man's mouth. And he, having swallowed a little, immediately expired." (Eusebius Lib. VI., cap. 44.)

The thirteenth canon of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, places the matter beyond doubt. It is headed:

"De Extremis Laborantibus.

"De iis qui ad exitum veniunt, etiam nunc lex antiqua, regularisque servabitur, ita ut si quis egreditur de corpore, ultimo et necessario viatico minime privetur (summa Conciliorum, Louis Bail, Paris, 1659)."

When a Council, held A. D. 325, declares the custom of giving the Holy Viaticum to the sick to be the ancient and regular practice, that custom must go back to Apostolic times.

The ancient and constant practice mentioned in the Council of Nice necessarily presupposes the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, for it would be impossible to carry out the decree unless the

sacred species were reserved, either at the church or in the presbytery. Mortal illness may attack one at any hour, but it was the general rule, at that early date, to offer up the great sacrifice in the morning for reasons which Saint Cyprian sets forth (Epistle 62, Sec. 7) "because the Passion of our Lord," which took place in the morning, "is the main of our Sacrifice."

If the act passed in Parliament during the first year of King Edward's reign be closely examined it is seen to imply that reservation of the Blessed Sacrament was general. It states that communion under both kinds should be "commonly delivered and ministered in the church if necessity does not otherwise require," as "in the cases of sudden sickness" and "other such like extremities." It was lawful, therefore, according to this act, to reserve the Holy Eucharist under the form of bread, that people taken suddenly ill might not depart this life without the Holy Viaticum. The bishops and divines assembled in a committee at Windsor advised in their report that the whole Office of the Mass to the end of the Canon should be recited as heretofore in the Latin language, but suggesting that before the Communion an exhortation should be delivered in English to the communicants, followed by the invitation: "You that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins, etc.," and proceeding to the general confession, the absolution, the comfortable sentences of Sacred Scriptures, and so unto the prayer of humble address, "We do not presume to come to this table, etc."

The Blessed Eucharist was then to be given under both kinds; first to the clergy, afterwards to the people, the celebrant saying: "The body of our Lord, that was given for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life." The congregation were to receive the consecrated elements reverently kneeling, after which they were to receive the priest's blessing.

By order of the Council the obligation of making a sacramental confession before Communion was abolished, and the priest in his instructions to the people before receiving the Blessed Eucharist, was commanded to tell those who made the customary confession before not to censure those who considered confession to God alone sufficient. All who still clung to the faith of their fathers bitterly resented this action of the Council, which formally denied the necessity of auricular confession.

The book containing the new order of Mass was first commanded to be observed by royal proclamation and afterwards Archbishop Cranmer, in a circular letter dated March 15, 1548, enjoined on the bishops the obligation of giving a copy of the new Missal to every vicar and curate in their several dioceses.

Somerset and his followers, having made confession a matter of option in the Church of England, commenced an attack on the Eucharistic Sacrifice and on the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. This was clearly foreshadowed in their treatment of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Fully realizing that the most influential of their Episcopal opponents must be either made to conform to the new order of religious worship in the Church, or effectually silenced, they liberated Gardiner from prison, commanding him at the same time to prepare a sermon to be preached at St. Paul's Cross, in which he should openly declare his acceptance of the latest reforms, and carefully avoid all reference to the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

When the bishop entered the pulpit in the presence of the King and Council, he took for his text Matthew xvi., 16, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God."

In the beginning he expressed himself very fully on the Pope's supremacy; he commended the dissolution of monasteries and chantries; he approved of the King's proceedings; he thought that images might have been offensively used, and that removing them was therefore justifiable enough. He approved the receiving of the Sacrament in both kinds, by the laity, and the abolishing of great numbers of satisfactory Masses, and was well pleased with the new order of Holy Communion. But he maintained the Real Presence in strong language, declaring that "the very same body and blood of Christ was present in the Sacrament to feed us that was given to redeem us." (Collier, Vol. V., p. 276.)

As Gardiner accepted all the other reforms, his only offense on this occasion was his maintaining an article of faith not as yet condemned, namely, the Real Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. Immediately after his sermon, however, the bishop was sent back a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained until the accession of Queen Mary to the throne. Yet the "punishment of this great prelate," as Heylyn observes (p. 63) "did not so much discourage those of the Romish party as his example animated them and emboldened them to inconformity, as gave no small disturbance to the King's proceedings."

The uniform order for administering Communion under both kinds had a very hostile reception throughout the country, exasperated, doubtlessly, by the illegal proceedings of the Council in abolishing auricular confession and in imprisoning Gardiner. Many of the secular priests, as well as members of the higher clergy attached to Cathedrals and other churches, united together in obstructing the Council's proceedings and in treating its orders with open contempt. Many of the licensed preachers, too, increased the re-

ligious anarchy by combining with the unlicensed in denouncing the Council for subverting the Catholic faith. But those of the clergy who were favorable to the Reformation showed their partiality for the new doctrines by sacrilegiously treating the Blessed Sacrament. Instances of this sacrilegious treatment are recorded in the Register Book in Petworth parish.

The King and Lords of the Council, aware of the gravity of the situation and determined to boldly face it, decided that a new Liturgy should be drawn up and confirmed by Parliament. Penalties were to be inflicted on all who should disobey its rules and instructions.

The history of the compilation of the First Book of Common Prayer has been fully treated in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* for April, 1901.

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London.

DETERMINISM VERSUS FREE-WILL.

OF the numberless charges brought by modern science against the philosophical views of the past ages none are perhaps more strange than those which bear upon human freedom. The new philosophy, on the one hand, whilst it glories in having restored man to full liberty in social, political and religious life, accuses the old school of having ministered to oppression and tyranny by shattering the very foundation of individual rights. Denying, on the other hand, the very possibility of self-determination and subjecting all volition to inevitable necessity, it condemns the thinkers of former times for granting to the human will the power of choosing. Yet, strange as these imputations are, they are nowadays universally concurred in, and to such a degree that outside of the schools which espouse the scholastic system of philosophy free-will is nearly everywhere disclaimed as an obsolete and absurd assumption, just as ancient polities are abhorred as forms of absolutism. Whence, we may well ask, is this novel view denying the freedom of our will? Who are they that broached it first? And on what philosophical basis does it rest to win such general assent? Again, what discrepancy has been discovered in the old free-will theory to bring it into disfavor with our century of light and progress?

I.

True, there were adversaries of free-will also in former ages; but their number was then comparatively small, and their theories ever failed of a wide acceptance. There were, as once in ancient Greece,

the fatalists, who held that the entire universe, men and even the deity included, were ruled by blind necessity. There were the pantheists, who regarded the world with all its parts as evolved from the absolute, either by a physical or an intellectual process. But views like these, being either too abstruse or too plainly contradictory to common sense, never won the popular mind. Then came the reformers of the sixteenth century, especially Luther and Calvin, who, adjudging the human will to have been wounded in its very nature by original sin and utterly disabled for virtue, made the denial of its freedom an article of their new creed. In their mind, moreover, God, the first Cause and Supreme Ruler, so swayed and predetermined His creatures, rational as well as irrational, as to leave no room to them for self-determination. But their teaching was sectarian only and in the course of time re-reformed or even renounced by their followers.

The real basis of modern theories hostile to free-will is the materialistic view, according to which there is no difference in kind between mind and body, between thought and the vibrations of atoms and molecules, between the laws that govern the psychic activities and those which are obeyed by physical phenomena. However, materialism, espoused and commented on as it was by diverse philosophers, assumed many phases. Formerly it was developed from its own principles, but in our day it is combined with other philosophical systems and shaped in many respects to their tenets. The offspring of its union with pantheism is monism. According to this system matter is the one first and universal cause, from which all things, of whatever nature they may be, take their origin in continuous and progressive evolution; wherefore matter is supposed to be continually changing from all eternity, yet independent of any extrinsic cause; indeterminate, yet at the same time self-determining; imperfect and inert, yet the source of all perfection and activity. To their mind a personal God, distinct from the world, is allegedly inconceivable; hence they give to matter the attributes and the throne of the deity. Herbert Spencer pretends to lay a deeper foundation for monism. For, going beyond matter, he considers the Unknowable as the first and universal cause of which all forces and matter itself, being but a combination of forces, are necessary manifestations, and the entire world, physical, intellectual and social, is a regular and continuous evolution. Spencerian philosophy, which is closely allied to German pantheism, may seem to rise above the common level of materialism, since it ventures to identify matter and spirit in a higher plane, which is neither material nor spiritual. But, as closer examination shows, Mr. Spencer knows no other ultimate forces than those of attraction and repulsion peculiar to matter,

and assigns as the ultimate cause of the universe an unknowable power, which is nothing but an abstraction, the common element found in all forces and phenomena.

Attempts have also been made both by him and by other authors to wed materialism to idealism, and empiricism to Kantian rationalism. As the materialistic idealists put it, we perceive only phenomena. Whatever is beyond them is unknowable; if it be conceived in thought, it is a fiction of the mind, proved by critical analysis to be intrinsically contradictory. Hence substance, essence, cause, and likewise the principles based on them, are fictitious and unreal conceptions. Phenomena, however, are not realities existing outside of us, but only appearances in our mind, states of our consciousness connected in uninterrupted sequence. One part of them is simple and vivid, and these are taken for the outer or objective world; the other part is faint and compound, reduced to groups and orders by our own mental operation, and these constitute the inner or subjective world. The activity by which we perceive the simple and vivid phenomena, which are the elements of all knowledge, is sensuous; the activity by which we reduce them to order and thus create science is intellectual. But though thus idealized, the theory is still merged in materialism. For both activities, the intellectual as well as the sensuous, are essentially organic, the latter being the function of the external organs of sense, the former of the brain, the internal organ of the subtler and productive faculties of imagination, memory and association. And again all organic power of perception and feeling is in reality not distinct from the forces of matter. Or, in the words of materialistic authors, *mind and body are not two distinct realities, but two aspects, phases or sides of one and the same thing*. The mind with the psychic phenomena of perception and feeling, of experience and science, is the subjective; the body with the physical phenomena of attraction, of heat and of electricity is the objective aspect. Such identity of mind and body is affirmed like a fundamental dogma on account of the intimate relationship existing between them. It is nevertheless maintained that between body and mind there is a difference transcending all differences, and that psychic and physical phenomena, running in two parallel lines, have nothing in common and cannot be resolved into one another.¹

Modern philosophy embodying these views is extolled as the climax of mental culture and wisdom, as the only true science, opposition to which is ignorance and superstition, as the light and glory of the age, and the final result of evolution slowly progressing through the preceding centuries.

¹ Cf. M. Maher, S. J., "Psychology," Stonyhurst Series, fourth edition, pp. 505-525; C. Gutberlet, "Der Kampf um die Seele," pp. 143-201. Mainz. Kirchheim, 1899.

From materialistic tenets alloyed with idealistic and evolutionary views a theory of human volition is deduced which gives the death-blow to free-will. The regularity to which the process of evolution is subject implies that all phenomena follow one another in unbroken and invariable succession, in so much that every event is uniformly preceded by another, and every subsequent event is inevitably determined by the one preceding. The very succession of the phenomena is conceived as causation or determination by an antecedent; for our cognition reaches only sequence, not internal influence. The uniformity of succession objectively constitutes law and order, but subjectively generates in our mind the idea of necessity, and is, therefore, tantamount to the principle of causality, meaning that every effect or phenomenon necessarily requires a cause. These are the first scientific principles based on experience, holding true both of physical and of psychic phenomena, though with the implication that a psychic event is determined only by a psychic, and a physical event only by a physical antecedent. The antecedent of a volition is in part the character of the agent, in part the motive rendering the action desirable. The character consists in dispositions and propensities intrinsic to the agent's organism and is either inherited from ancestors or formed by past actions. The motives arise from the pleasurable or displeasurable of the action and its object, or from the influence exercised by the environment. Character and motives determine the acts of the will with the same inevitable necessity with which one body moves another by its impulse, and with the same uniformity with which day follows night or spring follows winter. If we, therefore, could know a man's character and motives under given circumstances, we might with as much exactness foresee his conduct as astronomers foretell an eclipse of the sun to take place years afterward. But science is not yet so far advanced as to give us a perfect insight into character or certain knowledge of all influences, present and future, to be exercised by surroundings on any individual man.

In consistency with such assertions freedom of will is inconceivable. A free action proceeds from the self-determination of the agent. It is, therefore, not within the series of succeeding phenomena in nature, not inevitably determined by an antecedent, and, therefore, it is, without a cause and sufficient reason, a break in the uniformity of the universe, an exemption from law and order, a thing which science cannot reach nor the mind represent in thought. In a word, a free action or volition is a contradiction to the principle of causation, an impossibility. Accordingly, if consciousness is appealed to as a witness for its existence, its testimony is to be rejected as *a priori* false and deceptive, as so many perceptions of the senses are.

Thus free-will is unanimously arraigned by modern science, and, it would seem, stands condemned by the common opinion of the enlightened portion of mankind.

II.

But is its case in reality lost, its defense impossible? Before entering on any discussion it will be proper to analyze the conception of free-will and so to arrive at a clear and exact definition. In a broad sense freedom of will is the capability of self-determination; the determinists also conceive it thus. But again, what is implied in such capability? Let us contrast a necessary with a self-determining faculty. A necessary faculty is so constituted that when all prerequisites for operation, both extrinsic and intrinsic, are present, it cannot but put forth the action. The prerequisites, therefore, not only make it a complete and adequate cause, but also inevitably determine it, so as to leave no possibility for it to abstain from action. Faculties of this kind are, undoubtedly, our understanding, our senses and our vegetative powers. A self-determining faculty, on the contrary, is constituted by the prerequisites a complete cause fully enabled to operate, but is not determined by them, so that in their very presence it may put forth and may withhold the action. It is, therefore, left in a state of indifference with regard to operation, an indifference, however, which is not passive, consisting in the susceptibility for further influences that may stimulate and determine it, but active, implying the power of determining on either alternative, either action or its omission. For such power must necessarily be conceived to be inherent in an agent that is fully able to elicit an action and also to withhold it; were it absent, the agent would be involved in the sheer impossibility to act. It is in this sense only that capability of self-determination must be understood. Consequently the freedom of the will is correctly defined as an endowment, by virtue of which the will, when all conditions prerequisite to elicit a volition are present, is enabled either to put forth or to abstain from that volition.² The same idea is expressed by St. Thomas³ and the ancient school in general, when they define freedom as the mastery which the will has over its acts, because it is able to elicit or to abstain from them.

Now, is there any incongruity in the idea of free-will so defined, or is there any intrinsic contradiction in the conception of a cause or faculty which, when all conditions prerequisite for action are fulfilled, is able to act and also to abstain from acting? Where is

² Cf. M. Maher, "Psychology," p. 395. ³ *Summa c. gent.* lib. I., cp. 68; *S. th.*, P. I., qu. 82, art. 1, ad. 3.

the possibility of a contradiction, or of what nature should it be? A contradiction would be involved if freedom were to mean the presence and at the same time the absence also of a power to produce an effect, or the capability of simultaneously acting and not acting. But neither is meant. Freedom implies the capability of acting and the capability of abstaining from action, both capabilities simultaneously existing in the same faculty, but not simultaneously exercisable.

Nor is a free action an effect without a cause or a negation of the principle of causation, of law, order and uniformity. There is, indeed, a cause, and a fully sufficient cause of an action freely elicited. It is the will itself taken together with all the prerequisites of action. The prerequisites comprise among other things the knowledge of the act to be put forth and its object, its goodness or its badness, its advantages and disadvantages, all which constitute the motive of volition; they comprise also the inclination, disposition and energy of the will-power necessary for a given exertion. Free-will is in the presence of such prerequisites as sufficient a cause of the action which it performs as the necessary agent is of the effect it produces; nay, free-will is a cause incomparably more perfect, being able to act by its own determination and having full mastery over its actions.

Nor is it, therefore, necessary to conceive the free action as exempt from law, order and uniformity, and on that account inconsistent with the principle of causality. Free-will, though it acts by its own determination, does not and cannot determine itself but in accordance with its own nature. Its actions, therefore, are subject to the laws of rational nature, which are in part physical, in part moral, and conforming to them they make up the grandest and sublimest order, infinitely more attractive than all the beauties of the material universe. Besides, there is no impossibility in the fact that the will, though acting free and unconstrained, determines itself uniformly. In reality by uniform action habits and character are formed, and these once confirmed, uniformity consistent with self-determination increases. Several free agents may also follow the same line of conduct, acting in a similar manner under similar circumstances. For men, quite conformably with their nature, usually do not take to such actions as cannot be performed but with difficulty and extraordinary exertion, and, *vice versa*, do not abstain from such as are highly agreeable or advantageous either for the moment or the near future. Under these conditions, therefore, there will arise uniformity also in human conduct. It will, however, never be perfect, since there will always be numerous exceptions. Nor will it exclude self-determination; for also when the difficulty, or, on the contrary, the pleasurableness, of an action is unusually

great, we still are fully conscious that we could make greater efforts and, by making them, renounce an enticing pleasure or endure a very disagreeable hardship.

But even if free actions had no uniformity whatever, they would not on that account be contradictory to the principle of causality. Causation and succession are not identical, as materialistic philosophers maintain. The former implies a positive influence of the antecedent on the consequent, the latter does not. There is causation where there is no succession, as was the case when the first effect was produced; and there is succession where there is no causation, as between day and night. Nor does the principle of causality coincide with uniformity of succession. The necessity of causation is implied in the very nature of a finite being, or a thing that comes into existence out of non-existence, and, therefore, transcends all experience. It is an absolutely necessary truth known *a priori*, so universal as to hold true of all events and phenomena taken singly and collectively, whether succeeding one another or standing apart. The uniformity of phenomena, on the contrary, is a contingent fact, changeable and reversible, proved inductively from experience and hence admissible so far only as our experimental knowledge reaches in every particular province of nature. Consequently it is an utter confusion of thought to assert that the absence of uniformity in succession is the subversion of the principle of causality, which means that every effect must have its sufficient cause.

Since, then, none of the objections raised against the possibility of a free, self-determining faculty is tenable, none of the contradictions which materialists have tried to point out in it is real and none can be shown to be intrinsic to it, its conception must be regarded as logically sound and consistent.

III.

This being established as a certain truth, the question follows, whether in fact the will is or is not endowed with the capability of self-determination. The proofs advanced for and against are in part *a priori*, that is, taken from previously adopted theories, in part *a posteriori*, that is, derived from experience either directly or indirectly.

As *a priori* reasons the determinists advance the supremacy of matter, the indeterminists, as the defenders of freedom are called, the spirituality of the soul. It must undoubtedly be granted that, on the ground of materialistic positions, the freedom of the will cannot stand. Matter, whether organic or inorganic, cannot act but

with necessity and according to necessary laws. A stone does not fall by self-determination, a hungry beast cannot but desire and grasp the food presented to it. If, as the monistic and agnostic theories hold, each psychic phenomenon is inevitably predetermined by its antecedent, and all follow one another in unchangeable uniformity; if the mind is one and the same thing with the body and matter the source of all forces: then, indeed, there is no will-power which, left undetermined by character and motives, acts by self-determination, or remains indifferent as to operation, when all prerequisites are present. It were folly to hold the freedom of will on materialistic premises; it were futile to attempt the arraignment of determinism on the strength of agnostic or monistic principles.

As determinism naturally springs from the supremacy of matter, so the freedom of the will necessarily follows from the spirituality of the soul. That the latter is no mere fiction we shall presently prove. A spirit is a substance neither made of matter nor having the properties of matter, such as extension or inertia, nor intrinsically dependent on matter, or what comes to the same, a spirit is a simple substance elevated above and independent of matter. As the nature of a thing and its activities are always in strict proportion, the cognitive faculty of the spirit, the intellect, apprehends its objects from an immaterial point of view, and hence represents them under the aspect of being. But being comprises all, the existing and the possible, the nature and essence of things as well as their phenomena, causes no less than effects. Thus the spirit is made for knowledge of unlimited extent; it is able to know all things, if not perfectly and directly, at least imperfectly and indirectly, and to know them both in themselves and in their mutual relations, their intrinsic constitution and their actions and appearances, their causes and their principles, proximate and ultimate. It is, moreover, equipped for the performance of manifold operations, for intuition and reasoning, for direct experience of outer things and reflection upon itself. Consequently it perceives not only its own operations, but also its own self as their subject, the *ego*, and not only the existence, but also the nature of the *ego* and the end and goal of its tendencies and aspirations. Recognizing happiness, the possession of the highest good, as such an end, the intellect finds out the object in which it is to be enjoyed and the ways in which it is to be reached. For it apprehends good as such, the very nature of goodness, measures the amount of good that is in all particular things and inquires into the relationship which they bear to the supreme good.

To the unlimited scope of the intellect corresponds the extent of the power of the will. For it stands to reason that whatever nature is endowed with the faculty of knowing good must be supplemented

by the faculty of pursuing it. Therefore the will must be conceived as an inclination to the good as apprehended by the mind. Being such, the will is able to incline to all objects perceived as good, to desire them under that aspect of good, under which they are conceived, and to love them in proportion to the good which they are understood to have. Now the human mind knows all good, finite and infinite, reaches the nature of goodness, and attributes to diverse things a diverse value and degree of goodness. Accordingly, the will also inclines to good as such and is able to desire all good in so much that it cannot rest until it has attained the very fulness of good; yet it pursues its objects with unequal regard and affection. These plain and simple statements borne in mind, it is easily understood that the will desires happiness with irresistible necessity, and all other objects not necessary for happiness, with freedom and indifference. Happiness, which means the possession of all good and immunity from all evil, cannot but be desired by a faculty whose nature consists in the inclination to good as such or to good in general. The mere possibility of the contrary would involve an intrinsic contradiction in the will; because it would mean an innate inclination and at the same time indifference to good, an innate necessity to love good and the simultaneous capability to hate or reject what contains nothing but good, nay, what is goodness itself. Again, the mind, far from representing happiness as an object of indifference, apprehends it by reason of its pure goodness as absolutely desirable, apprehends it as a conditionless necessity and as such that with it the ultimate goal of all objects and desires is reached, but without it no rest and abiding satisfaction is possible.

Objects, on the other hand, which neither cause happiness nor are necessarily connected with its attainment, are of a widely different nature. The good in them is mixed with evil. Hence they are not commensurate with the power of the will, consisting in the inclination to good as such and tending to the fulness of good, and cannot attract it irresistibly. They are such as may move the will and may leave it unmoved, as may move it to love and desire or to hatred and aversion; to love and desire, because they contain some degree of goodness, to hatred and aversion, because they also contain some evil or absence of good. Thus regarding these objects, the will is under no necessity, it has but the mere capability of desiring and of not desiring, of loving and of hating; even when attracted by them, it is not constrained, but enabled only to pursue them, thus remaining in a state of indifference and indeterminateness.

Reason presents such objects to the will also as indifferent to, not necessary of pursuit. Everybody conceives happiness as an object necessarily to be pursued. But things without which happiness can

be obtained, which conduce to it, but are not the sole means that render its attainment possible, are not apprehended as necessary goods, as when many roads lead to a city, none of them in particular is thought to be of indispensable necessity. Goods, therefore, of this kind are represented by the mind as objects which may be desired, because they contribute to happiness, and may not be desired, because happiness can be had without them. To speak in still wider terms, whatever is not good in every regard, or what is not the fullness of good, is conceived by the mind as indifferent to appetite; for what is such is apprehended as desirable for the good that is in it, and as not desirable by reason of the absence of good from it. If the will, then, in accordance with its nature, desires its objects in the manner in which they are known to be desirable, and loves them in proportion to the goodness they are judged to have, it, indeed, pursues happiness with necessity, and, whatever is not necessary for happiness, with indifference.

Nor is this indifference of the will interfered with, when among several goods presented one is preferable to the other. For the greater good, even compared with a lesser, retains its deficiency and imperfection, and the lesser in presence of the greater retains its goodness. Wherefore, as the former, notwithstanding its superiority, may be declined or rejected, so the latter, notwithstanding its inferiority, yet remains worthy of love and desire. Hence both of them leave the will in its indifference.

Careful examination, then, shows that in the will of the spiritual soul there are all attributes necessary to render it free. It is a faculty which at the representation of a good not necessarily connected with happiness is fully able to desire and pursue it, and yet may abstain from its desire and pursuit; a faculty which in the presence of all prerequisites for action, under the influence of its own propensities and habits, and of all external motives and circumstances, may put forth the action of volition or may withhold it; a faculty which is left undetermined and indifferent by its own nature and by the object presented to it, yet, because able to act and to abstain from acting, possesses the power also of determining on either alternative and so is endowed with the capability of self-determination.

If, as we have shown thus far, indeterminism follows from the spirituality of the soul with the same logical necessity as determinism follows from the supremacy of matter, the merits of the two theories depend entirely on the truth or falsehood of the materialistic view. Space does not allow us here to enter upon a critical examination of materialism, nor is it necessary after so many learned essays and most competent works have been written on this subject. On the one hand, the most prominent thinkers of mankind down to our

day, to prove the spirituality of the soul, have advanced not only numerous but also most ingenious and convincing reasons, and reasons which our modern materialists have not yet disproved, nay, not even touched upon, utterly unacquainted as they are with the writings and the thoughts of Christian philosophy. On the other hand, no conclusive proof has thus far been proffered for materialism by its votaries. The boldest of them treat us in their scientific works to hypotheses and conjectures about the nature of psychic processes, while those of deeper learning and greater modesty openly confess their incompetency to explain, how thought can be the function of an organism. It is only an expressed hope that in ages yet to come more advanced science may succeed in satisfactorily proving the identity of mind and body; but even this hope is not entertained by all.⁴ The main prop of modern materialism is the impossibility which its adherents profess to experience in conceiving things spiritual and supersensible. Such objects, they tell us, are unthinkable, because on mature reflection our mind discovers nought in them but abstractions, fictions, a conglomerate of intrinsic contradictions.

It is, indeed, astonishing that the ideas of supersensible objects, examined, perfected and developed by the greatest minds of the former ages and made the corner-stone of philosophy and of all moral life, have on a sudden turned out to be inconceivable, an intrinsic absurdity. Were questions involved whose solution depended on scientific researches or close observation by improved instruments, such a sudden change of opinion might be understood. But here we deal with a subject which is grasped only by thought and mental analysis and is at the same time of paramount interest to the human mind in all ages. Wherefore the ancient no less than the modern thinkers were able to grasp them and prompted to inquire into their nature. It is all the more astonishing that materialists brand the spiritual as intrinsically contradictory, notwithstanding all the explanations so often given by the most learned authors, because whilst so doing they are not at all shocked at the flaring contradictions necessarily consequent on the denial of a supramundane Deity and a spiritual soul. For if the personal Deity is done away with, and matter is enthroned in its place, an ultimate and supreme cause is admitted, which is infinite, self-existent, absolutely necessary and eternal, and at the same time finite and changeable in its existence and activity, which is the source of all real perfections, and yet is most imperfect in itself; which is the last foundation of all real things, and yet is only an abstraction and generalization of the mind, the cause of all order, all adaptation to ends, all beauty in the universe, and yet works merely mechanically. If a soul distinct from

⁴ Cf. T. Ladd, "Elements of Physiological Psychology," Part III., ch. i., sec. 7-9.

the bodily organism is denied, mind and body are maintained to be one and the self-same real thing, and yet it is asserted that psychic and physical phenomena arising from one and the self-same thing have nothing in common, nay, that there is between mind and body a difference transcending all differences. By the denial of a real metaphysical order, on the ground that there is no cognitive faculty in us to reach it, the objective truth of universal and necessary principles is destroyed, and yet constantly presupposed as a reality in scientific conclusions; the outward world perceived by the senses is converted into subjective phenomena, which have but a deceptive appearance of external objects, and yet they are represented as the only solid reality. All these positions, though manifestly contradictory in themselves, are held by the materialists as primary principles so completely self-evident that denial of them must be stigmatized as utter folly. In truth, they strain out gnats and swallow camels. Their method is to presuppose the theistic doctrine as absurd, nay, as the climax of absurdity, in spite of all reasons advanced for it, to assume in consequence the materialistic view as true and certain, though, far from being corroborated by conclusive proofs, it is condemned by its self-contradictions as thoroughly unreasonable. To sum up, the spirituality of the soul, which is the ultimate origin of free-will, as yet holds its ground, vindicated as it is by irrefragable proofs; the materialistic position, the basis of determinism, not resting on experience and being repugnant to reason, has no claim, whatever to truth.

IV.

Still whatever the *a priori* proofs advanced for or against our capability of self-determination be, free-will is asserted as a fact, and facts are proved as conclusive mainly from experience. This is most willingly granted by materialists. Free-will is an internal fact, and must, therefore, be attested by consciousness. Now what do we learn regarding it from internal experience? Two things are beyond all doubt manifested by introspection as a matter of fact: first, that we ourselves guide the course of our thoughts, and, in a special manner, our attention to motives and incitements to action, and secondly, that we ourselves determine what motives are to prevail and to what propensities we are to yield.

Our attention to motives offered is not predetermined. We may take them into consideration, or may direct our thought to some other object. And, if we prefer to deliberate on them, we examine their respective value as we think fit, pondering what is against or in favor of each, or we direct our attention to the one rather than the other, to this aspect of goodness rather than to that. Our attention,

therefore, and reflection are an exercise of free causal energy put forth by ourselves.

When the deliberation is completed we are not yet determined to act or not to act; the decision depends upon ourselves. Daily experience shows that whenever there is a motive for an action on the one hand, and a motive to abstain from it on the other, we have the choice of the alternative, and that, however strongly a habit or a propensity prompts us to pursue or to relinquish a given object, we can resist the inclination. However great the advantages following on a certain line of conduct, and however great the pleasure attending a pursuit in prospect, we are conscious that we can decline the course of action opened to us, because of some evil inseparable from it. Likewise, knowing that some enjoyment or indulgence to which we are prompted is contrary to the dictates of reason, we can and often do renounce it, notwithstanding the repugnance we may feel in obeying the higher law, and notwithstanding the inclination we experience to yield to the lower appetite. If we yield to the stronger impulse, we are fully conscious that we do so under no compulsion, but by our own decision. In all such cases the motives do not inevitably determine us, but we determine ourselves as to what motives we are to follow.

After making a resolve to perform an action, to renounce a pleasure or to overcome a difficulty, we are still conscious that at any moment we can rescind our resolution and follow a different course. Nay, the perseverance necessary in carrying out a resolution requires the greatest effort on our part and frequently entails even a heroic, painful and long struggle. Who will say, then, that it is not the outcome of our own determination, but of acquired habits or momentary impressions and attractions? Thus it is our own will that by its decision starts and directs deliberation on motives, prefers one motive to the other, though oftener the stronger to the weaker, yet sometimes the weaker to the stronger, and in this way chooses the object it is to pursue, the action it is to perform, and, the choice being made, perseveres in the execution of its own resolution struggling with contrary impulses from within and from without.

That such is our consciousness and such the conclusions that must be inferred from its testimony, Professor Sidgwick, though one of the chief defenders of determinism, openly confesses.

"Certainly," says he, "in the case of actions in which I have a distinct consciousness of choosing between alternatives of conduct, one of which I conceive as right and reasonable, I find it impossible not to think that I can now choose to do what I so conceive, however strong may be my inclination to act unreasonably, and however uniformly I may have yielded to such inclination in the past."

That, moreover, such conviction engendered by consciousness is most firm, he very appropriately declares in the following words:

"It is simply impossible for me to think at such a moment that my volition is completely determined by my formed character and motives acting on it. The opposite conviction is so strong as to be absolutely unshaken by the evidence brought against it; I cannot believe it to be illusory. So far it is unlike the erroneous intuitions which occur in the exercise of the senses, as (*e. g.*) the imperfections of sight and hearing. For experience soon teaches me to regard these as appearances whose suggestions are misleading; but no amount of experience of the sway of motives even tends to make me distrust my intuitive consciousness that in resolving after deliberation I exercise free choice as to which of the motives acting on me shall prevail."⁵

If consciousness, then, bears witness to our free choice in numberless cases, are we not in accordance with all the rules of logic entitled to maintain free-will as a matter beyond all doubt? The determinists are at hand with an exception against the conclusion. As to freedom of will, they object, consciousness gives no evidence, because by introspection we know the existence only of our actions, not their causes; nay, it is positively false and deceptive, because, reflecting on ourselves, we confound the ignorance of the motive that determines us with the absence of any determining motive, or take the mere logical possibility of an action for its physical and complete possibility. Yet neither the one nor the other objection is sustained by the reasons alleged. By introspection we know our actions not in general and abstractly, but individually and concretely as they exist in us and proceed from our faculties. But the manner in which a free action proceeds from the will is quite different from that in which a necessary action proceeds from it. Hence we unmistakably can and do discern necessary from free actions, perceiving either the constraint, under which we act, or the absence of it, the necessity which prevents us from acting otherwise or the indifference which renders us capable of acting or not acting. Of all this we are not less distinctly conscious than we are of the difficulty or ease with which we put forth our actions. The other reason advanced against the trustworthiness of our consciousness is just as untenable. Ignorance of the determinate motive which actually necessitates us and absence of motives which determine us are things so plainly different that it is not possible to mistake the one for the other. Nay, we are most distinctly conscious of active indifference or self-determination just when we have pondered the motives

⁵ "Methods of Ethics," Bk. I., c. v., sec. 2, first edition, quoted by M. Maher, "Psychology," p. 387, first edition. On the testimony of consciousness cf. also C. Gutberlet, "Die Willensfreiheit," pp. 30, 237, 256.

present to us and fully understood their full relative value; for it is then that they are perceived as not free from evil and consequently apprehended as not determining us, but as leaving the determination to ourselves. Finally, who in the world has ever after attentive reflection confounded logical with physical possibility, that is, an action merely conceived as possible, with an action really and actually possible under given circumstances? Indeed, when we strongly incline to a pleasure offered or an act of revenge, and a favorable occasion being at hand, yet resist the impulse and abstain from it as unlawful, or when we make the utmost effort to achieve an end, we perceive enjoyment, revenge, rest, freedom from labor and sacrifice not merely absolutely possible, but as easier and more attractive.

There is still another and more serious side to the exception which determinists make to internal experience. According to empiricists, and determinists usually belong to this class of philosophers, consciousness is the criterion of all certainty, because in their opinion the direct and immediate object of our experience and of cognition in general are our subjective affections. In any case consciousness is a necessary condition of certitude, inasmuch as it must reveal, besides the primary fact of our own existence, also the perception of the motive necessary for assent. But if what has been adopted as a criterion of truth or what must be considered as a necessary condition of firm and certain conviction, is, by its very nature, deceptive and unreliable, certitude is impossible and universal skepticism is the necessary consequence. Moreover, if the testimony of consciousness to the existence of free-will is false and deceptive, then a conviction hitherto necessary and unshaken, found among all men and in all ages, is untrue, the reason of its untruth lying in no external illusion, but in the deficiency of human nature. If so, the rational nature of man can no longer be said to have been made for the knowledge of truth; for it would adhere to truth and falsehood with equal firmness and would by its intrinsic constitution and with irresistible force lead men to wrong convictions. Such unfitness for the attaining of truth must be all the more intrinsic to reason, as interior facts, being nearest to the mind and striking it directly, require no special reasoning, but are knowable by intuition. If the mind cannot reach such objects, if apprehending them it errs and produces false perceptions and convictions, what truth is it still able to attain?

Finally, if the will is not free, as our consciousness tells us it is, all opinions ever held by men spring from the human mind with necessity, being as it were the necessary outcome of its nature. But those opinions, whether they be the teachings of philosophers or conclusions arrived at by scientists, are contradictory and utterly irreconcilable; they are, consequently, not all true, but are, in part

at least, false, and many of them are evidently absurd. Rational nature, then, is the necessary source of all errors that ever existed; it constantly contradicts itself and unavoidably leads to absurdities. This conclusion follows with more striking evidence from the evolutionary theory admitted by most determinists. Human reason in the course of its necessary development from stage to stage forms views and convictions which though conducive to the progress of mankind, still prove false in the succeeding higher grades of civilization. Thus in primitive ages gross idolatry and polytheism prevailed. Later they yielded to theistic and Christian ideas, which contributed so much to progress and enlightenment. But these are nowadays, as we are told, antiquated and have given way to more advanced philosophy. And so, too, this latest phase of thought will fade away in the light of broader views, and is even now constantly changing and transforming. Accordingly, reason is by its very nature the source and mainspring of continuous errors, in so much that all its views and tenets, though first adopted as necessary truths, always prove false and will in all succeeding ages prove to be so; it is always searching for truth and always fancying to have reached it, yet never able to grasp it, but doomed to grope in darkness and error during all periods of human existence. Being such, is human reason yet trustworthy? Can its principles and conclusions still have any claim to credence and reliability? Is its light and evidence yet a motive for firm assent?

A theory that thus refuses to admit the testimony of consciousness as a proof for the existence of free-will ultimately terminates in universal skepticism, in the doubt about all views and positions ever held by philosophers. To seek to be rid of a well attested fact, contrary to an adopted theory, by calling it an illusion, is always dangerous and illogical, but in the present case it is simply suicidal, because the denial of the fact overturns the very theory which it is intended to uphold.

Considerations like these lead to the conclusion that experience, which is regarded by the determinists as the main source of knowledge and as the chief criterion of truth, establishes the existence of free-will beyond all doubt, grounding a conviction in us which cannot be overthrown without shattering the foundations of certitude. This might be a sufficient defense of freedom against determinism. Still, to search the matter deeper, let us advance further proofs taken from undeniable facts admitted also by modern thinkers.

V.

The moral and the social order no less than physical laws and phenomena are granted to be real existences, clearly manifested

throughout the history of mankind, and are universally considered to be of such importance that there neither is nor ever has been any system of philosophy which was not concerned with them and has not sought to give them support. Now in both these orders the freedom of will is implied as an essential constituent. Consequently, their reality granted, free-will must be admitted and cannot be denied without self-contradiction.

To prove this assertion an analysis of the moral order is necessary. What is peculiar to it so as to distinguish it from any other sphere or order? Obligation, accountability, virtue and vice, merit and demerit, retribution by reward and punishment. Let us begin with obligation. There are physical and moral laws. Physical laws establish a necessity which it is simply impossible to resist. Moral laws lay the rational will under a necessity which it is not impossible to resist, yet which to disobey is sin. It is this latter kind of necessity that is called a moral obligation and which we express by the words *we ought*. Though liable to be disobeyed, still it is conceived as inflexible and absolute, imposed on us ultimately by the highest power; wherefore no finite or created being can abolish it or exempt itself from it. Disobedience to it is the greatest of all disorders, not merely a folly, but a wrong, a sin and iniquity, attended by remorse and to be atoned for by the greatest penalties; whereas obedience to it is at once and with the fullest evidence understood to be an act of virtue deserving supreme reward. Not only has the necessity peculiar to moral obligation always been so conceived and explained in philosophical and theological schools, but it is felt to be such by the simple and unlettered as well as by the learned, by the wicked as well as by the virtuous.

Now does not obligation so defined necessarily suppose the freedom of will? It implies the perfect possibility of complying with it on the part of the will; for, indeed, absolute necessity of doing what is impossible is a pure absurdity; and it involves besides a no less complete and unimpeded possibility of not complying with it; for its violation is but too frequently an undeniable fact. But the possibility of doing a thing and of not doing it, of observing a law and of transgressing it in the presence of all prerequisites, is evidently the capability of the will to perform a given act and to omit it; a capability which was shown above to imply the power of choosing and of self-determination.

Furthermore, why is it that obedience to a law binding on our conscience is held to be an act of virtue and therefore praiseworthy, and why is the transgression of it considered as a sin and consequently blameworthy? Conformity with law constitutes order both in the physical and in the moral world. But never as yet has an

action conformable to physical laws, as for instance the fall of a stone, the flowing of a river to the ocean or the growth of a tree, been termed a virtue. Nor are those actions of rational beings which are performed with physical necessity, such as the assent of the intellect to a self-evident truth, called morally good, however perfect and well ordered they may be. Only the operations of the will conformable to the moral law are termed virtuous, and those, on the contrary, disagreeing with it, sinful. It is so in the languages of all nations. Whence this difference between the conformity of the will with the moral, and that of other forces with the physical law? And what is it that gives obedience to a moral law its special worth, raising it so high above conformity with any other law or order? There is only one answer possible. Obedience of our faculties to physical law is altogether the outcome of their nature and of external causes working on them. But obedience to the moral law, which is the right order of human conduct, is not predetermined by the nature and inclination of our faculties and the influence of the object proposed to them; no, it is the choice of our will, which has in its power the alternative to obey and to disobey, and which left unconstrained and undetermined, acts by its own decision. It is this that stamps upon the observance of the moral law its proper worth and dignity and gives it the value of virtue, while, on the other hand, it makes acts of disobedience to it sinful and constitutes their intrinsic baseness, which we all deem the greatest of all disorders. Evidently, then, the very conception of moral law and obligation imports free-will.

Further examination serves but to confirm this conclusion. A morally bad action causes remorse, a morally good one peace and approval of conscience. We do not feel remorse for actions, however injurious, which we have done through natural necessity or indeliberation, as for instance a misstep which caused a broken leg, or an involuntary want of foresight whereby we contracted a disease; nay, we could not even blame ourselves for such actions, since nature itself or attending circumstances forced them on us. We can reprove ourselves only when the evil act was brought about by our own determination, it being in our power to avoid it and to act differently. Likewise, there is reason for self-approbation, not when we have performed a well ordered or beneficent action unwittingly or under compulsion, but when we did it by our own choice. Nor is it our own conscience alone that rebukes and approves; the whole of mankind assigns blame to morally bad actions and to them alone, and praise to morally good actions and to these exclusively. Whatever acts of cruelty a wild beast may have done, we do not blame it for them, nor do we consider the murder committed by a

madman a guilt, nor do we, on the other hand, praise the gentle or useful actions of brutes as good and virtuous. Yet if a man, as for instance the assassin of our late President McKinley, commits murder, we abhor and detest the act as a crime and regard the doer as culpable. And when we see a man deliberately perform a good deed, as for instance an act of mercy, charity, forgiveness, devotedness to public welfare, we praise and honor him and bless his memory. Clearly actions of the former kind we do not deem worthy of praise or blame, because we are aware that they are not free, not determined by the agent himself, but by natural forces, not the outcome of his own will and decision, but of his nature and of circumstances. But on the latter kind of action we bestow praise or blame, because we conceive them as man's own deeds, coming from his determination and from his choice. And the more clearly the act is understood to be free and deliberate, resulting from man's own decision and not from overpowering influences, the more we blame it, if evil, or praise and admire it, if good. It is according to this standard that both in private and in public life murder or assault is judged and condemned and discharge of duty or acts of self-sacrifice are extolled and commended.

Moral actions have still another attribute of even higher importance. Not only do we blame ourselves for the transgression of a moral law, but we feel ourselves also responsible for it to the supreme authority which enacts and upholds moral obligation. But there is no consciousness of accountability in us for any such actions as are necessary or subject to physical laws, as for instance for the circulation of the blood, the digestion of the stomach, the growth of the body, the inability to understand a mathematical problem. Nor has ever any living being been called to account for them. Thus far horses, dogs and madmen have not yet been summoned to our courts to be accused of misdemeanors. For such are imputed to free men only. The very idea of accountability for necessary actions is absurd. Their performance or omission not being in our power, we are not masters of them, and they consequently cannot be imputed to us, but are ascribed to the causes which necessitated us. We can be accountable only for acts which are ours truly and in a strict sense, which depended on our own determination, to which no cause has constrained us, but which we ourselves chose rather to do than not to do. In short, responsibility is conceivable only for free actions.

He to whom we are accountable, be it the divine or the human judge, be it he whose judgment seat is in our own conscience or he who sits in an earthly court, pronounces our actions as being of good or ill desert and subject to retribution. Merit entitles us to an equivalent which is to be given for the good we have done in

behalf of others, as demerit requires the privation of a good equivalent to the evil we have done. Merit, therefore, and demerit imply the necessity of just retribution, which, when paid by authority, consists in proportionate rewards for good and in punishments for evil deeds. Moral actions have the highest merit and demerit and require retribution on the highest scale; for virtue and vice are the observance and violation of the supreme and most important order, and, therefore, we predicate the one the greatest of all goods attainable in this life and the other the greatest of all evils. Hence the fullest reward and punishment, reward consisting in the enjoyment of endless happiness, punishment consisting in utter loss and affliction, are hoped for or feared as most certain to be dealt out for them by the supreme and universal judge.

But, again, an action that is not free cannot possibly contract any merit or demerit, so as to be subject to retribution and especially to retribution of so grave a nature. No man can in justice require any reward or be subjected to punishment for an act which is not really his and which cannot be imputed to him. Reason, so far from demanding retribution of us in the shape of either reward or punishment for actions not our own, condemns it as a perversity and as the grossest injustice. When and where have human courts ever acted on a different principle? But an action is really ours only when it is free, that is, when it proceeds, not from any necessity, internal or external to us, as nature, character or circumstances, but from our choice and determination. It cannot be objected that we formed our character by our own preceding actions, and that therefore the present action that necessarily results from it is really and strictly ours. For our preceding actions were not free either. Before the character was formed they were the necessary outcome of the nature that was given to us and of external influence. Necessity of retribution, therefore, which is regarded as intrinsic to moral actions, is in the absence of free-will a perversion of justice, a contradiction to all principles of reason. And so it is with all other constituents and attributes of the moral order, with law and obligation, goodness and badness, virtue and vice, imputability and accountability; they become intrinsic contradictions the moment that self-determination or freedom is denied.

Consistently with determinism, then, there can be no moral order distinct from the material and physical order. Determinists may or may not draw this conclusion. If they shrink from it, they must renounce their theory; if they do not, they must put into the world a new kind of morality based on laws merely physical and organic. This latter alternative has, in fact, been adopted by many modern teachers of moral science. But with what consequences? Their

teachings degrade man to brute matter, blot out whatever is sublime, exalted and holy in his moral conduct, deny his destination for a higher end to be reached and enjoyed in a life of happiness to come, mock at his natural longing for immortality with all its concomitant pure and spiritual aspirations, seek to mar the conception of virtue and moral goodness, do away with the sacred motives inducing to perfect and holy actions, and abolish the absolute obligation of the moral law enjoining the observance of the right order, which is enacted by a supreme and irresistible power and urged by just and severe sanction.

Moreover, they forget that it is impossible to look on the ethical convictions of men since the spread of Christianity as mere fictions or errors. These are convictions that have struck the deepest roots in the human heart, so deep, in fact, that they have subdued the most vehement passions, overcome the fiercest attacks and withstood the exterminating influence of adverse philosophy. They have regenerated human society, changed the habits of mankind, corrected inveterate vices, inculcated the sublimest virtues, inspired the purest sentiments, given strength for the greatest sacrifices. Agnostic and positive philosophy does not deny these facts, but is compelled to grant that the moral belief fostered by the Christian religion has raised mankind to higher civilization, nay, was necessary to its enlightenment, improvement and progress. Convictions so deep, so strong, so universal, productive of so sublime virtues cannot be false and absurd; for absurdities cannot take a fast and stubborn hold on human reason, cannot produce goodness and perfection or be necessary for the rise and advancement of right conduct. The moral order as embodied in Christian ethics is not a deceitful fiction, but a genuine reality that has shed light, displayed wonderful beauty and effected the well-being of society in the course of many centuries.*

The moral order, then, being a reality, is an irrefragable proof for the existence of free-will. The social order is an argument no less convincing. It is essential to human society to be based on justice, on rights and obligations. By this characteristic feature it is distinguished from the physical universe, and especially from the aggregations we find in the animal kingdom. Thus far laws have not been enacted for brutes living in herds, flocks or hives; nor have they been deemed necessary, because animals are led by instincts, which are obeyed necessarily; or even possible, because they are beyond the reach of sensuous cognition. It is only of late that rights have been attributed to animals by certain writers. Courts and Legislatures, however, have thus far not recognized them. Did they in fact exist, certainly the first of them would be the right to

* Cf. M. Maher, "Psychology," fourth edition, pp. 398-406.

life and existence. But then killing and eating animals would be a crime no less than anthropophagy, and men and women of the most highly civilized and cultured classes would have to be looked on as cannibals. What is no less astonishing, these kind-hearted friends of the brute creation, so intent on the codification of animal rights, which man should regard, know in the absence of animal laws of no human rights which brutes should respect. If things are carried on in this line, it is to be feared that we shall soon be left to the mercy of wild beasts, poisonous snakes and pest-breeding insects.

Society, which is a union of persons harmoniously pursuing the same end, needs a norm by conformity to which harmony of action is established, and a bond whereby unity is effected and maintained. It is authority that gives existence both to the one and to the other by the enactment of laws, which create duties and rights. No state, no society could as yet exist without an authority endowed with law-making power. But laws, duties and rights presuppose free-will in man. Law, as far as it creates duties, imposes obligations which do not constrain us physically, because they can be disregarded, but constitute a moral necessity. For their binding power is independent of external circumstances, as well as of personal character or propensity, and, whilst it is just as possible to infringe as to observe them, they are always sacred, so much so that disregard of them is incurrance of guilt, an offense not only against the civil authority that enacted them, but also against the supreme ruler who is the author of society. In a word, the necessity and obligation of law is moral, and its observance or transgression is morally good or bad and subject to retribution by the supreme judge. Consequently it implies freedom of the will as the moral order in general does. Moreover, laws are enacted and imposed on man, and on man alone, just for the reason that he is thought to be free in his actions, able to determine his conduct by his own choice. Only free, self-determining beings require a norm and restraining rule; other creatures are not in need of it, because they are irresistibly necessitated by their nature or by external causes. For the same reason also that man is supposed to be master of his actions and not predetermined to them, he is called to account for the transgression of laws by human courts and punished according to justice. For accountability and retribution, as was shown above, are not conceivable but for free actions. By the very supposition, therefore, that there is no free-will in man, all our laws at once become unreasonable, our law-givers fools, our judges, when they punish criminals, perpetrators of gross injustice, and our whole civilization, in which we glory so much, an absurdity.

Laws enacted by authority also create rights to protect the mem-

bers of society and to secure for them their due share in the common good achieved by united social action. Rights created like duties presuppose the freedom of human will, from whatever point of view they may be considered. On the part of him who possesses it, a right is not a physical power to exercise compulsion, else the weaker ones, the children, the sick and in general the helpless would be deprived of rights, and oppressing or killing them would be no injustice; nor is it a force acting with necessity, for we make use of it as we please. Rights are therefore of a moral nature. On the part of him who has to respect them in others and to yield to their demands, they mean no physical necessity either, no compulsion exercised, since they are often trampled on; they consequently impose on him only a moral necessity, an obligation. This is understood also from the fact that he who has violated the lawful rights of others is considered guilty of a moral transgression, held accountable for his misdeed and subject to retribution, whereas he who is regardful of his fellow-men's rights is praised as good and virtuous. Thus rights belong to the moral order, in which freedom of will is implied as an essential constituent.

If we consider the end for which rights are conferred either by the law of nature or by positive laws, it will be plain to us that they aim at the protection of freedom. Their object is to establish free scope for our actions, to keep aloof undue interference on the part of those with whom we live, to ensure not only our life and existence, but also the means necessary and useful to reach our earthly destination in the manner we deem fit and have determined for ourselves. Does not modern science claim to have brought about this happy state of things, when it so boastfully glories that, by the enlightened views it has spread and the laws it has advised, men have been redeemed from the bondage of feudal ages and restored to the liberty due to their nature? Is not this the end and purpose of the modern political institutions, forms of government and administration of justice, all of which are calculated, it is said, to establish equality among men, to guarantee freedom of speech, freedom of the press, of religion, of trade and commerce, of government by the choice of the governed, and enactment of laws by the people or their representatives? Of course, the liberties thus secured are only external. But what does external liberty mean and aim at, if man has no power of choice and self-determination, if he is, like the things of brute creation, determined by his very nature or constrained by external influence? If man be such, what else is external liberty than a contradiction with his nature, an utter impossibility?

Perhaps, it is said, that through our modern institutions man has regained his freedom, inasmuch as he is no longer to be determined

from without, but by his own natural inclinations and acquired character. But it has already been remarked that, while we inherited nature from our parents and progenitors, our character was formed by our actions, which, if there be no free-will, are the necessary result of external influence. In this supposition the so-called external liberties would merely tend to preserve and consolidate contracted habits, and, consequently, to preclude progress and evolution in new directions. This, however, we are solemnly assured, is not the purpose of modern science and politics; ours is called an age of progress. We must therefore draw the conclusion that rights and social institutions, aiming at the guarantee and increase of external liberty in private and public life, presuppose the internal freedom of the will and are intended for its unimpeded exercise in the midst of the surroundings in which we are placed.

What must we in the face of this conclusion think of the double assertion mentioned in the beginning of our discussion, that, in our days, advanced science has done away with the fiction of free-will cherished in bygone times of darkness and ignorance, and has created true liberty after centuries of bondage? It is a plain self-contradiction, to which writers or speakers can commit themselves only when they neglect to ponder the meaning of the terms they employ, or utterly fail to understand the nature of social and political life and the end and purpose of civil society.

Evidently, then, free-will is involved in the social order, in its object, in its rights and corresponding duties, in its laws and institutions. It is involved no less necessarily in the moral order, in the conception of morality, of virtue and vice, of obligation, of accountability, of guilt, of merit and demerit, of retribution, reward and punishment according to human as well as divine justice.

Consequently it has real existence as truly as these two orders, the reality of which nobody dares deny, because they are too plainly revealed by the history of mankind and too deeply grounded in human nature. Free-will is, moreover, attested as an undeniable fact by our own consciousness so clearly, indeed, and so universally that nobody could as yet deny it without intricating himself in self-contradictions. Going beyond experience and tracing back free-will to its origin, we see it spring from the spirituality of the soul, from the unlimited scope of mind and will, from the power of the one to deliberate and the capability of the other to embrace or to reject any object presented to it which is not the fulness of all good, to embrace it on account of the good it contains and to reject it on account of the deficiency intrinsic to it. On the other hand, the determinists, to allege reasons for the denial of free-will, destroy everything that is great and elevated in human nature. They deny the spiritual nature

of the soul, thus to subject it to the necessary laws of matter, they disown the trustworthiness of consciousness, which testifies our self-determination, and thereby stultify human reason itself, they undermine and overturn both the moral and the social order, degrading man's directive principles to the level of mere instinct, his noblest deeds to necessary determinations arising from his organism and from external circumstances, his social life to gregariousness originated and controlled like that of brutes by sensitive sympathies.

Indeed the freedom of the human will is rooted on a solid foundation and is denied by a theory not only devoid of positive reason, but utterly destructive in its tendency. This is the final conclusion reached by our discussion.

When we opened our inquiry we saw old and new, Christian and anti-Christian philosophy, meet in a controversy of vital importance; the modern thinkers proud of their achievements, heaping disgrace on the ancient school, the latter scarcely allowed to utter a word in self-defense. Now after examination of the methods employed on both sides, after having weighed the proofs advanced and the results reached by either party, after having arrived at a well-grounded conclusion, some questions may well rise in the mind of many a reader. Which of the two schools aims at the real welfare of mankind? which upholds the true dignity of man and elevates the human race, promotes morality and consolidates society? which of the two secures rights and freedom to man, demands protection for him and allows his evolution in all directions? On which side is consistency, solid reasoning, careful analysis, unbiased inquiry? The answer cannot be doubtful. It is Christian philosophy alone that mankind may regard as the bulwark of its dignity, its freedom, its social peace and order. From anti-Christian thought it has to fear degradation, oppression, enslavement to matter. From the teachings of Christian philosophy, based in all its parts on reason and intelligence, issue enlightenment, spiritual knowledge, higher ideals, motives for exalted virtues; from anti-Christian theories, built merely on inductions from sensuous experience and on empiric knowledge, hostile to all that is supramundane and supersensible, follow laws of thought and conduct which forever bind the human mind and will down to the earth without the possibility of ever rising to the eternal truth or aspiring to the infinite good. If the divine saying, "*Veritas liberabit vos*," may be taken as a criterion, then Christian, not materialistic thought, is true philosophy.

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AUSTRIAN EXPLORATIONS IN LYCIA.

I. The Lycian Inscriptions after the accurate copies of the late Augustus Schoenborn, with a critical Commentary and an Essay on the Alphabet of the Lycians. By Moritz Schmidt, Professor in Jena. Jena, 1868.

II. Beiträge zur Entzifferung der Lykischen Sprachdenkmäler. By J. Savelsburg. Bonn, 1874.

III. Vorläufiger Bericht über zwei österreichische Expeditionen nach Kleinasien, von Otto Benndorf. [Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich. Jahrgang VI. Wien, 1888.]

IV. Geschichte der Lykier von Dr. Oscar Treuber, Professor am Königl-Gymnasium in Tübingen. Stuttgart, 1887.

V. Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien. Band I. Reisen in Lykien und Karien, ausgeführt im Auftrage des K. K., Ministeriums für Cultus und Unterricht, beschrieben von Otto Benndorf und Georg Niemann. Mit einer Karte von K. Kiepert; 49 Tafeln, und zahlreichen Illustrationen im Text. Wien, 1884. Band II. Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibiratis, ausgeführt auf Veranlassung der österreichischen Gesellschaft für archäologische Erforschung Kleasiens, beschrieben und herausgegeben von Eugen Petersen und Felix von Luschny. Mit 40 Tafeln und zahlreichen Illustrationen im Text. Wien, 1889.

VI. Das Heroon von Giölbashi-Trysa, von Otto Benndorf und Georg Niemann. Mit 34 Tafeln und zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text. [Sonderdruck aus dem Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses.] Wien, 1889.

VII. Les Études d'Épigraphie Lycienne depuis 1820 jusqu'en 1888. J. Imbert. [In *Le Muséon, Revue Internationale*. Louvain, 1889-1890.]

THE systematic exploration of the topography and the antiquities of Southern Asia Minor, and especially of Lycia, one of its best known provinces, which has been carried out for some time by the orders of the Austrian Government, has already been fertile in important results. It is not only in the fields of philology and anthropology that an abundant harvest of documents and observations has been garnered, but the artistic treasures which have been brought back by the expedition, and which now enrich the Imperial Museum at Vienna, are of the greatest value for the history of art. These remarkable specimens of Grecian sculpture were taken from the wall surrounding a tomb which, though no inscription remained to record the name of its owner, seemed by its magnificence to have been the mausoleum of a ruler of the surrounding territory, and is now known as the Heroon (or Hero's tomb) of Giölbashi, from the name of a neighboring village.

The Viennese archæologists cannot, however, claim the honor of having been the first to discover this monument which has furnished such an interesting contribution to our knowledge of Grecian art; it was first seen, many years previously, by a German professor, Johann August Schoenborn. He had hoped to persuade the Prussian Government to carry away the carvings which adorned it, but various obstacles frustrated his endeavors, the matter was allowed to drop, and as he never indicated the exact situation of the tomb, it was necessary to search for it again. Others, therefore, profited by his researches and reaped the reward he had earned by the privations and the hardships which shortened his life, but the services which he

has rendered to our knowledge of the archæology and of the geography of Asia Minor have placed him in the foremost rank of the travelers who have explored that country, and deserve to be related with some detail.

Schoenborn was the son of a clergyman and was born in 1801 at Meseritz in the Grand Duchy of Posen. He studied at the Universities of Berlin and Breslau, and became professor of theology and classical literature at the Gymnasium of Posen. It was not until rather late in life that he was enabled to execute a long cherished project of visiting Asia Minor, for which he had prepared by learning to speak Turkish and modern Greek, and having obtained six months' leave of absence he set out in August, 1841, with no other resources than a year's salary in advance (700 thalers, about \$420) and a gift of 500 thalers (about \$300) from the Minister of Education. He was accompanied by Dr. Loewe, a naturalist, and Herr Kiepert, the celebrated geographer, as far as Smyrna, where they separated and went in different directions in order to survey a greater extent of country.

At that time the interior of Lycia was as little known as that of Africa; an accurate survey of the coast had, indeed, been executed in 1812 by Captain Beauffort, and it had been published in 1822 in Colonel Leake's map of Asia Minor, but on the same map the rest of the province still remained blank. The expeditions of Sir Charles Fellows in 1838 and in 1840 revealed to the world the number of ruined cities which lay hidden in this mysterious land; but neither he nor M. Texier, who made a short excursion from the coast in 1836, had thrown much light on the topography of the country. Schoenborn had, therefore, no maps, and but little information to guide him when he began his explorations in October, 1841, accompanied by a single servant, and with no other scientific apparatus than a pocket compass and a boiling-point thermometer. His intention was to begin by acquiring an exact knowledge of the conformation of the district which might serve as a basis for his future antiquarian researches, and for this purpose he left the beaten tracks and followed the course of the principal rivers through dense forests and deep ravines, an undertaking accompanied with great fatigues and privations. After two months of continuous traveling he came to Adalia, where he intended to embark for Rhodes to meet Professor Loewe; but not finding a ship, he decided on trying another port. This necessitated a journey of several days over bleak mountains, where he had no other shelter than caves or shepherds' huts, till he reached the Monastery of St. Nicholas of Myra at the town of that name. It was on his way from thence to Antiphellus, across the elevated tableland surrounded by the river Dembretchai, that on December 20 he

found the tomb which the Austrian expedition rediscovered forty years later.

He could not, however, delay long enough to make a minute examination of the sculptures which ornamented the tomb, but was obliged to continue his journey to Xanthus, where, on the evening of the 27th, he met Sir Charles Fellows, who had landed there that morning on his third expedition, and from whom he carefully concealed his discovery. When at last he arrived at Rhodes he applied to the Prussian Envoy at Constantinople for leave to carry away the sculptures, and to the Administrators of the Royal Museum at Berlin for the requisite funds, requesting them at the same time to keep the matter secret.

At the end of February Schoenborn was at Smyrna and received there a prolongation of his leave of absence, and another allowance of 500 thalers, but no answer to his demands. The authorities at Berlin had, indeed, resolved to grant 6,000 thalers for the removal of the reliefs, and the Legation at Constantinople had applied for the necessary permission; but Schoenborn was too impatient to wait, and when the Imperial firman arrived a fortnight after his departure from Smyrna, Dr. Loewe, who received it, could not communicate with him, and declined to undertake the work without him. Schoenborn traveled from March to July through Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Pisidia and a part of Phrygia, visiting the same localities more than once, in order to correct his previous observations, and Professor Benndorf, from whose interesting biography of Schoenborn these details are borrowed, assures us that all that is known up to the present of many districts in Southwestern Asia Minor is the result of these minute and toilsome researches.

Schoenborn returned to his professional duties in 1842; he published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* the inscriptions which he had copied, and gave to the Berlin Museum what remained of his collection of coins, for the most valuable of them had been stolen from him during his journey. Various causes hindered the publication of his travels, and he finally resolved to defer it until after another visit to Lycia. His manuscript has since been lost, and all efforts to trace it have proved unavailing, but he wrote a short description of the tomb for Falkener's "Museum of Classical Antiquities," without, however, indicating its situation, as he still hoped to persuade the Prussian Government to carry away the sculptures. The King, indeed, appeared to favor the project, but the Ministers were hostile to it, and it was not till the end of the year 1851 that, owing to the influence of Alexander von Humboldt and of the geographer Karl Ritter, he was enabled to revisit Lycia, better equipped than on his former expedition, and provided with photographic

apparatus. It was not a favorable moment for making researches in Asia Minor, for there had been destructive earthquakes which had caused much misery in Lycia; the country was much disturbed and many districts were infested by bands of robbers. In spite, however, of the brigands and of a fever which he contracted in Cilicia, Schoenborn made his way to Giölbashi, but found, to his intense vexation, that after all the trouble he had taken to learn photography it was impossible to obtain satisfactory negatives of the reliefs. His favorable appreciation of these sculptures was then apparently so much modified by his disappointment that after examining their dilapidated condition more attentively than he had previously, he abandoned definitively all idea of removing them, and returned to Germany.

The remaining years of his life were occupied with literary work, but his health had been seriously affected by the fatigues of his second journey, and he never completely recovered from them. When at last he felt his end approaching he sent the notes taken during his travels to Karl Ritter, who published copious extracts from them in his *Erd-Kunde*, and expressed a very high opinion of their importance in a letter which Schoenborn received on his deathbed in September, 1857. It was the only compensation he ever obtained for the dangers and sufferings he had undergone, the only recognition of the services he had rendered to geographical and archæological research.

Schoenborn never revealed to any one the precise locality of the mausoleum, and it was not seen again until the Austrian expedition. In March, 1843, Lieutenant Spratt and Professor Forbes examined during three days the ruins of Cyaneæ, about four miles distant, and traversed the gorge of the Dembretchai, which lies below it; and in 1854 Messrs. Colnaghi and Berg followed the same road, passing within sight of the hill on which the edifice stands, without being aware of its existence. The name of the neighboring village of Giölbashi was at length published in the last volume of the *Erd-Kunde*, which appeared in 1859; so that when in 1880 the Austrian Government decided on continuing its archæological researches in the East, Professor Benndorf suggested that an expedition should be sent to explore the mountainous districts of Caria and Lycia, with the special object of searching for the Greek tomb seen by Schoenborn. His proposal was accepted, a frigate was placed at the service of the mission, and on April 16, 1881, Professor Benndorf, George Niemann, an architect, Wilhelm Burger, photographer to the Imperial Court, and Dr. Felix von Luschan disembarked at the port of Kekova on the Lycian coast, on the mountains above which it was thought probable that the monument was situated.

The interior of Lycia is occupied by Alpine ranges, among which the Susuz-Dagh rises to a height of 7,800 feet above the sea, and the Ak-Dagh to 9,100; and in front of them lies an elevated tableland with precipitous sides which forms the southwestern extremity of Asia Minor. Its shape is nearly triangular, it is about twenty miles long from east to west, by ten miles broad from north to south; on its northeastern and northwestern sides it is separated from the mountains behind it by the deep and narrow gorge of the Dembretchai, while to the south it descends towards the sea by a succession of terraces. The interior of this district is intersected by chains of low rocky hills, thickly covered with brushwood; the intervening valleys are fertile, though there are no springs, and the many ruins still subsisting bear witness to the density of the population in ancient times.

The eastern angle of this tableland, where it attains its greatest height (2,598 feet above the sea), is cut off from the rest by a deep valley, above which the long narrow ridge about 60 feet broad by 600 feet in length, on which stands the tomb, rises abruptly to the height of 900 feet. The enclosure which surrounds the tomb is built against the eastern declivity of this ridge; its northern side is a steep precipice which falls into the ravine of the Dembretchai; but towards the south it slopes away gently and is covered with fragments of sarcophagi and ruins of houses. The level ground at its base, where were found the remains of a temple dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios and to the Sun-god, was probably the *agora* or market place of the little town which occupied this strong position.

Like Schoenborn before him, Herr Benndorf describes with enthusiasm the thrilling impression he experienced when, after a fatiguing ascent from the seashore, he entered the enclosure where, during so many centuries, had lain forgotten and unknown the treasures which now adorn the Museum of Vienna. All around, filling the interior of the walled-in space and partly concealed by dense thickets of brushwood, lay broken sarcophagi and shattered blocks of stone, while above them rose tall forest trees, the growth of centuries; but the frieze was still in its place, crowning the walls with sculptures of sieges and banquets, of combats and sacrifices; and the splendor of the surrounding landscape which united the stern grandeur of Switzerland to the rich coloring and the dazzling sunshine of a Southern climate, formed a background worthy of these masterpieces of Greek art.

Having thus found the building, which was the principal object of the expedition, and fully recognized the artistic value of the reliefs which decorated it, Herr Benndorf and his companions proceeded to explore the western part of Lycia and the adjacent province of Caria.

They visited many towns already described by Sir Charles Fellows and other travelers, where they gathered an abundant harvest of inedited inscriptions, and at the same time they did not neglect to observe the present condition of the country. Their attention was chiefly attracted by the rapid growth and the increasing prosperity of the Greek population. The port of Makri, for instance, is one of those thriving settlements which have been founded within the last few years along this coast by immigrants from the islands of the archipelago, and which, like their predecessors, the Greek colonies of earlier days, will eventually exercise considerable influence on the development of this part of Asia Minor. Even now almost all the commerce and industry of the west coast are in the hands of Greeks; at Makri alone their activity has raised the annual value of the exports to over £80,000 (\$400,000) and of the imports to over £40,000 (\$200,000); while the masons, the smiths and the carpenters of the colony are in great request in the surrounding districts. The Greek tradesmen, and especially the millers, are also money-lenders; little by little the mortgaged farms of the Turkish peasantry are passing into their possession; they then bring over their own countrymen to occupy them, and the Mahomedan population is thus gradually driven back into the interior.

A remarkable feature in the scenery of Lycia are the funereal monuments of various sorts scattered in great numbers over the face of the country. They have been carefully studied by the archæologists of the Austrian expedition and classified according to their antiquity. The earliest in date are in the form of low oblong cells cut into the rock, such as those which cover the face of the lofty precipices round the acropolis of the city of Pinara. They were apparently not closed, and can only have been accessible by scaffoldings let down from above by ropes. Of a somewhat later epoch are the tombs, also cut in the rock, where a frontage of a decorative character has been added to the cell, or where the surrounding rock has been cut away till the tomb has been given the form of an isolated monolithic edifice. In these cases the tomb reproduces exactly all the characteristics of a wooden house with its paneled walls, the ties which bind them, the projecting ends of the beams which sustain the ceiling and the pointed arch raised above it, as though it were a bower or a tent constructed on the flat roof. Others, again, are in the form of a sarcophagus raised upon a high pedestal, and it is believed that of this class no less than two thousand still exist in Lycia. The base of these monuments and the *hyposorion*, or lower chamber in which the slaves were buried, were sometimes cut out of a rock; the sarcophagus was of one piece, and its heavy cover of ogival shape, often decorated with scenes of warfare and of feasting, was

provided with projecting bosses carved to resemble the heads of lions or of Gorgons, by means of which it could be raised when another corpse was to be placed in the common sepulchre. For these sarcophagi were family tombs, reserved by the builder for the members of his household, and, according to the epitaphs hitherto under pain of a fine to be paid to the municipality. Latest of all and probably not earlier than 400 B. C., are the tombs which, though cut on the face of some apparently inaccessible cliff, according to the ancient usage of Lycia, show the influence of Greek culture by their columns with Ionic capitals, and their pediments ornamented with *acroteria* which give them the aspect of the portico of a Greek temple.

The most fatiguing part of this journey was that through the valley of the Dolomantchai (the ancient Indos), which forms the western boundary of Lycia and flows between chains of lofty mountains, from whose snow-clad summits innumerable torrents rush down through deep ravines to join it. The forest of gigantic fir trees which covers the country renders it impossible to make an exact survey. Schoenborn was the first to explore this district, but in spite of his labors and those of Benndorf, its topographical conformation is still uncertain.

On leaving this wilderness for the plains of Caria, the travelers were agreeably surprised to find instead of the poverty and decay prevailing throughout Lycia well cultivated fields, large and neat villages of two-storied houses and a well-fed, well-clad peasantry of purely Turkish race. The only ancient remains in this part of the country are those of the Temple of Hecate at Lagina, which are now, unfortunately, used as a quarry by the neighboring population. It is to be hoped that Herr Benndorf may succeed in carrying away, as he intends to do, the reliefs covering the frieze, which represents a combat of Titans.

The interest excited in Vienna by the drawings and photographs brought back from Lycia led to the formation of a society for the archæological exploration of Asia Minor under the patronage of His Imperial Highness the Archduke Rainer, and a second expedition was organized in the beginning of 1882 for the special purpose of bringing back the sculptures of Giölbасhi. Herr Petersen of Prague was named director, and by the end of April he and his colleagues, Herr Knaffe-Lenz, an engineer; Dr. Emil Tietze, a geologist, and the archæologists, Drs. Loewy and Studniczka, were encamped together with a numerous band of workmen in the neighborhood of the tomb. The removal of the reliefs was an arduous undertaking; for, even when the thickness of the blocks of stone which bore the carvings was reduced by one-half, they were still too heavy to be transported by the steep and narrow paths leading to the sea.

A winding road was, therefore, made, descending by easy gradients into the gorge through which flows the Dembretchai, 2,400 feet below the rocks of Giölbarchi, and the reliefs were brought on sledges down this road to the port of Andraki and safely embarked.

The Alpine character of Lycia, separated from the adjoining provinces by chains of lofty mountains and divided by their offshoots into numerous valleys having little communication with each other and scantily provided with arable land, gave rise to the formation of many small independent states which, owing to the rugged and sterile nature of the country, were debarred from ever acquiring wealth or power. It was only in the fertile tracts of land situated at the mouths of the great rivers, or along their course, that large communities could arise, flourishing by commerce and agriculture and displaying a magnificence of which their ruins still preserve the traces. It was, therefore, all the more surprising to discover a tomb ornamented with a profusion of sculptures evidently of Attic workmanship on the site of what must have been an insignificant mountain village, the very name of which was unknown till the discovery of a fragment of a shattered inscription showed it to have been Trysa.

The mausoleum occupied the entire width of the narrow ridge of rock which constituted the Acropolis of the town; it consisted of a rectangular court about 25 yards by 20, with walls a yard thick and three yards high on the inner side. The door was placed high above the outside level of the ground and was accessible only by means of a ladder. The sarcophagus, which had been broken to pieces, had been cut from a rock which did not occupy the exact centre of the enclosed space, and stood facing towards a corner of the court where there were some traces remaining of a room in which the members of the family of the founder could assemble to celebrate the annual sacrifices in honor of the dead. The tomb, therefore, presented a very complete example of a Greek Heroon; the grave of an ancestor who had been raised to the rank of a hero, and round which extended a *temenos*, or sacred enclosure.

From the wall over the doorway stood out in bold relief the heads and shoulders of four winged bulls, which, together with the Gorgon's head beneath them, were probably meant to serve as *ἀποτροπαῖα* or charms to guard against the evil eye—a curious and unusual combination of Greek and Asiatic symbolism. On the inner side the door-posts were ornamented with life-size figures of dancing youths clad in light tunics and wearing the *calathos*, a basket-shaped headdress worn in funeral ceremonies; and on the lintel a row of eight dwarfish misshapen figures resembling the Egyptian divinity Bes, dancing with grotesque gestures and playing on various

instruments, bore witness to the influence of some barbaric religion foreign to the Hellenic race.

Two reliefs next the door and representing, one, a four-horsed chariot carrying a warrior, and the other, the combat of Bellerophon with the Chimaira, may perhaps be looked on as the heraldic cognisances of the prince interred in the Heroon. As in a mountainous country like Lycia chariots must have been seldom employed, Herr Benndorf is of opinion that this emblem, which is also found on some of the sarcophagi of Xanthos, cannot be considered as the commemoration of a victory in the arena, but rather as a symbol of illustrious descent and supreme authority; while the image of Bellerophon would indicate that the ruler of Trysa regarded that hero as his ancestor.

The reliefs, which were disposed in two rows along the frieze of the wall surrounding the enclosure, were executed in the coarse white limestone which abounds in the immediate vicinity, and have suffered much from the weather, showing in some places nothing but the outline and the general movement of the figures. It is probable that they were tinted, for in many instances it is evident that color was employed to represent minor details too minute for the rough grain of the stone. The total surface which they cover is not less than 120 square yards, and the dissimilarity which exists between different parts of the frieze with regard to the execution and the proportions of the figures proves that several sculptors must have been simultaneously employed. The style of workmanship, however, and the spirit which animates the entire series designate them unmistakably as belonging to the Athenian school. No less characteristic of that school are the subjects selected; for, with few exceptions, they are derived from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* or the *Cyclic* poets, and are identical with those which Polygnotus and Micon painted in the public buildings of the chief cities of Greece, and the striking resemblance between the composition of many groups, or the attitudes of single personages, and those to be found on the Athenian vases with red figures dating from the latter half of the fifth century B. C. might suggest that some well-known and much admired original work had inspired both the sculptor and the potter. The description, too, given by Pausanias of the paintings of Polygnotus and Micon convey the impression that they were in the form of a frieze bearing a continuous succession of detached scenes arranged in two tiers rather than that of separate pictures.

The return of Ulysses and the slaughter of the suitors, which Polygnotus had painted in the temple of Athena Areia at Plateæ, forms the subject of the upper relief to the left of the door. The King of Ithaca is seen advancing hastily, bending his bow, while the

suitors, startled by his sudden appearance, rise from their couches and seek in vain to shelter themselves from his arrows by holding up the tables and the footstools of the banqueting hall. Telemachus accompanies his father, and, through an open door, is seen the treacherous Melanthius passing to the chamber where the arms were kept. Behind Ulysses the herdsman Gumaïos, clad in goat skins and bearing a sword and a torch, turns towards Penelope, to whom Eurykleia presents her handmaids. Two of them, by their attitudes, show submission and repentance, but the third rushes with wild gestures towards the hall. The text of the *Odyssey*, therefore, as it exists at present, according to which the suitors were slain while Penelope slept and before she had recognized Ulysses, has not been followed; but, as in other representations of the same scene to be found on painted vases or sarcophagi, women are shown assisting at the slaughter, it is possible that there may have existed an earlier version of the legend which was preferred by the artist.

Below the episode from the *Odyssey* is the chase of the wild boar of Calydon. In the centre of the composition the hunters are grouped round the monster, which stands at bay; their attitudes are full of life and energy, their cloaks and tunics flutter in the air; Theseus wields his club, Peleus brandishes his lance, Atalanta sends an arrow from her bow, others further off hurl stones; but the Attic feeling for grace of outline and symmetry of design is always present, and the fury of the struggle does not disturb the harmonious arrangement of the scene. Towards each end of the relief the action of the personage becomes gradually less violent. Other warriors advance to help their chiefs; the fallen are gently borne away, and a youth draws water from a well to bathe their wounds.

The sculptures on the western wall form, as it were, a triptych in which are epitomized the principal events of the siege of Troy, and they cover the two courses of blocks which constitute the frieze. The section to the left represents a battle between Greeks and Trojans near to the ships, which are drawn up in line on the shore; a trumpeter gives the signal for the fight; then follows a series of encounters where the central point of the scene is marked by the closer grouping and greater animation of the combatants. The representation of the attack on Troy which occupies the middle portion of the whole composition is the only one of all those formerly existing in ancient art which has been preserved to the present day and possesses, therefore, a special interest. Two detachments of lightly armed Greek soldiers are seen climbing the rocks on which stands the besieged town, and holding their shields over their heads to guard against the stones hurled from the battlements; two other bands, more heavily armed, attack the gates, and one of them seems

to have already forced an entrance. Above them two rows of Trojan soldiers are seen in perspective, as though they lined the walls of an inner court forming a second line of defense, while others hasten along the ramparts to reinforce them. Near the centre of the scene are enthroned a King and Queen, in whom we may recognize Helen and Priam. The King, an aged man, leans upon a long staff; slaves stand beside him and a panther crouches beneath his throne. The Queen, a young and beautiful woman, is seated at a somewhat higher level, and an attendant holds an umbrella over her head. Further to the left, close to a temple, an armed warrior stands with uplifted hands in the attitude of prayer, while another kneeling at his feet sacrifices a ram. The neighboring towers are strongly garrisoned and their defenders shower stones and darts on the besiegers. At the opposite end of the relief are two groups of fugitives escaping from the city. The upper one, composed of a man and a woman driving a donkey laden with sacks, seems to be ascending through a rocky country; below them in the plain rides a lady guarded by an armed man; her saddle, the only specimen to be found in Greek art, is a chair placed sideways on her mule and provided with a support for the feet.

The third division of this triptych shows a succession of single combats between Greeks and Amazons, the former on foot and the latter mostly on horseback. The central group represents an Amazon armed with hatchet and shield springing from her horse, which kneels to let her alight, as the horses of the Scythians were trained to do, and who is attacked by a warrior distinguished from the others by the lofty crest which surmounts his helmet. Herr Benndorf believes that the subjects of these reliefs were taken from the *Æthiopis*, the lost epic of Arktinos of Miletos, which related the landing of the Greeks in Troas; the battle which ensued; the arrival of the Amazons as allies of King Priam and the death of their Queen Penthesilea, slain by Achilles, who fell shortly afterwards while attempting to storm the Scæan gate. The sculptors who decorated the mausoleum at Trysa may not perhaps have brought with them copies of the wall paintings of Athens, but the many traits of resemblance between the attitudes of the Amazons in these reliefs and those on the early vases with red figures prove the existence of a type created by the genius of a master and imitated by less distinguished artists. Moreover, the order in which the reliefs are placed coincides with that of the frescoes in the *Stoa Porcile* at Athens as described by Pausanias, where the *Iliupersis* or taking of Ilium of Polygnotos was painted between the battle of Marathon by Panainos and the victory of Theseus over the Amazons by Micon.

Polygnotos had also painted in the temple of the Dioskuroi at

Athens the abduction by Castor and Polydeukes of Hileaira and Phoiobe, the daughters of Leukippos, during the celebration of their marriage feast, and the same legend forms the subject of the reliefs on the northern wall. A temple stands in the centre of the composition; beside it the sacrificers are skinning and cutting up the victims. Further on are large cauldrons, tables laden with offerings and tall wine jars. The chorus of maidens which stood by the altar has been scattered by the sudden irruption of the twin brothers, who carry away the brides on their four-horsed chariots, while the male guests, snatching up their weapons, hasten to the rescue, and the bridegrooms, Lynkeos and Idas, mount their steeds and lead the pursuit.

Nearly all the eastern wall had been leveled with the ground; an act of vandalism probably committed during a siege by the defenders of the acropolis in order to prevent an enemy from approaching the fortress under cover of the Heroon; and it may, perhaps, have taken place during the war between Haroun-al-Raschid and the Emperor Nicephorus in A. D. 808, when the Saracens destroyed the shrine of St. Nicolas of Myra, situated in that neighborhood. Enough, however, of fragments of the shattered reliefs was collected to show that they had represented the exploits of Theseus, always a favorite subject of the artists of Athens.

A scene of feasting and revelry, showing men reclining on couches and drinking, while women and children dance before them to the sound of the flute, fills the last portion of the frieze, which is placed at a lower level than the rest, as though it had decorated the interior of the room which, judging by the traces left on the wall, must have been constructed at this angle of the enclosure.

The reliefs of the outer frieze, which crowns the outer wall of the Heroon on each side of the doorway facing the sea, have suffered much from the weather, and in some places can hardly be traced. Those to the left represent, in the upper row, a battle between Amazons and Greeks; in the lower, the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ at the marriage of Peirithoos. Here also a resemblance may be perceived between some of the groups which compose this relief and those which are found in other Greek works of the fifth century, such as the metopes of the Parthenon, the frieze of the temple of Philgaleia and the western pediment of the temple of Olympia; but they have still more in common with the figures on the vases of the same epoch, and these were probably derived from the painting by Micon in the temple of Theseus which represented the same legendary traditions.

The subject of the upper relief to the right of the door appears to have been taken from the *Thebais*, another of the lost poems of the

Epic Cycle which described the expedition of the Seven Chiefs against Thebes. In the centre of the composition Eteocles and Polyneikos fight over the body of a warrior, surrounded by other groups of combatants; while at one end of the scene, the quadriga of Adrastus is borne away rapidly by his steeds, and at the other the seer Amphiareos descends on his chariot into Hades. The walls of Thebes are indicated by a single tower, and from a ladder raised against it Capaneus is hurled by a thunderbolt.

In the lower relief, at one end an aged King is seen seated on his throne, and around him are warriors putting on their armor. In the centre is a combat against troops who have just disembarked from ships drawn up on the shore; one of the invaders is carried away lifeless on his shield, and a youth springs from one of the ships and hastens to take part in the fray. The subject of this relief cannot be identified by comparing it with any other work of art; it stands alone, but Herr Benndorf supposes that it depicts the landing of the Greek army in Troas as described in the *Cypria* of Stasinus, and the opening of the ten years' war by a battle in which Protesilas, the first man to set his foot on Trojan soil, was slain by Hector and avenged by Achilles, who killed Cycnos, the son of Poseidon.

The limits of this article will not admit of more than a brief notice of the minute analysis by means of which Herr Benndorf has traced the connection between these sculptures and the masterpieces of Micon and Polygnotos and has proved that they must have been executed in the latter half of the fifth century B. C. He points out, among other peculiarities, that the carefully drawn perspective of the towers and gates of Troy, the steep rocks up which the besieging forces clamber, the defile leading to the mountains which the fugitives enter, and the picturesque character of the entire series of reliefs have more in common with the freedom of landscape painting than with the reserve and sobriety of plastic art, and suggest that some picture where scenery formed a background to the figures furnished the sculptors with the fundamental idea, if not, indeed, with many of the details of their work.

It is from a study of these details that the date of the Heroon can be approximately ascertained. It was the fashion, for instance, in the fifth century to wear the girdle over the hips, as do the female personages in these reliefs; in the following century it was worn under the breasts. The forms of the weapons, too, agree with those depicted on the vases of the fifth century, and it is remarkable that, just as in the reliefs on monuments of the same epoch, such as the temple of Theseus, the Parthenon and the temple of Victory, the warriors on the frieze of the Heroon do not wear greaves. It is also on the vases of the latter half of the fifth century that chariots drawn

by horses at full gallop first appear, a progress in art attributed to Micon.

A striking peculiarity in the sculptures of Trysa is the care with which the artists have avoided any representation of the nude, for, with only two exceptions, all the figures are draped. Herr Benndorf can only account for this departure from the usual practice of Greek art by supposing that it may have been a concession to the aversion felt by Orientals for the nude; or, considering that Pausanias when describing the works of Polygnotos, rarely mentions undraped figures, but gives very full details with regard to arms and costumes, it may have been a characteristic of that painter, and would thus form another link between him and the sculptors of the Heroon. Herr Benndorf leaves the nationality of these artists an open question, but they cannot have been natives of Lycia. That land of warlike mountaineers was not sufficiently wealthy to develop a school of native art, and the unknown sculptors who carved the reliefs of Trysa must have come from without, perhaps from Rhodes, the nearest point whence the influence of Greek culture could penetrate into the Lycian peninsula.

The identity of the prince for whom the Heroon was erected is another open question to which no answer can ever be given. A solution of the problem might perhaps be found in the inscription on the obelisk at Xanthos,* in which Chreis, the son of Harpagos, returns thanks to the gods for having by their aid stormed many citadels, which he then bestowed on his relations, together with a share of his royal authority. Herr Benndorf, who assigns this inscription to the early half of the fifth century, believes that the ruler of Trysa may have been one of these lieutenants, and the image of Bellero-phon, from whom many of the native aristocracy claimed to be descended, would seem to prove that he was a Lycian, while respect for his religious belief may possibly account for the presence over the doorway of the uncouth figures so foreign to the genius of Greek art. They may perhaps represent the Phenician Kabirim, "the strong gods," inventors of the art of navigation, the eight divinities who personified the seven planets and the starry firmament in which they move; or the Patoëci, grotesque images affixed to the prows of the Phenician galleys as guardian deities. In either case, their maritime character might suggest that the acropolis of Trysa was the stronghold of one of the pirates who infested the coasts of Asia Minor, and that when he built himself a mausoleum worthy of his fame and his wealth, he placed over the entrance the misshapen idols in whose protection he had confided, without heeding how much their deformity contrasted with the graceful forms around them.

*G. Kaibel, "Epigrammata Graeca," p. 310

The most important of the Greek inscriptions collected by the second Austrian expedition is that brought from the ruins of Rhodiapolis. It had been discovered by Lieutenant Spratt and Professor Forbes, who copied only a third of it. It is a collection of twelve letters from various Roman Emperors, nineteen from Imperial Legates and Procurators, and thirty-three decrees of the Lycian Confederation with dates ranging from 126 to 163 A. D., thanking a wealthy citizen of Rhodiapolis named Opramoas for the services he had rendered to his country, and conferring on him in return various honors, such as the right to have his portrait painted on a golden shield and his statue raised in bronze; to wear a golden crown and a purple garment and to occupy a front seat at the public games. Opramoas appears to have held many important posts in his native city, and in the Lycian Confederation, such as Lyciarch or President, and High Priest, and while exercising these functions he had distributed corn to the people, he had built temples and baths and given large sums to restore public buildings which had been ruined by an earthquake about the year 142 A. D.

These inscriptions give also much information with regard to the political organization of Lycia after the Emperor Claudius had taken away its autonomy and made it a Roman province. The ancient titles of the dignitaries of the Confederation still survived, but those who bore them had little real authority. There were still a Lyciarch who represented the community in its dealings with the Roman Procurator; a High Priest, who sacrificed to the Emperor as well as to the Gods of Lycia; a Strategos, or General; an Archiphylax charged with the maintenance of order, and the cities of the Confederation still sent representatives to a General Assembly. The powers of this body, however, were limited to voting money for the celebration of feasts and distributing rewards to deserving citizens, while the Procurator assisted at its deliberations; its decrees were confirmed by him, and its correspondence with the Emperor passed through his hands.

Many inscriptions in the Lycian language were also brought back by the expedition, and they may perhaps help to dispel the mystery which still envelops the Lycian race and dialect; for, up to the present, the interpretation of most of the epitaphs is purely conjectural, and the phonetic value of some of the letters is still undetermined. Sufficient progress, however, has been made in deciphering these remains to show that the Lycian language belongs to the Indo-European family, forming a link between the Iranian languages and the Greek; and that it has most affinity with the old Bactrian dialect of the Zend on one side and the Cretan dialect on the other.

Such a favorable opportunity as the expedition presented of acquiring information with regard to the numerous races which people Asia Minor was not neglected. Dr. Felix von Luschan was charged with the investigation into the anthropology of Lycia, and his report gives interesting details about its inhabitants, the great majority of whom, though professing the Mohammedan religion and speaking Turkish, is not of the Turkish race, but represents the ancient population of the country, on which the conquerors imposed their language and their creed. Dr. von Luschan's attention was especially drawn to two tribes distinguished from their fellow-countrymen by the singularity of their mode of life: the Tachtadschy or "Sawyers," and the Yuruks, or "Wanderers."

The former, who follow the trade of wood-cutters, lead a secluded life in the great forests of the lofty mountain ranges, dwelling both in summer and in winter in small round tents covered with felt, and coming very rarely into the towns. When they are in the society of Turks they profess to be Mohammedans; the government looks upon them as such, and they are therefore subjected to conscription; but they drink wine and eat pork; they do not recite the five daily prayers of the orthodox Mohammedans, and their women go unveiled. They conceal carefully their religious belief, and to ensure greater secrecy its more recondite doctrines are imparted only to the men of the tribe. All that Dr. von Luschan can state with certainty on the subject is that in each clan there is a spiritual head called the "Dede," or "Baba," whose dignity is believed to be transmitted after his death to one of his sons or to some other member of the same clan into whom his soul passes. Once a year the "Dede" calls together the families which compose his flock; they assemble in the evening and after the repetition of a long and monotonous chant the soul of some departed "Dede," or of the prophet Ali, is supposed to enter into one of the assistants, who then becomes a medium and foretells future events. The meeting is ended by a general confession of sins which the "Dede" is supposed to drive by his incantations into a thick stick wrapped up in colored stuffs, and they are remitted by burning the stick and throwing its ashes into running water or burying them in the earth. Among other peculiarities of this strange race it may be noticed that they do not shave their heads nor clip their beards like the Turks, and that they always hold with both hands the vessel out of which they drink, a practice of which Dr. von Luschan can give no explanation. A striking similarity exists between what is known of the religious tenets of the Tachtadschys and those of other equally mysterious Asiatic sects, such as the Ansarich in northern Syria, the Kizilbash in western Kurdistan and the Yezyde in upper Mesopotamia; but it is not certain whether they

are the remains of some early pagan worship or merely corrupt and degenerate offshoots of Islam.

A tendency to a wandering life is very general among the inhabitants of Asia Minor, especially along the southern coast, where every year the entire Mohammedan population of hundreds of villages abandons its houses and migrates with all its goods and chattels to encamp among the mountains, sometimes at a distance of several days' journey, in upland valleys and pasturages called Yailas; but the Yuruks, who must not be confounded with the Gipsies, to whom, however, they are closely related, are true nomads and never dwell in a house. Their tents, which are peculiar to them and to no other tribe, are of an oblong shape, supported by nine poles, woven of black goats' hair and strengthened by mats placed round the sides. Their chief industries are cattle breeding and carpet weaving. They are reputed to be Mohammedans, and they refrain from wine and pork and make the pilgrimage to Mecca, but they do not observe the Ramadan, and their women go unveiled. They are the only race in Asia Minor in which it is the custom to deform the heads of newly born children, which is done by binding them tightly with damp cloths, but the practice seems to be now dying out. Like the Gipsies they are newcomers in Lycia, and like them, too, their physical characteristics point to India or to some land on its northwestern frontier as their original home. A clue to its locality might perhaps be obtained through a knowledge of the tongue which the Yuruks speak among themselves when they do not wish to be understood by the Turks, and of which Dr. Luschan could not succeed in learning more than a few words.

The final conclusion at which Dr. Luschan has arrived with regard to the inhabitants of Lycia is that they can be divided into two classes: those who have long skulls corresponding to the type generally found in early Greek tombs, and still prevailing at the present day throughout the Greek islands, and who may therefore be regarded as the descendants of the Greek colonists; and those with very high short skulls, a medium stature, dark straight hair and dark complexion. The former are generally to be found in the towns and along the coast, the latter in isolated localities such as mountainous districts or marshy lands. These are considered to be the remains of the primitive pre-Grecian population, which still exists in large masses in the highlands of Armenia. To this type belong the Tachtadschys and those Eastern tribes who profess similar religious beliefs. The same type is also found among the Syrian mountains, and there it is certainly pre-Semitic; the necessary elements, it is true, are wanting to establish a definite relation between the two groups, but there can be no doubt that they are closely con-

nected. Dr. von Luschan is of opinion that it is in Central Asia, where, up to the present, very little has been done in the way of anthropological measurement, that should be sought the solution of the problems relating to the origin, not only of the inhabitants of Syria and Asia Minor, but also, perhaps, of the short-skulled races of Europe, which are the remains of a very early population.

In concluding this article a tribute of well merited praise must be rendered to Herr Benndorf and his fellow-workers; to the Society for the Archæological Exploration of Asia Minor, and to the Austrian Government for the splendidly printed and profusely illustrated volumes in which the antiquarian and scientific results of both expeditions have been given to the public. The eighty-nine plates which accompany them are excellent specimens of héliogravure, and together with the fac-similes of pen and ink sketches inserted in the text, they place vividly before our eyes the wild and romantic scenery of Lycia, the types of the various races which inhabit the country and the ruins of the ancient cities which, even in their decay, still bear witness to their former greatness and splendor.

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ST. IGNATIUS AND JOHN BUNYAN.¹

“RELIGION is losing its hold on the masses” is a sentence that has gone the round of England for many a year.

We might add, “and of the classes also;” and we might be tempted to alter “is losing” into “has lost.” *The fear of the Lord*, the Psalmist says, *is the beginning* (or mainstay) *of religion*. Never, probably, was God less feared, never were the judgments of God less dreaded in Christendom than at the present day. “The conviction of sin,” as it used to be called in a certain school, that is, the sense of being in deadly sin, an object of God’s wrath, and in proximate danger of going to hell, and the restless alarm thereupon consequent—all this state of mind is becoming rarer and rarer upon the earth. Religion is going out of demand, like a remedy for an obsolete malady, like furred garments in August, or cooling drinks in the Arctic Circle. So at least it would seem, but we must ever remember that religion has its chief seat in the heart; and men do not wear their hearts, or their religion either, on their sleeve. *The Lord seeth*

¹ “The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,” literally translated from the Spanish. Burns & Oates. “The Testament of Ignatius Loyola,” with Preface by George Tyrrell, S. J. Sands & Co. Bunyan, “The Pilgrim’s Progress,” “Grace Abounding,” etc. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900.

the heart. Where He sees in any heart no vestige of fear of His judgments, He sees in that heart little or no religion either.

Among the last words in St. Ignatius' "Spiritual Exercises" are these:

We ought greatly to praise the fear of His Divine Majesty: because not only is filial fear a pious and holy thing, but also servile fear [i. e., fear of God's punishments], in the case of one who cannot attain to anything better or more profitable, is a great aid to assist him in rising out of deadly sin.

It would not be easy to find a clearer instance of the working of this rule than in John Bunyan. As a child, his sleep was disturbed with dreams of hell and of the day of judgment. These left him after a while, and then, he says of himself: "Until I came to the state of marriage, I was the very ringleader of all the youth that kept me company, in all manner of vice and ungodliness." His ungodliness consisted particularly in swearing, so that a woman "told me," he says, "that I was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her life;" also in "sports and plays," such as bell-ringing, dancing, and games at "cat" on Sundays.² So Ignatius Loyola for the first twenty-five years of his life lived in the "somewhat uncontrolled freedom of his youth," as he acknowledged to Father Gonzalez ("Testament," p. 32).

We may fairly assume that Ignatius Loyola and John Bunyan, in their several stations, were for the first twenty or twenty-five years of their lives neither much better nor much worse than other young men amongst whom they lived. There was little on the surface to forebode the saint in either of them, except that strong and earnest cast of mind which seems the indispensable natural basis of high holiness. That Ignatius ultimately attained to high holiness, we have the word of the Church which canonized him. What the holiness of John Bunyan was worth in the sight of God every reader of his works may conjecture for himself and risk his own conclusions. *Oh, how good and sweet is thy Spirit*, the Wise Man says (Wisdom xii., 1).³ To me the writings of John Bunyan have been and are more and more *as the odour of a field which the Lord hath blessed*, redolent of that goodness and sweetness, that unworldliness and love of Christ, that humility and horror of sin, which I take to mark the presence of the Spirit of God, even in the midst of much human infirmity and delusion. It is not easy for an Englishman, Catholic or Protestant, who understands Bunyan, to read him with dry eyes and without feeling his heart softened to impressions of grace. I think then I am not rash in speaking of John Bunyan's "conversion"

² In the "Spiritual Exercises" St. Ignatius is unusually prolix on swearing, as though the subject touched his conscience also. "That lock went *damnable hard*, yet the key did open it" (the iron gate of Giant Despair's Castle, "Pilgrim's Progress," I., 109) shows some reversion to Bunyan's earlier style.

as well as of the conversion of St. Ignatius. Poor John's conversion—for he was “as poor as a howlet,” and “of a low and inconsiderable generation”—began in fear, more markedly so than that of the chivalrous Castilian nobleman. He was himself the *Pilgrim* at the opening of his *Progress*, crying, “What shall I do to be saved? I fear that this burden (of sins) that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave, and I shall fall into Tophet;” and so he receives “a parchment roll, and there was written within, *Fly from the wrath to come.*”⁴

Neither conversion was sudden nor instantaneously complete. Both were gradual, had well-marked stages, and took months, even years, to accomplish. Is not this the case with all lasting conversions? To a careful reader of St. Augustine's “Confessions,” the *tolle, lege* incident will hardly seem to make an exception. About the age of twenty-five Bunyan joined the Baptists, and was baptized by total immersion in the Ouse at Bedford. Knowing how carelessly baptism was often administered in the Church of England in those days, one would not be surprised if Bunyan really received the Sacrament of Baptism on that occasion, which thus would have been an epoch in his life, more than he appreciated, for he seems (with his Lutheran notions) to have had a poor appreciation of sacramental grace.⁵ Shortly after, the greatest trouble of Bunyan's life overtook him. The remorse of his great sin, for so he considered it, for two years and a half kept him on the brink of despair.

One morning, as I did lie in my bed, I was, as at other times, most fiercely assaulted with this temptation, to sell and part with Christ, the wicked suggestion still running in my mind, *Sell him, sell him, sell him, sell him, sell him*, as fast as a man could speak. Against which also, in my mind, as at other times, I answered, *No, no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands*, at least twenty times together. But at last, after much striving, even until I was almost out of breath, I felt this thought pass through my heart, *Let him go, if he will!* and I thought also that I felt my heart freely consent thereto. Oh, the diuine of Satan! Oh, the desperateness of man's heart! Now was the battle won, and down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair. Thus getting out of my bed, I went moping into the field; but, God knows, with as heavy a heart as mortal man, I think, could bear; where, for the space of two hours, I was like a man bereft of life, and as now past all recovery and bound over to eternal punishment. And withal that Scripture did seize upon my soul (Heb. xii., 16, 17), *Or profane person as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright, for ye know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected, for he found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.* And still, to aggravate my misery, that would run in my mind, *Ye know that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected.* Oh! none knows the terrors of those days but myself.⁶

This example shows the benefit of confession, if not for *profane persons as Esau*—a man about as unlike John Bunyan as one man could be unlike another—at least for earnest minds and minds afraid

⁴ “*Pilgrim's Progress*,” Part II., p. 280; “*Grace Abounding*,” note 2. ⁵ “*Pilgrim's Progress*,” Part I., pp. 12, 13.

⁶ But in “*Pilgrim's Progress*,” Part II., p. 192, he describes very well the sanctification wrought by baptism, and the “seal” or “character” it confers. ⁶ “*Grace Abounding*,” nn. 139 sq.

of moral evil. Had Bunyan been a Catholic, he would have confessed this matter, early or late, to one of those "Seminarists or Jesuits," who in those days went about in the hours between night and day. The Father from Valladolid or St. Omer would have spoken to his penitent in this wise: "You hated the sin all along, therefore you did not consent to it; it was a mere illusory consent, not your own genuine act as a man;⁷ your mind was upset, you were not master of yourself; anyhow, you confess it as it is before God; and I give you absolution in His name; go in peace." There would have been the end of that chapter; it would not have lengthened out into a two years' agony.

Not that confession, well made, always gives this immediate and permanent peace of mind. In St. Ignatius' case it did not.

When he came to Montserrat, after much prayer, he made a written general confession of his sins with the confessor's consent, and spread it over three days. . . . Yet now he sometimes imagined that he had omitted this thing or that, whereat he was not a little cast down. And when he would then confess it, yet the soul within him was never at rest. . . . After confession the scruples returned again each day about smaller things than ever. He was in grievous torment about this, not being ignorant that scruples are exceedingly harmful and that he would be well rid of them; but he could not act on this and drive them away. . . . His confessor told him not to confess anything more of his past sins, unless something plainly and manifestly sinful came to memory. But since he viewed them all as manifestly sinful, this order in nowise helped him, and he was left in perpetual misery.⁸

These scruples "sorely burdened him for many months." At last, after a great conflict, "he resolved with great clearness never again to mention the past in confession," and "was delivered from scruples from that day forth." He mentions scruples in his "Spiritual Exercises" as things of no little advantage to the soul, provided they only last for a time, in so far as they lead to the thorough cleansing of the conscience and remove a person from all appearance of sin. Confessors know that scrupulous people as a rule are innocent people. But scruples are malignant things when they become chronic. They can only be cured by unqualified commands (without *if* and *unless*) on the part of the confessor, and unqualified obedience on the part of the penitent. St. Ignatius describes a scruple thus: "There comes to me from without a thought that I have sinned, and on the other hand it seems to me that I have not sinned; and thereupon I feel troubled, inasmuch as I doubt and inas-

⁷ By the time he came to write "Pilgrim's Progress," Bunyan had found this out for himself: "Now poor Christian was so confounded that he did not know his own voice. Just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning pit, one of the wicked ones got behind him, and stepped up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded out of his own mind. This put Christian more to it than anything he had met with before, even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before; yet could he have helped it, he would not have done it; but he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know from whence those blasphemies came." "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 60. ⁸ "Testament," pp. 69, 75, 83.

much as I do not doubt"—a fluctuation of mind answering exactly to Hamlet's "such gain-giving as might perhaps trouble a woman." Bunyan seems never to have doubted but that his passing thought was a sin most deadly and grievous; and, supposing him to have been in error there, he was not the victim of a "scruple" in the Ignatian sense, but of "an erroneous judgment," or a mistake in moral theology, which error of judgment, St. Ignatius says, is "to be entirely abhorred."

Bunyan's subsequent vicissitudes of mind as to whether he had or had not committed the unforgiven sin, were more like St. Ignatius' scruples. Bunyan was driven to and fro by texts of Scripture borne in upon him, favorable or unfavorable to his chances of forgiveness. St. Ignatius had the direction of his confessor and a speedier deliverance.

We find in the "Spiritual Exercises" certain "Rules for feeling and knowing in some sort the various movements that are excited in the soul; the good ones, that they may be taken up; the bad ones, that they may be rejected. The most important of these is the second:

In those who are earnestly engaged on the purification of their soul from sin, and who keep trying to mount from good to better in the service of God our Lord, . . . it is proper to the evil spirit to sting and sadden and raise difficulties, rendering the soul restless by false reckonings, that it may not advance any further. And it is proper to the good spirit to give courage and strength, consolations, tears, inspirations and rest, making things easy and removing all difficulties, that the soul may go on further in doing good.

The reader of "Grace Abounding" will readily believe that the hero of this piece of autobiography was one earnestly engaged in the purification of his soul from sin," according to such lights as were vouchsafed to a poor Baptist tinker-man in seventeenth century England. Would that we Catholics were always as much in earnest! There is every reason to give honest John the benefit of the Ignatian rule; and to see the special providence of the Holy Spirit in the occurrence of Scripture texts to his mind, which lit up his darkness for a while, and ultimately chased the shades entirely away. This is a specimen:

I said to myself with a grievous sigh, How can God comfort such a wretch as I? I had no sooner said it but this returned upon me, as an echo doth answer a voice, *This sin is not unto death* [cf. John xi., 4]. At which I was as if I had been raised out of a grave, and cried out again, Lord, how couldst thou find out such a word as this? For I was filled with admiration at the fitness and also at the unexpectedness of the sentence. The fitness of the word, the rightness of the timing of it, the power and sweetness and light and glory that came with it also, was marvelous for me to find. I was now, for the time, out of doubt as to that about which I so much was in doubt before. My fears before were that my sin was not pardonable, and so that I had no right to pray. . . . This, therefore, was a great easement to my mind, to wit, that my sin was pardonable, that it was not the sin unto death (I. John v., 16, 17). . . . I seemed now to stand upon the same ground with other sinners, and to have as good a right to the Word and prayer as any of them.*

* "Grace Abounding," note 183.

On this, and on many other occasions, Bunyan got what St. Ignatius in the "Exercises" calls "an inward sense" of application of a Scripture text to his soul. These "inward senses" come from God.¹⁰ On the other hand, the devil, as Bunyan says, quoted many Scripture texts, such as that about Esau, and perversely applied them to vex and harrow him.

The following parallelism has always seemed to me very curious:

ST. IGNATIUS	BUNYAN
"Spiritual Exercises," ex. 2, p. 5	"Grace Abounding," note 187.
A cry of wonder, with mighty emotion, discoursing through all creatures, how they have suffered me to live and have preserved me in life; how the Angels, being as they are the sword of divine justice, have supported me, and guarded me, and prayed for me; how the Saints have gone the length of interceding and praying for me; and so of heavens, sun, moon, stars and elements, fruits, birds, fishes and animals; and how the earth has not opened to swallow me up, creating new hells, that I might be tormented in them for ever.	So one day I walked to a neighboring town, and sat down upon a settle in the street and fell into a very deep pause about the most fearful state my sin had brought me to; and after long musing I lifted up my head, but methought I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give me light, and as if the very stones in the street and tiles upon the houses did bend themselves against me: methought that they all combined together to banish me out of the world; I was abhorred of them, and unfit to dwell among them, because I had sinned against the Saviour.

I am convinced that both men under these emotions were influenced by the Spirit of God, the spirit of humility and a contrite heart. One sign thereof is that they were not left to despair. St. Ignatius "concludes with a colloquy of mercy;" and Bunyan immediately after conceived hopes of pardon, and recognized that "this sin is not unto death."

Bunyan's faith took a true hold of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and abhorred the Quakerism of his day for denying it.¹¹ There is no more marked characteristic of the author of the "Spiritual Exercises" and founder of the Society or Company of Jesus, than his passionate love for the person of Jesus Christ. There is much in Bunyan to remind us of Ignatius here. The following is no bad illustration of the second, third and fourth "weeks," as they are called, of the "Spiritual Exercises:"

Methought I was as if I had seen Him born, as if I had seen Him grow up, as if I had seen him walk through this world from the cradle to His cross; to which also when He came I saw how gently He gave Himself to be hanged and nailed for my sins and wicked doings. . . . I have seen as if He leaped at the grave's mouth for joy that He was risen again and had got the conquest over our dreadful foes. I have also in the spirit seen Him a Man on the right hand of God the Father for me, and have seen the manner of His coming from heaven to judge the world with glory. . . . Now, could I . . . often long and desire that the last day were come, that I might for ever be inflamed with the sight and joy and communion with Him whose head was crowned with thorns, whose face was spit on, and body broken, and soul made an offering for my sins. For whereas before I lay continually trembling at the mouth of hell, now methought I was got so far therefrom that I could not, when I looked back, scarce discern it; and oh! thought I, that I were fourscore years old now, that I might die quickly, that my soul might be gone to rest.¹²

¹⁰ "Spiritual Exercises," Rules for the further discernment of spirits, note 2.

¹¹ "Grace Abounding," notes 122, 124. ¹² Ibid., notes 120, 121, 123.

Bunyan then was himself his own Mr. Standfast, speaking his last words, half way in the River of Death.

I see myself now at the end of my journey; my toilsome days are ended; I am going now to see that Head that was crowned with thorns and that Face that was spat upon for me. I have formerly lived by hearsay and faith, but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with Him in whose company I delight myself. I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of; and wherever I have seen the print of His shoe upon the earth, there I have coveted to set my foot, too.¹³ His name has been to me as a civet-box, yea, sweeter than all perfumes. His voice to me has been most sweet; and His countenance I have more desired than they that desire the light of the sun. His word I did use to gather for my food, and for antidotes against my faintings.¹⁴

Such words as the following, written by Bunyan, might have stood in an autobiography of St. Ignatius:

Then I began to give place to the Word which with power did over and over make this joyful sound within my soul: *Thou art my Love, thou art my Love, and nothing shall separate thee (qu. me) from my love*; and with that Romans viii., 39, came into my mind. Now was my heart filled full of comfort and hope, and now I could believe that my sins should be forgiven me; yea, I was now so taken with the love and mercy of God that I remember I could not tell how to contain till I got home. I thought I could have spoken of His love and of His mercy to me even to the very crows that sat upon the ploughed lands before me, had they been capable to have understood me.¹⁵

In the last years of his life Bunyan had a great following. But unlike St. Ignatius, he founded no permanent society. He was not fit to do that. The way that he trod to heaven was, so to speak, an unscientific way, lit by the light of a defective theology, not fenced in by the securities of church ordinances, a dangerous way like the path of his own Christian through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. It was much if Bunyan saved his own soul, taking such a road. He organized no society, but he wrote a great book. The "Pilgrim's Progress" has done among Protestants something of the work of the "Spiritual Exercises" amongst Catholics. After the Bible, perhaps no book has done so much good as the classic production which Bunyan's genius flung with such hesitation upon the world.

Some said, *John, print it*; others said, *Not so*.
Some said, *It might do good*; others said, *No*.

Bunyan was no poet. I fear a severe censor, had the author submitted his MS. to censorship, would have excised all the verses, and

¹³ An overpowering longing possessed him to ascend the Mount of Olives once again before his departure. . . . The stone from which our Lord went up into heaven is on that mountain, wherein His footprints may be yet discerned, and this it was he so desired to see. Now the ascent is perilous to any one unaccompanied by a Turkish guide; notwithstanding, he withdrew himself and repaired alone to the Mount of Olives, warning no one and taking no guide; and when the keepers denied him entrance, he took a penknife from his writing-case and gave it them. He made his prayer, and was comforted, and afterwards conceived the design of going to Bethphage. When he was there, he thought he had not sufficiently noted on Mount Olivet the precise place [bearings, east or west] of the right foot and of the left. I think he gave the scissors he used to carry to the keepers when he came back again, that he might be allowed to reënter. "Testament of St. Ignatius," pp. 113, 114. It strikes a reader of Bunyan how in this "Testament" from page 67 onwards St. Ignatius is always spoken of as "the Pilgrim." ¹⁴ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., page 290. ¹⁵ "Grace Abounding," note 92.

some little of the prose, chiefly of the conversations. But part of the charm of the book is a rusticity, of which these are the excesses. There are, however, two lyrical gems in the "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., namely, the Song of the Shepherd Boy in the Valley of Humiliation, and what we may call the Pilgrim Song of Mr. Valiant-for-Truth. The latest Oxford editor doubts whether Bunyan could have written them himself. But is not any man of earnest feeling, who makes many attempts, apt to succeed at times in some fugitive piece of poetry? Till these lyrics can be identified in some earlier work, John Bunyan must have the credit of them.

THE SHEPHERD BOY'S SONG.

He that is down, needs fear no fall;
He that is low, no pride:
He that is humble, ever shall
Have God to be his guide.
I am content with what I have,
Little be it, or much;
And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because Thou savest such.
Fulness to such a burden is
That go on pilgrimage;
Here little, and hereafter bliss,
Is best from age to age.

THE PILGRIM SONG.

Who would true valour see,
Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
Come wind, come weather.
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent,
To be a Pilgrim.
Whosoever beset him round
With dismal stories,
Do but themselves confound:
His strength the more is.
No lion can him fright,
He'll with a giant fight,
But he will have a right,
To be a Pilgrim.
Hobgoblin nor foul fiend
Can daunt his spirit;
He knows, he at the end
Shall life inherit.
Then, fancies, fly away,
He'll fear not what men say;
He'll labor night and day,
To be a Pilgrim.

I will here complete what I have to say of the parallelism, such as it is, between the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the "Spiritual Exercises." The "exercitant," as he is called, or the person making the Spiritual Exercises, particularly if he be a person just awakening from a state of sin, could not begin in better dispositions than in those of Bunyan's Christian, crying aloud: "Life, life, eternal life;" fleeing from the wrath to come, and fearing lest he sink lower than the grave into a place burning with fire and brimstone. Christian

in the first part of "Pilgrim's Progress" is Bunyan himself making his own way through spiritual difficulties; in the second part of the "Progress" Mr. Greatheart is Bunyan, now become a guide to souls. Here then is Mr. Greatheart's wisdom:

And for my part I care not at all for that profession [of piety] that begins not in heaviness of mind. The first string that the musicians usually touches is the bass, when he intends to put all in tune. God also plays upon this string first, when He sets the soul in tune for Himself. Only here was the imperfection of Mr. Fearing, he could play upon no other music than this till towards his bitter end. . . . No fears, no grace, said James. "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., pages 235-6.

Only this must not be a desponding fear. It must be a fear tempered with hope of pardon. St. Ignatius tells the exercitant, however sinful he may be: "It is of great advantage for him who receives the Exercises to enter upon them with great courage and generosity towards his Creator and Lord" (annot. 5). He is to end the meditation on Hell, thanking God for not having allowed him to find a place there, and for always having dealt with him with so much mercy and affection. Otherwise the exercitant is engulfed in Bunyan's *Slough of Despond*.

This miry slough . . . is the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin doth continually run, and therefore it is called the *Slough of Despond*; for still as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth in his soul many fears and doubts and discouraging apprehensions, which all of them get together and settle in this place.

Few have made the Exercises, or helped others to make them, to any good purpose, without experience of the Slough of Despond. A preliminary wallow there, as in Christian's case, provided one come out, as he did, on the right side, and with set purpose to go on, is a happy omen for the journey.

The very name of "Pilgrim's Progress," recalling as it does those texts, I. Peter ii., 11, Hebrews xi., 13, about being strangers and pilgrims in this world, seeking a better country, contains the idea of that indifference, or detachment, which from first to last is the guiding principle of the Spiritual Exercises—"to make ourselves detached from all worldly things, . . . so as not to wish on our side for riches—riches rather than poverty—solely desiring and choosing those means that are better apt to lead us to the end for which we were created." This is John Bunyan and his Pilgrim all over, the leading feature of his character, his thorough unworldliness and regard fixed on heaven for himself and his fellow man. This it is that makes his writings so tender, so moving, so persuasive. Are we ever moved except by unselfish earnestness?

Some of the most imaginative of mankind live in the midst of the most romantic scenery. John Bunyan's imagination thrived amid the "puddles and horse-pads" of Bedfordshire. It was fed, not on

his homely surroundings, but on the imagery of the Bible. Thus he produced a work that contests with the "Faery Queene" the praise of being the greatest allegory in our language. In the "Spiritual Exercises" also imagination plays a great part. At the beginning of every meditation the exercitant is to "look with the eyes of the imagination." One special form of meditation, or contemplation, prescribed is an imaginative use of the senses. To one who knows the "Exercises," the names "Kingdom of Christ," "Incarnation," "Two Standards" are enough. I remember how they stirred the imagination of a boy still in his teens, when he went through those meditations for the first time according to the Ignatian model. But the imagery of the "Exercises," it must be confessed, is not so much based on the Bible—in the text of which Bunyan could have stood a much better examination than Ignatius—but rather on what the chivalrous author had seen in camps and in the houses of the great. Take imagination away, and the bloom is gone off "Pilgrim's Progress" and off the "Spiritual Exercises." Neither the one nor the other is a mere reasoned treatise, though there is sound work of reason and shrewd judgment in both. In the contemplation of the Incarnation St. Ignatius would have us not confine ourselves to the angelic salutation and the limits of Mary's house at Nazareth, but to perambulate the round of the earth, as the angels do in Zachary's prophecy, and observe anew "some white, some black; some in peace, and others at war; some weeping, and others laughing; some in health, and others in sickness; some new-born infants, and others dying." He wishes us to know the world and its miseries, into which Christ comes as Saviour. The pages of "Pilgrim's Progress," descriptive of "Vanity Fair," would be helpful reading for any one making this contemplation.¹⁶

Now, as I said, the way to the Celestial City lies just through this town, where this lusty Fair is kept; and he that will go to the City, and yet will not go through this town, must needs go out of the world (I. Cor. v., 10). The Prince of Princes Himself, when here, went through this town to His own country, and that upon a Fair-day, too. Yea, and as I think, it was Beelzebub, the chief lord of this Fair, that invited Him to buy of his vanities; yea, would have made Him lord of the Fair, would He but have done him reverence as He went through the town (Matt. iv., 8, 9). Yea, because He was such a person of honour, Beelzebub had Him from street to street, and showed Him all the kingdoms of the world in a little time, that he might, if possible, allure that Blessed One to cheapen [chaffer or bargain for] and buy some of his vanities. But He had no mind to the merchandise, and therefore left the town without laying out so much as one farthing upon these vanities. This Fair, therefore, is an ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great Fair.

The spirit of this "very great Fair" is personified in Madam Bubble, who tempts Mr. Standfast on the Enchanted Ground.¹⁷ Very Ignatian is the description of her, read in the light of his "Two Standards:"

Doth she not wear a great purse by her side, and is not her hand often in it,

¹⁶ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., pages 82-84. ¹⁷ Ibid, Part II., page 281.

fingering her money, as if that was her heart's delight? . . . She always laugheth poor pilgrims to scorn, but highly commends the rich. If there be one cunning to get money in a place, she will speak well of him from house to house. . . . She loves to be sought after, spoken well of and to lie in the bosoms of men. She is never weary of commending her commodities, and she loves them most that think best of her. She will promise to some crowns and kingdoms, if they will but take her advice. Yet many has she brought to the halter, and ten thousand times more to hell.

The whole description, written in some antithesis to Proverbs xxxi., *who hath found a valiant woman?* etc., is one of the most splendid in Bunyan. Madame Bubble is the impersonation of that "world," with its "worldly and vain things," which in the colloquy of his Third Exercise St. Ignatius prays to "know, abhor and put away."

Byends, with his friends Mr. Money-love and Mr. Hold-the-world, and his immortal kinsman, Mr. Facing-bothways,¹⁸ has much that reminds us of St. Ignatius' "Second Firm," the Firm that "wants to take away all affection for wealth, but to hold by the cash for all that, meaning God to come over to their standpoint, and having no heart or resolution to abandon their property and so pass over to God, even though that step were the best for them."

In the "Prelude to Election" Ignatius warns us against Byends: "In every good election, . . . the eye of our intention should be simple, solely considering the end for which I am created; . . . wherefore whatever I choose should be in view of this, to help me to the end for which I am created, not directing nor dragging the end to meet the means, but the means to meet the end."

The perfection aimed at by the "Spiritual Exercises" is summed up in what the author calls the *Third Mark of Humility*, namely, the positive desire of humiliations in order to be like Christ, laden with them. Bunyan takes Christian through the *Valley of Humiliations*, but without a word of praise for it; it is made the scene of an ugly encounter.¹⁹ But in the Second Part he tries to find excuses for this oversight. The Valley now appears as "the best and most fruitful ground in all those parts;" "a valley that nobody walks in but those that love a Pilgrim's life." Mercy says of it: "The place methinks suits with my spirit;" and Greatheart, the guide, declares: "I have gone through this Valley many a time, and never was better than when here."²⁰

Christian and Hopeful, after they have passed the Delectable Mountains and are nearing the Celestial City, become doubtful of their way. Forthwith "behold a man black of flesh, but covered with a very light robe, came to them and asked them why they stood

¹⁸ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., pages 92-100. ¹⁹ Faithful, however, fared better in it, and speaks well of the Valley. "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., pages 67, 68. ²⁰ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., pages 220-222. This was Bunyan's own experience. "Grace Abounding," notes 304-312.

there. They answered, they were going to the Celestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man; it is thither that I am going." But he led them round away from the City, and in the end caught them helpless in a net; "and with that, the white robe fell off the black man's back." From this predicament they are rescued by an angel, who scourges them for their forgetfulness of the warning that had been given them to "beware of the Flatterer." St. Ignatius gives certain rules for proficients, for men who have been on the Delectable Mountains of prayer, have had some glimpse from thence of the Heavenly City night at hand, and would reject any temptation to gross evil. These Rules are so many cautions against the Flatterer. The fourth Rule runs thus:

It is proper to the evil angel, who transforms himself into an angel of light, to come in following the lead of the devout soul, and go out taking his own lead; that is, to induce good and holy thoughts conformable to the just soul, and then gradually he manages to arrive at his own end, dragging the soul into his secret frauds and perverse purposes.

This is just the story of the black man, the white robe and the net.²¹ On the other hand, Christian and Hopeful spurn at once the Atheist, who next confronts them and avers point-blank that there is no such place as the Celestial City. That would be styled in the language of the "Exercises," "a temptation of the first week." But it is remarkable that neither in the "Exercises" nor in the "Testament of St. Ignatius" is there any mention of temptations against faith. The fervid Spanish faith of the author seems never to have known difficulty. Almost the only mention of faith is a caution at the end of the "Exercises," "lest by much earnest talk of faith occasion be given to the common people of growing slack in works," a caution hardly needed to-day in addressing a cultured English audience. Bunyan's faith, going solitary without the guidance of the Church, was often sorely tried.²² He has left a vivid description of the doom of the Apostate.

They entered into a very dark lane, where they met a man whom seven devils had bound with seven strong cords, and were carrying of him back to the door that they saw in the side of the hill (the by-way to hell). . . . Christian looked to see if he knew him, and he thought it might be one Turn-away that dwelt in the town of Apostasy. But he did not perfectly see his face, for he did hang his head like a thief that is found. But being gone past, Hopeful looked after him, and espied on his back a paper with this inscription: *Wanton Professor and damnable Apostate.*²³

Further particulars are added in the Second Part:

He would hearken to no counsel, but once a-falling, persuasion could not stop him. When he came to the place where the Cross and the Sepulchre was he did meet with one that did bid him look there; but he gnashed with his teeth, and stamped, and said he was resolved to go back to his own town.²⁴

²¹ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 122. ²² "Grace Abounding," notes 97-100, 244, and the conclusion, notes 1, 6. ²³ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 115. ²⁴ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., page 269.

To convert an unbeliever, I should not ply him with controversy; I could not expect him to go through the "Spiritual Exercises;" and I might find him too prejudiced to read with an even mind our modern Catholic books of instruction. But I should be glad to see in his hands, and believe that he was reading attentively, "Pilgrim's Progress" with "Grace Abounding" for a key to it, the "Imitation of Christ" and the Four Gospels. Not that I put these books on a level, but by the Aristotelian rule of progress, *ex minus perfecto ad perfectum*.

A man may go on repeating formularies, learnt in childhood, and still in part believe them, all the while that his mind has developed quite upon other principles, so that those formularies come to be in logical contradiction with most of what he thinks, and his conduct gives them the lie. This may happen alike with orthodox and with heretical formularies. A man may make profession of the Catholic faith, and in heart never have renounced it; and still the mass of his opinions may be uncatholic, and his utterances make the children of the faith grieve. Another man may have been nurtured in heresy, and habitually talk heresy, and have some admixture of heresy in his beliefs, and yet in the main have burst the bonds of heretical perversity, and be feeding his soul and building his life upon the true sense of the Gospel.

In this manner I should call Bunyan a Lutheran, but an emancipated Lutheran. In his own homely comparison, he was like "some of the birds that are of the brisker sort, who will run to and fro in trodden paths with the shell [of Lutheranism] upon their heads."²⁵ Bunyan avoided controversy, and formed two religious views upon his own spiritual experiences of the Bible.²⁶ The one other book to which he confesses himself indebted is Luther's Commentary on the Galatians, which he preferred, he says, "excepting the Holy Bible, before all the books that I have ever seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience."²⁷ *To them who love God all things work together unto good*, says St. Paul (Romans viii., 28). An elect soul may get a turn heavenwards from an heresiarch, accidentally, where better aid is lacking. So went Bunyan from Luther to his Saviour.

And now I found, as I thought, that I loved Christ dearly. Oh! me thought my soul cleaved unto Him, my affections cleaved unto Him. I felt love to Him as hot as fire.²⁸

This consolation was well enough while it lasted. But it is quite likely that the unwholesome teaching of Luther about temptations to blasphemy sowed the seeds of that heavy trouble which presently made John Bunyan's life a torment to him for upwards of two years.²⁹

²⁵ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 118. ²⁶ "Grace Abounding," notes 284, 285. ²⁷ Ibid, notes 129, 130. ²⁸ Ibid, note 131. ²⁹ Ibid, note 132 sq

Hopeful's conversion³⁰ is Bunyan's own conversion, as told in "Grace Abounding" (nn. 8-10, 30-32, 77-114). The steps were these: first a free indulgence in sin, then remorse and alarm, then reformation of conduct, then a feeling that, for all the good works that were now being done, past sin remained unatoned for. All these steps so far are in accordance with the theology of the Catholic Church. Let us hear Hopeful himself:

My trouble came trembling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my reformations. . . . I further thought thus: If a man runs a hundred pound into the shopkeeper's debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch, yet his old debt stands still in the book uncrossed, for the which the shopkeeper may sue him and cast him into prison until he shall pay the debt. . . . I have by my sins run a great way into God's book, and my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should still think under all my present amendments: "But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I have brought myself in danger of by my former transgressions?"

This reasoning is excellent, and the sentiment thoroughly Catholic. A new life is no sufficient atonement for a bad past. Nor can any good works that a sinner can do avail to justify him, or merit his justification and forgiveness. On the other hand, it is too much to say that all the works of a sinner are sinful, or mixed with (actual) sin. This language in Hopeful's mouth is an exaggeration: "I still see sin, new sin, mixing itself with the best of that I do: . . . I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to hell."

Again, it is an exaggeration that Christian utters to Ignorance: "(Good thoughts concerning God are) when we think that all our righteousness stinks in His nostrils, and that therefore He cannot abide to see us stand before Him in any confidence even of our best performances."

Even before justification a sinner may do acts that are good and blameless, as the Council of Trent lays down: "If any one says that all works done before justification, however they are done, are truly sins, or deserve the hatred of God, let him be anathema."³¹ Still less is Bunyan's language true if he meant it to extend to good works done after justification, such works being truly acceptable to God and meritorious of reward in heaven.³²

On the actual process of justification Bunyan is neither a thorough-paced Lutheran nor an accurate Tridentine. He frequently uses Lutheran phrases, as when he speaks the soul "being shrouded under the skirt of Christ's righteousness, and by it presented as spotless before God."³³ He looks for a revelation of Christ from heaven to every sinner that is justified;³⁴ and always assumes that sin is

³⁰ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., pages 126-136. From a literary standpoint this is the least pleasing passage in "Pilgrim's Progress." The behavior of Hopeful and Christian to poor Ignorance is that of the Pharisee to the Publican. ³¹ Sess. 6, can. 7. ³² Sess. 6, capp. 11, 16, and can. 25. ³³ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 135. ³⁴ "Ask him if ever he had Christ revealed to him from heaven?" is the question that Hopeful would have put to Ignorance. "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 135.

never forgiven without the sinner receiving any inward assurance of pardon—or what St. Ignatius would call “consolation.” On the other hand, he never says that this inward assurance is the formal justification of the sinner. From the antinomianism, which is the worst evil of Lutheranism, whether taught by Luther himself or an abuse of Luther’s teaching, Bunyan, as I shall show, is quite free.³⁵ The sensible assurance that Bunyan sought as a mark of justification seems never to have been assurance of the future, but of the past; not a “sure and certain hope of salvation,” as though sin had become henceforth an impossibility, but a confidence in the forgiveness of all past sin, such as a Catholic might derive from sacramental absolution received. He frequently refers to the possibility of Pilgrims falling away and being lost forever, even after they have reached the Delectable Mountains, or got beyond them to the frontiers of the Land of Beulah.³⁶ Bunyan was never able to find any such assurance of the future for himself. He lived all his life in fear and trembling, and taught other men to do likewise. It was after thinking that he had an evidence of his salvation from heaven, “with many golden seals thereon, all hanging in his sight,” that he came to commit what he considered his fearful sin of consenting to sell Christ.³⁷

Thus Bunyan was not beguiled by what the Council of Trent calls “the vain confidence of heretics,” that, once they felt justified, they were justified by feeling so, and could never fall away; or, in other words, once in grace, always in grace.³⁸ The dying speech of Bunyan’s great contemporary recurs in this connection. He asked a divine at his bedside whether it was possible to fall from grace. The divine answering in the negative, Cromwell said: “Then I am safe, for I was in grace once.” Bunyan, I think, would have answered otherwise. He represents Christian as losing his “roll” or baptismal token, that entitled him to entrance at the Celestial Gate, and having to go back to recover it.³⁹ He says, much as St. Ignatius does, that “fear tends much to men’s good and to make them right, at their beginning to go on pilgrimage; . . . it begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, His word and ways, keeping it tender and making it afraid to turn from them to the right hand or to the left.”⁴⁰

The Council of Trent (Sess. 6, Cap. 6) describes thus the steps of

³⁵ Christian waxes wroth with Ignorance, who charges him with it. “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part I., page 135. ³⁶ “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part I., page 112; Part II., pages 239, 278, 280. ³⁷ “*Grace Abounding*,” notes 128, 139. ³⁸ Trent. Sess. 6, capp. 9, 13, and can. 14. ³⁹ “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part I., pages 41, 42; cf. the story of “one Temporary.” “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part I., pages 138, 139. ⁴⁰ “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part I., page 137. Cf. “*Grace Abounding*,” note 82, “Oh, how gingerly did I then go in all I did or said!” Bunyan is represented by his own Mr. Fearing. “*Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Part II., pages 232-235.

the justification of a sinner. First he has faith in the revealed word of God; then a sense of his sin; then he conceives hope of pardon through Christ; then he has some commencement of charity, or love of God; so he has a hatred of sin, and purposes to receive baptism [or penance, if he is already baptized]. I do not suppose that Bunyan ever read a line of the Council of Trent; yet who knows? As Father Thurston has shown, there was a great circulation of Catholic books of piety among non-Catholics in England in the seventeenth century. This, however, is Bunyan's account of justification:

A work of grace in the soul discovereth itself . . . to him that hath it, thus. It gives him conviction of sin, especially of the defilement of his nature and the sin of unbelief, for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not mercy at God's hand by faith in Jesus Christ. This sight and sense of things worketh in him sorrow and shame for sin; he findeth, moreover, revealed in him the Saviour of the world, and the absolute necessity of closing with Him for life; after which he finds the hungerings and thirstings after Him, to the which hungerings the promise is made (Matt. v., 6; Rev. xxi., 6). Now, according to the strength or weakness of his faith in his Saviour, so is his joy and peace, so is his love to holiness, so are his desires to know Him more, and also to serve Him in this world.⁴¹

These two accounts are neither identical nor wholly dissimilar. Bunyan goes on very well to observe that the sinner is not to rely too much on these signs of conversion, "because his abused reason makes his mind to misjudge in this matter." Further evidence is requisite, and especially "a life answering to that confession, to wit, a life of holiness, heart-holiness, family-holiness (if he hath a family) and conversation-holiness in the world, which in the general teacheth him inwardly to abhor his sin, and himself for that in secret, to suppress it in his family, and to promote holiness in the world, not by talk only, as a hypocrite or talkative person may do, but by a practical subjection in faith and love to the power of the word."⁴² Hence Old Honest and Mr. Great-heart loudly condemn Mr. Self-will, who holds himself free to copy every proceeding, good or bad, of the "Pilgrims" that were under the Old Law, on which Great-heart's comment is: "A very wicked answer, for though to let loose the bridle to lusts, while our opinions are against such things, is bad, yet to sin and plead a toleration so to do is worse."⁴³ In Mr. Self-will we discover the Ranters, who tempted Bunyan in his youth.

These would also talk to me of their ways, and condemn me as legal and dark, pretending that they only had attained to perfection that could do as they would and not sin. . . . But God, who had, as I hope, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of His name, and did not suffer me to accept such cursed principles.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 137. ⁴² "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 78. Cf. Trent. sess. 6, cap. 11. ⁴³ Ibid., Part II., pages 237, 238. ⁴⁴ "Grace Abounding," note 45. Bunyan stood firm for the Creed against the Quakers ("Grace Abounding," notes 123, 124), and for the Commandments against the Ranters. Bunyan's contemporary, the Quietist Michael de Molinos, condemned by Innocent XI. in 1697, was scarcely less antinomian than the Ranters.

Hence Mr. Legality and his son Civility, who dwelt in the village named Morality, are pronounced cheats and hypocrites, not as though Bunyan wished to do away with the observance of the Mosaic moral law, or with the decencies of society, or with worldly wisdom either, but because they undertook more than they were able, in undertaking to rid Christian of his burden of sin.⁴⁵ The violation of the commandments is not atoned for by subsequent observance of the same; morality without grace gives no passport to heaven; this is the teaching not of John Bunyan only, but of St. Augustine against the Pelagians, and of the Councils of Trent and the Vatican.

To come now to the essence of justification, as the doctrine thereof is laid down by the Council of Trent (Sess. 6, Cap. 7) against Luther. Justification is "a sanctification and renovation of the inward man by the voluntary acceptance of grace and gifts." "The sole formal cause of justification," *i. e.*, that in which justification precisely consists, "is the justice of God, not that whereby He Himself is just, but that whereby He makes us just." We are described as "receiving justice in ourselves." "The charity of God is spread abroad in the hearts of them that are justified, and inheres in them." Thus for the Council. Turning to Bunyan, in a passage of remarkable beauty in "Grace Abounding" (nn. 255-259), the first thing to observe is the author's proneness to take "spiritual consolation," as the saints call it, for justification, and "spiritual desolation" for an evidence of sin; also his lack of discernment between mortal and venial sin. Being threatened with consumption, and finding in his daily life failings which a Catholic theologian would have told him were not more than venial sins, he says:

Now was I sick in my inward man, my soul was clogged with guilt; now also was my former experience of God's goodness to me quite taken out of my mind, and hid as if it had never been nor seen. . . . Now I sunk and fell in my spirit, and was giving up all for lost; but as I was walking up and down in the house as a man in a most woeful state, that word of God took hold of my heart, *Ye are justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus* (Rom. iii., 24). But oh, what a turn it made upon me! Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream, and listening to this heavenly sentence, I was as if I heard it thus expounded to me: Sinner, thou thinkest that because of thy sins and infirmities I cannot save thy soul; but behold My Son is by Me, and upon Him I look, not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with Him. At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but His looking upon Christ and imputing His benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.

This passage is:

a. Not Lutheran, but Tridentine and Catholic, in so far as it argues the gratuitousness of the justification of a sinner previously not in the state of grace.

b. Lutheran, or anyhow heretical, in so far as it may be taken to

⁴⁵ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 20 sq.

argue any license granted to the sinner to continue clogging his soul with wilful sins and voluntary infirmities; but to all such antinomianism and breach of the commandments Bunyan, as we have seen, was utterly averse, and this is not his meaning.

c. Lutheran, in so far as it argues mere imputation of the merits of Christ, without any inward change wrought by grace in the soul, or any inherent sanctification and justice.

From this Lutheranism Bunyan cannot be altogether cleared. In an elaborate and curious passage,⁴⁶ he distinguishes three righteousnesses in Jesus Christ, His righteousness as God, His righteousness as Man, His righteousness as God and Man together; and shows that with none of these three righteousnesses can Christ part. But he discovers a fourth righteousness in Christ, and this he says Christ gives to us, as the man who has two coats, one for himself and one to spare, gives away the spare coat to the first beggar he meets.

He has therefore another righteousness, which standeth in performance, or obedience to a revealed will; and that is it that He puts upon sinners, and that by which their sins are covered.

The plain truth, here fancifully expressed, is that not by the fact of Christ being God are we redeemed, nor by the fact of His being Man, nor by the fact of His being God and Man together in one Person, but by the fact of His obedience even to the death of the cross. The merit of this obedience, however, Christ does not part with in making it available for us. By His obedience He merited at once His own exaltation, as St. Paul says (Philip ii., 8-9) and our salvation. And this our salvation and sanctification is a gift within us, even while we are on earth, not a something falsely imputed to us, but really belonging solely to Christ and inherent only in Him, which was the heresy and absurdity of Luther.⁴⁷ This revealed truth, of justice and sanctity coming to be inherent in the sinner when his sin is forgiven, Bunyan at times seems to recognize. Thus the interpreter speaks of the soul being "made clean, . . . and consequently fit for the King of Glory to inhabit."⁴⁸ When Christian's burden of sins rolled off his back, a "shining one," or angel, "stript him of his rags and clothed him with change of raiment."⁴⁹ In the house of the Interpreter, Christian's wife and children are

⁴⁶ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., pages 194, 195. ⁴⁷ Even Luther could scarcely have gone so far as to say that the Blessed in heaven were still in their sin, only that God dissembled and regarded not their sinful state, but the face of His Christ. Then inherent sanctity is no impossibility in the justified soul. If found in heaven, why not on earth? The Church on earth is the vestibule of heaven. Luther confounds what we should have been but for Christ's redemption, namely, *still in our sins* (I. Cor. xv., 17), with what we are by Christ's redemption, *holy and blameless in his sight in charity* (Eph. i., 4). ⁴⁸ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 30. ⁴⁹ Ibid, Part I., page 37; cf. 39.

washed in "the bath of sanctification," and come out "sweet and clean," "fair as the moon."

Then he (the Interpreter) called for the seal, wherewith they used to be sealed that were washed in his bath. So the seal was brought, and he set his mark upon them, and the mark was set between their eyes. This seal added greatly to their beauty, for it was an ornament to their faces. It also added to their gravity, and made their countenances more like them of angels. Then said the Interpreter again to the damsel that waited upon these women, Go into the vestry, and fetch out garments for these people. So she went, and fetched out white raiment, and laid it down before him; so he commanded them to put it on. It was fine linen, white and clean. When the women were thus adorned, they seemed to be a terror one to the other, for that they could not see that glory, each one on herself, which they could see in each other. Now therefore they began to esteem each other better than themselves; for you are fairer than I am, said one, and you are more comely than I am, said another.⁵⁰

Altogether, an orthodox Tridentine account of the effects of the Sacrament of Baptism. When therefore we read, on the last page of "Grace Abounding:" "These things" ("seven abominations in my heart, inclinings to unbelief, wanderings and coldness in prayer," and "my corruptions" generally) "convince me of the insufficiency of all inherent righteousness," though the language is Lutheran, yet it is susceptible of a Catholic sense, and so I think was vaguely understood by the writer. Bunyan felt and meant that no justification and clearance of sin, accorded to ordinary mortals in the world, is so inherent and so self-sufficient as to bar all possibility of further falling away, either into mortal sin, or much more readily into those venial sins from which, as the Council of Trent defines, no mortal man is wholly exempt except by quite an extraordinary and unique grace.⁵¹ The justified man still needs to be forgiven again and again for his venial negligences. He needs to be watchful against mortal sin. He needs recurring actual graces; sanctifying grace is not sufficient to enable him to do meritorious acts. And much human frailty and imperfection is mixed up with the meritorious acts which he does. Therefore, while solicitous to do good works, he should never rely or plume himself upon what he has done. His work is sadly imperfect; and whatever good there is in it is more of God's mercy than of his doing (Romans ix., 16). And as no works of a sinner can merit his first justification, so no works of a saint can merit his final perseverance. Both the beginning and the consummation of salvation is God's gratuitous, unmerited gift. This is ordinary Catholic spirituality; and this is what dwelt in the mind and lay deep down in the heart of John Bunyan. All who have read the life of St. Gertrude and use her prayers will be familiar with her favorite devotion of compensating for the many imperfections, which she recognized in her actions, by offering to God the dispositions and affections of the Sacred Heart. In this way, Christ is invited to *cover* the defects of His just ones, not that there is no good

⁵⁰ "Pilgrim's Progress," Part II., page 192. ⁵¹ Sess. 6, can. 23.

in what they do, *e. g.*, in their prayer or in their administration of correction, but there is not a whole and entire good; the prayer is mingled with distractions, and the correction with impatience. The good works of the just are not *filthy rags* (Isai. lxiv., 6), but neither are they of the finest white linen with never a hole or a stain.⁵²

The reader who has followed me will see in the God-fearing tinker of Elstow, an earnest, prayerful Christian, faithful apparently to such light as Heaven vouchsafed to him, and that with a fidelity which should make us ashamed of our easy, jaunty way of going to heaven, and of the little fear that we have of sin and its consequences. Bunyan's words to Cobb, the Clerk of the Peace, are his testimony to all time:

I bless the Lord that my heart is at that point, that if any man can lay anything to my charge, either in doctrine or practice, in this particular, that can be proved error or heresy, I am willing to disown it, even in the very market-place; but if it be truth, then to stand to it to the last drop of my blood. And, Sir, said I, you ought to commend me for so doing. To err and to be a heretic are two things. I am no heretic, because I will not stand refractorily to defend any one thing that is contrary to the Word. Prove anything which I hold to be an error, and I will recant it.⁵³

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THE ANCIENT CATHEDRALS OF SCOTLAND.

PART II.

BEAUTIFUL as were many of the buildings belonging to the old Scottish Cathedrals, none surpassed in dignity and grace the glorious Church of the Holy Trinity at Elgin, which merited the poetic title of "The Lantern of the North."¹ The seat of the Bishop of Moray was transferred from Spynie to Elgin, two miles distant, by Bishop Andrew, in the thirteenth century. A church of considerable size already existed, but many additions were necessary to fit it for its more exalted rank. Whatever may have been done by Bishop Andrew was rendered of no avail by a fire which broke out fifty years after and consumed at least a portion of the edifice. Fresh efforts were made by successive bishops to restore

⁵² This favorite Lutheran text I only find once in Bunyan, "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I., page 127; in the opening lines the reference is rather to Zach. iii., 3, 4. He applies it, as from the context both of Isaias and Zachary any such mention of *rags* ought to be applied, to the works of the yet unjustified sinner. ⁵³ "Relation of Imprisonment," page 419.

¹ The authorities followed in this sketch of Elgin Cathedral are chiefly "The History of Moray and Nairn," by Charles Rampini, LL. D., and Walcott's "Ancient Church of Scotland." Others will be quoted in passing.

the Cathedral to its former splendor between 1270, the date of the fire, and 1390. During that period a Chapter House, porch, choir aisles and probably other additions were made. But in 1390 occurred a serious disaster. Alexander, Earl of Buchan, fourth son of King Robert II. by his first wife, Elizabeth Mure, had been angered by the Bishop of Moray's adverse decision in a suit brought against the Earl by his outraged wife Eupheme, Countess of Ross, and in revenge seized on some of that prelate's lands. The bishop excommunicated him and the infuriated noble, who from his fierce temper and cruel disposition had earned the title of "Wolf of Badenoch," swooped down on Elgin with a lawless horde of "wyld, wykkyd Heland-men,"² and gave the whole city to the flames, including the beautiful Cathedral with all its books and ornaments.

This wanton outrage nearly broke the heart of the aged bishop, Robert Barr, who made a piteous appeal to the King for help. But again, in 1402, a fresh attack was made on the church by Alexander, son of Donald Lord of the Isles. After burning the town and spoiling the goods of the canons, he was met by the bishop, William of Spynie, at the gate of the Cathedral and was so touched by the prelate's bold rebuke that he confessed his fault and begged for forgiveness and eventually received solemn pardon for his offense. Henceforward the beautifying and improving of their Cathedral was the chief object of each succeeding bishop and met with no further rebuff. The buildings were receiving continual additions till 1538, little more than twenty years before the southern churches of Scotland were wrecked, and after Henry VIII. had forced England into schism and was robbing monasteries and churches wholesale. The fact is only one more proof of the staunch nature of Scottish Catholicity.

The completed building was one of much magnificence, as its very ruins testify. Its ground-plan was cruciform and its style of architecture early English and Flamboyant. The western entrance, approached by a flight of broad steps, was a great doorway deeply recessed and having a double portal. It was surmounted by a noble window 27 feet high, filled with rich tracery and flanked on either side by lofty massive towers, at present nearly 90 feet in height, and probably surmounted formerly by wooden spires. The nave was 100 feet in length and consisted of six bays of pointed arches, supported on clustered pillars richly carved. Beyond the aisles, on either side, were six chapels, something like those in Chichester Cathedral. There was a "marriage porch" to the southwest. The short transepts had each one altar towards the east, that of SS. Peter and Paul to the north and that of St. Thomas to the south. At the

² Wyntoun, "*Orygynale Cronykil*," lib. ix., c. xii.

point of junction rose a fine central tower. The choir of four bays had aisles terminating in chapels with altars, and beyond it was a Lady Chapel lighted by eastern windows of unusual beauty, consisting of two rows of five tall lancets surmounted by a wheel window. To the northeast stood a very fine octagonal Chapter House, its vaulted ceiling supported on a central pillar; this latter was most elaborately carved with shields and various emblems of the Passion, and on one side was formed a stone book rest. The legend runs that this pillar was the work of an apprentice, whose master became so jealous that in his fury he murdered his talented pupil; for this reason the Chapter House is often called the "Prentice Aisle." The same story is told of a famous pillar in Roslin Chapel near Edinburgh. The stone carving at Elgin Cathedral was more than usually ornate.

In Catholic times the services of the Cathedral of Moray were carried out with much solemnity. The choir, separated from the nave by a splendid rood-screen of carved wood, richly colored and gilded, contained twenty-two stalls for canons and dignitaries. Every day three Masses were celebrated in choir, at which a goodly number of the clergy were present, clad in their surplices and black choir copes—close-fitting vestments with armholes³—except on great feasts, when all wore silken copes of the color of the day.⁴ These Masses were: (1) The Lady Mass, sung after the Office of Prime in the early morning, (2) the Chapter Mass for the dead, which might be a Low Mass, (3) the Solemn High Mass of the feast, sung daily at 9 o'clock. In 1331 there were seventeen resident chaplains, who received regular stipends for officiating at certain altars. Among these were those of the Holy Rood, Our Lady, St. James and St. Nicholas. In the churchyard, on the south side, was a detached chapel dedicated to St. Thomas, which Thomas Fitz Ralph, Earl of Moray, founded with an endowment for five chaplains. The services of the Cathedral, as the ancient chartulary testifies, were carried out in accordance with the ornate ritual followed in the Church of Salisbury and known as the Sarum Rite; it was common to nearly all the Cathedrals of England and Scotland.⁵

The canons and prebendaries resided in the buildings known as the "College." These formed a spacious oblong about 900 yards in circuit, enclosed in a lofty wall containing four gates. Portions of the Bishop's Palace, Deanery and Manses of the Canons still remain, as well as many other ancient buildings and fragments of the bygone greatness of this now quiet little town.

It is to one of the bishops of this see, David (1299), that the Scots

³ Pearson, "*Sarum Missal*," p. lvi. (note), ⁴ *Ibid*, p. lvi. ⁵ *Vide*, Spalding Club Miscellany, Vol. II., p. 366.

College in Paris owes its foundation. His successor continued and completed the work. Several other of the prelates of Moray figure in history as men of note. Bishop Winchester (1437-1458) was chaplain to King James II. and was sent as envoy to England. Bishop James Stewart (1459-1461) was Lord Treasurer; Bishop Tulloch (1477-82) was Keeper of the Privy Seal; Bishop Hepburn (1516-24) was Lord Treasurer.

The Cathedral of Moray escaped the molestation of "reformers;" the last Catholic bishop held possession of his castle at Spynie, and when he died, in 1573, was buried in the choir of Elgin.⁶ The beginning of the ruin of the beautiful building was in 1568, when the Privy Council ordered the lead to be stripped from the roof and sold for the support of the army.⁷ When this had been accomplished the elements at once commenced the work of destruction. Yet, in spite of the state of the Cathedral, Mass was offered in it by Father Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Huntly, in 1594. The Catholic nobles had defeated the Protestant forces under Argyll at Glenlivet a few months before, and the zealous priest on this occasion endeavored by his powerful exhortations to sustain the courage of the Catholic party and persuade them to continue their resistance; but recent reverses had chilled their ardor and they fled to the continent for safety.⁸ This was the last Mass ever celebrated in Elgin Cathedral.

In 1637, "upon the 4th of December, on the night, there arose an high wind, which blew down the couples (*i. e.*, beams or rafters) standing on the college (*i. e.*, collegiate) Kirk of Elgin, whilk had endured many winds before, and never fell till now."⁹ Thus does an old seventeenth century writer chronicle the first disaster following on the stripping-off of the lead seventy years before. It would seem, from his way of putting it, that the building stood deserted, cared for by none. Yet we know that such was not the case, for the Records of the Presbytery tell how even as late as 1640, Catholics were wont to steal into the sacred precincts to pray before the traces of the holy pictures which still remained in some part of the building.¹⁰ It was, doubtless, this fact that urged some of the more zealous Protestants to the act of iconoclastic zeal related by the writer already quoted. His account runs thus: "Monday the 28th of December (1640), Mr. Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, accompanied with the young laird of Innes, the laird of Brodie and some others, without authority brake down the timber partition-wall dividing the Kirk of Elgin frae the quire (this was evidently the rood-screen), whilk had stood ever since the reformation, near seven score

⁶ Keith, "Scottish Bishops" (ed. Russel), p. 150. ⁷ Shaw, "Hist. of Province of Moray," Vol. III., p. 285. ⁸ Fraser-Tytler, "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. IV. (ed. 1864), p. 231. ⁹ Spalding, "Hist. of Troubles in Scot.," p. 45. ¹⁰ Shaw, "Hist. of Prov. Moray," Vol. III., p. 285.

years or above. On the west side was painted in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This piece was so excellently done, that the colours never faded, but kept haill (whole) and sound as at the beginning, notwithstanding this college or channery-kirk wanted the roof since the reformation, and no haill windows therein to save the same from storm, snow, sleet or wet, whilk myself saw; and marvelous to consider! on the other side of this wall, towards the east, was drawn the day of judgment; but all is thrown to the ground. It was said their minister caused to bring home to his house the timber thereof, and burn the samen for serving his kitchen and other uses; but each night the fire went out wherein it was burnt, and could not be kept in to kindle the morning fire, as use is! Whereat the servants marvelled; and thereupon the minister left off and forbore to bring in or burn any more of that timber in his house."¹¹

Further havoc was wrought by Cromwell's soldiers between 1650 and 1660; these worthies mutilated the carvings, especially the magnificent west window, and destroyed the figures of angels and saints which yet remained undisturbed. In 1711, on Easter Sunday, the central tower fell with a crash, burying nave and transepts in its ruins. It had probably been undermined by the removal of stones for their own use by masons of the town at various times. Luckily no one was injured by this catastrophe, although children and others had been previously walking about. For more than a century after that the place was a mere quarry for all who chose to carry off the stone, and the churchyard became a receptacle for rubbish.

In 1824 a certain John Shanks, described as "an idle gossiping creature," was made custodian of the ruins. "He was a lank, spider-like being, with a quiet enthusiasm in his manner,"¹² and made the clearing of the ruins the work of his life. With his own hands he removed some thousands of cubic feet of earth, bringing to light the south porch, of which there had previously been no record, as well as the steps leading to the western entrance, the foundations of the pillars and many other portions, long buried under heaps of *debris*.¹³ The neighboring farmers, hearing of his praiseworthy efforts, lent horses and carts to help him. The result of his untiring labor was the exposing to view of the whole ground-plan of the Cathedral, but the continuous exertion wore out the strength of the zealous custodian, who was an elderly man when he undertook the work. "The rubbish made an auld man of me," he said to Lord Cockburn after fourteen years of labor. He died aged 83, in 1841. Lord Cockburn wrote his epitaph in language which the authority who quotes

¹¹ Spalding, "Hist. of the Troubles," pp. 223. 4. ¹² Billings, "Antiquities of Scot.," Vol. II. ¹³ "New Stat. Acct. of Scot.," Vol. XIII., Elgin, p. 7.

it styles "not a whit too strong." The stone upon which it is engraved has been built into the boundary wall of the Cathedral precincts. The epitaph concludes as follows: "For seventeen years he was the Keeper and the Shower of this Cathedral, and while not even the Crown was doing anything for its preservation, he with his own hands cleared it of many thousand cubic yards of rubbish, disclosing the bases of its pillars, collecting the carved fragments, and introducing some order and propriety. Whoso reverences the Cathedral will respect the memory of this man."¹⁴ No visitor who sees the admirable care with which the venerable ruins are now guarded and preserved can fail to endorse the eulogium. It was the interest excited in the discoveries made by the worthy custodian that led to a true appreciation of the picturesque remains.

A fairly complete idea of the original church may be gained by a careful examination of the portions which still exist. The western towers are still about 85 feet high and can be ascended by the original staircase. The greater part of the choir with its south aisle and the Lady Chapel are standing; they are quite roofless, but the tracery in some of the windows is almost perfect. A portion of the south transept with its altar is still in good preservation. The most entire of all the buildings is the beautiful Chapter House, which is the only part retaining a roof. Attached to it is a small cloister containing a Lavatory. It was here that a soldier's orphan child was cradled by a poverty stricken mother in 1748. The boy grew up, entered the army, acquired promotion and considerable wealth, and after living several years in his native town died in London in 1824, leaving £70,000 (\$350,000) to build and endow the "Elgin Institution for the education of youth and support of old age"—a foundation whose charities are a boon to the town.

Besides the slab of blue marble marking the burial place of Bishop Andrew, the original founder of the church, many other interesting monuments are to be seen. One is that of Bishop Innes (1414), another that of the Duke of Albany, beheaded in 1425 for rebellion against James I.; the first Earl of Huntly (1470), and Bishop Winchester (1458) have also tombs here; the latter is under an arch which still bears traces of frescoed angels in red outlines. It was here that Duncan, immortalized by Shakespeare in "Macbeth," was laid to rest; by the generosity of King Alexander II., one of Duncan's descendants, a chaplaincy was founded in Elgin Cathedral to provide Masses in perpetuity for the repose of his soul.¹⁵

The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity at Brechin, in Forfarshire, was probably commenced when the see was founded by King David I.,

¹⁴ Rampini, "Moray and Nairn," p. 111. ¹⁵ Robertson, "Scotland Under Her Early Kings," Vol. I., p. 116.

in 1150,¹⁰ and was added to at various periods of its history. At the time of its greatest glory, just before the Reformation, it consisted of a cruciform building measuring nearly 200 feet in entire length. Its nave of five bays was in later pointed style of architecture, the arches being upheld on octagonal and clustered columns. The choir was about 84 feet long and had no aisles. This portion, together with the transepts, was in pure early English style of pointed architecture. The choir contained stalls for the twelve canons who comprised the chapter and for the assistant clergy. The high altar was at the eastern end of the choir. In other parts of the church were altars to St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Ninian, St. Christopher, St. Catherine and others besides those, found in every mediæval church of importance, to the Holy Cross and Our Blessed Lady.

Exteriorly, as the portions still remaining show, this Cathedral did not possess the imposing appearance belonging to some of the others. Its western gable is decorated with what architects call "corbie" (or crow) steps, the stones being fashioned like steps leading to the apex. The west window, richly decorated in the style known as flamboyant, surmounts the noble carved arch of the doorway. The approach is rather spoiled by the great square tower which juts out aggressively at the northwest side, cutting into the western wall close to the head-mouldings of the door and window as though it had been added as an afterthought. This tower was built by Bishop Patrick (1351-73); it has narrow windows at the front and sides up to the height of the church, and above these, under the battlemented gallery at the top, are large windows—one in each face—with early English tracery. An octagonal spire rises from the tower; the entire height is 128 feet. Attached to the southwest angle of the church, though originally built entirely apart from any other building, is the famous "round tower" of Brechin, whose meaning and use have puzzled many antiquarians. It is 85 feet high and about 20 feet in diameter and tapers somewhat towards the top, which is surmounted by a short octagonal cap having dormer windows on four of its sides. The tower is built of a reddish gray sandstone; it contains two square window-openings at different heights, one facing south and the other east, and under the cap are four more of such small windows facing the cardinal points; besides these it has no other lights. A doorway, whose sill is now six feet above the level, is in a semi-circular arch, surmounted by a defaced crucifix; a small statue stands on either side, about half-way up the arch. This round tower is thought to have been built by Irish masons in

¹⁰ "The Registrum Episc. Brech.," edited by Cosmo Innes, is the chief source of information made use of. Billings, "Antiquities of Scotland," and Walcott's "Ancient Church of Scotland" have supplied some details.

the eleventh century.¹⁷ In Catholic times two bells hung in it; they were transferred in the last century to the square tower on the other side of the church.¹⁸

Few historical events of importance are connected with Brechin Cathedral, though it was in the castle hard by that Baliol, "the mere shadow of a King,"¹⁹ resigned his kingdom to Edward I., who claimed the authority of over-lord. The unfortunate monarch in presence of the Bishop of Durham and Barons of England was stripped of royal robes, crown and sceptre and forced, "standing as a criminal, with a white rod in his hand, to perform a humiliating feudal penance."²⁰ A few of the bishops of this see filled high offices; thus, Patrick de Locrys was Lord Chancellor in 1372 and John de Crannoch held that office in 1436. The latter was employed on an embassy to France for James I. and also accompanied that monarch's daughter, the Princess Margaret, to her marriage with the Dauphin.²¹ It was probably on returning from this journey that he made a vow when on the sea to give two silver candlesticks to his Cathedral upon his safe return. This vow he fulfilled by delivering six silver cups for the making of the same to John Lyall, the Treasurer of the church, on April 14, 1434, as the Register testifies.²² Bishop George Schoriswod was Chancellor of Scotland in 1458.

The last prelate who actually held the see previous to the Reformation was John Hepburn, who died in 1558. Donald Campbell, abbot of Cupar, youngest son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyle, was nominated to Brechin by Queen Mary, but failed to receive Papal confirmation, and never assumed the episcopal title. He is said to have been in favor of the Reformation movement,²³ and as he took part without protest in the convention of 1560 which established Protestantism, the charge seems justified. He had been made Lord Privy Seal in 1554. On his death in 1562, John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, a zealous Catholic, was nominated to the see by Queen Mary, whose marriage with Lord Darnley he solemnized. He died in 1566 and was the last of the Catholic Bishops of Brechin.

There is no record of any wilful destruction of the Cathedral by the reforming party. The revenues of the see were granted in 1566 to Alexander Campbell, of the family of Argyle, who was a mere boy at the time. He alienated so much of the property that scarcely the "moderate competency for a minister"²⁴ was left at his death, in

¹⁷ An interesting notice of this tower is to be found in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Vol. IV., p. 188., from which the above facts have been taken. ¹⁸ "New Statist. Acct. of Scot.," Forfarshire, p. 133. ¹⁹ Fraser-Tytler, "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. I. (ed. 1864), p. 46. ²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Fraser-Tytler, "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. II. (ed. 1864), p. 85. ²² "Regia. Episc. Brechin.," p. 60. ²³ Rogers, "Rental Book of Cupar Abbey," Grampian Club, p. li., pref. ²⁴ Keith, "Scottish Bishops" (ed. Russell), p. 166.

1606. From this we may conclude that neglect rather than violence was the cause of the decay of a large portion of the Cathedral buildings. It would seem that Brechin during this period was scarcely a desirable place of resort. A contemporary chronicler says that in 1571 there was apprehended "one that keepit ane hostelry at Brechin, who before, at divers times, had murdered sundry that came to lodge with him, the wife being also as busy as the man with a mell (mallet), to fell their guests sleeping in their beds."²⁵ Truly, a gruesome hostelry!

The Cathedral seems to have been made use of for Protestant worship from the period of the change in religion. In 1637 the so-called bishop, Walter Whitford, like some other Protestant prelates and ministers, resolved to adopt the service-book drawn up for Scotland by Charles I. and Archbishop Laud. He seems to have had little opposition from his people at first, although the minister refused to read the formula and the bishop was obliged to provide a substitute. But on a certain Sunday in November he met with a more hostile reception. The lower orders looked upon any "form of worship" as akin to Popery, and had probably chafed under the infliction for a time, not daring to oppose. On this particular Sunday Bishop Whitford seems to have suspected a rising, for, according to a chronicler, he, "when other feeble cowards couched, went to the pulpit with his pistols, his servants, and as the report goes, his wife with weapons. He entered early, when there were few people. He closed the doors and read his service. But when he was done he could scarce get to his house—all flocked about him; and had he not fled he might have been killed. Since, he durst never try that play over again."²⁶ Indeed he had eventually to leave the kingdom and content himself with the slender revenues of an English country parish.

Brechin Cathedral has seen many changes in its time, but none so radical as the "restoration" of the fabric carried out between 1805 and 1807. With a view to increasing the sitting accommodation, the church was subjected to the most barbarous deformation possible. The outer walls of the aisles were built considerably higher and fitted with common sash windows, and in the space thus contrived were placed deep galleries running round four sides of the building—for the chancel arch was blocked up. Besides these alterations the very bases and capitals of the pillars were cut away and some of the arches defaced. To complete the "improvements," as they were called, a flat plaster ceiling was made across the whole building, cutting off the upper part of some of the windows with their fine tracery and

²⁵ Bannatyne's, "Journal," Chambers' Domes. Annals, Vol. I., p. 78. ²⁶ Baillie, "Letters and Journals," I. 41. Quoted by Burton, "Hist. Scot.," Vol. VI., p. 450.

leaving only the plain stone mullions visible. In this way a beautiful Gothic building was transformed into a hideous meeting-house, crammed with pews and galleries and with a pulpit in the centre. It was a consistent carrying out of Protestant principles to remove all trace of altar and sanctuary and give prominence to preaching. It is a pleasing sign of the change that has come over Scottish Presbyterianism during the last half century that a vigorous movement was set on foot some four years ago towards the restoration of the venerable pile. One difficulty in the way had always been the insufficiency of church accommodation should the disfiguring galleries—the cause of all the deformation—be removed. Fortunately a former minister bequeathed money for the building of a new church in the town, and thus the path was clear towards the restoration of the Cathedral on artistic lines. The work begun in 1900 is now completed. The walls which had been raised in 1807 have been pulled down, the aisles rebuilt and all the interior excrescences cleared away. The choir has been again thrown into the church, after being renovated and roofed, and a new north aisle has been added. The Cathedral, thanks to the generosity and good taste of its present owners, has been restored as far as possible in outward semblance to its original grace and dignity of architecture and form.²⁷

The See of Dunblane, Perthshire, was founded by King David I.²⁸ about the year 1140 by reviving the ancient bishopric of Strathern.²⁹ A Columban monastery had been formerly established there by St. Blane, a saint of Bute, who had preached the Gospel in that part of Perthshire—hence the title.³⁰ The records of the see have been lost, and some portions of its early history are buried in obscurity. The first bishop to whom we owe the beginnings of the fine Cathedral whose remains are still to be seen was Bishop Clement, who ruled the see in 1233. He was a Dominican friar, of foreign origin, renowned for his learning, and is said to have received the habit of his order from St. Dominic himself.³¹ At the time of his appointment to Dunblane the diocese was in so wretched a plight that he made a journey to Rome to lay the case before the Holy See. The revenues were in the hands of seculars; for the see, until restored by King David, had been vacant for more than a century, and no bishop had as yet succeeded in regaining his full rights. The church was ruined and desolate; its revenues were barely sufficient to support the bishop for half a year; there were no canons—merely a simple priest to say Mass thrice a week in the roofless church.³² Pope Gregory IX., in

²⁷ For the particulars regarding the restoration, the writer is indebted to information courteously supplied by the present parish minister of Brechin, the Rev. W. W. Coats, B. D. ²⁸ Laing, "Historians of Scot.," Vol. IX., p. 246. ²⁹ Robertson, "Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals," p. 49. ³⁰ Skene, "Celtic Scotland," Vol. II., 403. ³¹ Robertson, "Scott. Abbeys," loc. cit. ³² Theiner, "Monumenta Historica," p. 35. Fordun, "Scotichronicon," lib. x., cap. xi.

answer to Bishop Clement's appeal, directed the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld to raise funds from the various parishes of the diocese to place matters on a proper footing.³³ So energetic was Clement in the work of building his Cathedral and reconstructing his bishopric, that during his twenty-five years of rule he was able to give to Dunblane "a stately sanctuary, enriched with lands and possessions, served by canons and pretendaries."³⁴

The church, when completed, consisted of an aisleless choir measuring 80 feet in length and 30 in width, and a nave 130 feet long. There were no transepts; a square tower, rising to the height of 128 feet, stood on the south side of the church in the place which a south transept would have occupied. This tower, as is evident at the present day, was anterior to Bishop Clement; its lower stories are Norman in style and its upper stages of later work. It is probably the only remaining portion of King David's early church. The severe Early English choir was also built before the restoration of Bishop Clement. To that prelate we owe the fine nave of eight bays in pointed style. Instead of a triforium, a passage was constructed in the thickness of the wall, level with the clerestory windows, which were adorned with double arches and tracery so that the passage led between the two arches. These windows were remarkable for their beautiful tracery. The west gable had three very long and narrow windows placed close together, and these also had double tracery with a passage between. Over them was a small "vesica"-shaped window surrounded on the outside by a carved fringe of bay-leaf ornaments arranged in zigzag fashion, their points touching. This window, which may still be seen, has received high praise, as a feature of singular beauty, from no less an authority than the late Mr. Ruskin. In a lecture delivered at Edinburgh he thus alluded to it: "Do you recollect the west window of your own Dunblane Abbey?"³⁵ It is acknowledged to be beautiful by the most careless observer. And why beautiful? Simply because in its great contours it has the form of a forest leaf, and because in its decoration it has used nothing but forest leaves. He was no common man who designed that Cathedral of Dunblane. I know nothing so perfect in its simplicity, and so beautiful, so far as it reaches, in all the Gothic with which I am acquainted. And just in proportion to his power of mind, that man was content to work under Nature's teaching; and instead of putting a merely formal dog-tooth, as everybody else did at the time, he went down to the woody bank of the sweet river beneath the rocks on which he was building, and he took up a few of

³³ Theiner, *loc. cit.* ³⁴ Fordun, *l. c.* ³⁵ Dunblane was never an abbey except when the Columban monks were established there. It may be this connection that the lecturer had in mind at the time.

the fallen leaves that lay by it, and he set them in his arch, side by side forever."³⁶

The Cathedral possessed at least eight altars. These bore the dedications of Holy Trinity, Our Lady, St. Michael, St. Blaise, St. Nicholas, St. Stephen and St. Blane, and in addition there was the High Altar. Several of these altars had annual revenues for services and sustentation. Thus the High Altar was endowed by Archdeacon Newton, early in the sixteenth century, to secure a daily Mass there. Our Lady's Altar, also, as well as St. Stephen's and St. Blane's, had fixed revenues. That of St. Nicholas was endowed in 1509 by Dean Walter Drummond, "for the support of one chaplain to pray daily for the safety of the souls of the King,"³⁷ the Queen, Prince Arthur, John, Lord Drummond (brother of the donor) and Elizabeth, the wife of the said John, and the late John Drummond, Dean of Dunblane."³⁸ There seems to have been also an altar and chaplain of St. Fillan³⁹ in the Cathedral.

The chapter consisted of a dean and some fifteen canons and prebendaries; amongst them, by virtue of their respective offices, were the Abbots of Arbroath and Cambuskenneth, while the Abbot of Inchaffray held the office of preceptor, equivalent to that of an English Cathedral provost.⁴⁰ In 1492, Pope Innocent VIII. raised Glasgow to archiepiscopal rank and made Dunblane, together with Dunkeld, Galloway and Argyle, its suffragan sees.⁴¹ Dunkeld and Dunblane, however, were restored to the province of St. Andrews some few years later.⁴²

The small, remote see was but rarely associated with great historical events. Edward I., in 1303, ordered the lead to be stripped from the roofs of the churches of Perth and Dunblane to provide for the siege of Stirling, but gave particular injunctions that those portions of the roofs that lay over the altars should be left undisturbed. Bishop Maurice, when Abbot of Inchaffray, was present at the battle of Bannockburn, where he acted as confessor to the Bruce and said Mass before the battle.

"Of Inchaфра the abbot of greit fame,
Ouhilk callit wes Mauritius to his name,
Solempnitie that day ane mes sang he,
In sic ane place quhair all the oist mycht se."⁴³

³⁶ "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland" (new ed.), Vol. II., p. 410. ³⁷ This was James IV., who died at Flodden four years later. Prince Arthur died in 1510. ³⁸ The particulars concerning the altars, as well as some other facts of information, have been gathered from an unsigned article in the "Scotsman" of October 15, 1892, entitled "Dunblane and Its Cathedral." ³⁹ Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," p. 203. ⁴⁰ Walcott, p. 203. ⁴¹ Theiner, "Monumenta," p. 505. ⁴² Grub, "Ecc. Hist. of Scot.," Vol. I., p. 388. ⁴³ "Buik of the Cronicles of Scotland," Rolls Series, Vol. III., p. 229. It may be as well to subjoin a version in modern English spelling:

"Of Inchaffray the abbot of great fame,
Who called was Mauritius to his name,
Solemnly that day a Mass sang he,
In such a place where all the host might see."

It was on this occasion that the relic of the arm of St. Fillan, which the abbot had inadvertently left behind at his abbey, was miraculously brought (as the old historian relates) to fill the empty reliquary. The circumstance was regarded as a presage of coming victory.⁴⁴ Bishop Michael Ochiltree, whose effigy is shown in the nave, adorned his Cathedral with many gifts and built Knaig Bridge and a church at Muthill. He crowned James II. at Holyrood in 1437. Bishop James Chisholm (1487) was one of James III.'s chaplains. The last Catholic bishop, William Chisholm, was afterwards raised to the See of Vaison, in France, and became a Carthusian monk at Grenoble before his death.⁴⁵ The Chartulary of Dunblane is said to have been carried abroad at the Reformation and has been lost sight of, consequently the information to be gained concerning the history of the Cathedral is but meagre.⁴⁶

The Bishop of Dunblane, being a noted opponent of the Reformation, was certain to bring upon himself the vengeance of the Protestant party. Together with other prelates of like opinions he was deprived by the Parliament of August, 1560, of all right to tithes on lands leased out during the previous two years.⁴⁷ No authentic record remains of the actual demolition of the Cathedral, but as Dunkeld was systematically ruined there is every reason to suppose that Dunblane, in the same county, and only about twenty miles distant, met with a similar fate. At any rate, the choir was the only portion fit for use as a parish church after the Reformation; the nave was roofless and its very beams had been broken up for firewood when, in 1588, the King had to be petitioned to save the building from utter destruction.

In 1633 Archbishop Laud, when in Scotland, passed by the ruined Cathedral and was forced, in spite of its forlorn state, to pronounce it "a goodly church." A bystander remarked: "Yes, my Lord, this was a brave kirk before the Reformation." "What, fellow!" cried the prelate, "*Deformation*, not *Reformation*!"⁴⁸ It was a startling admission from a Protestant Archbishop.

The choir, patched up in some form or other, continued to be used for Presbyterian worship till the year 1872. At that period it underwent a complete restoration at the cost of £2,000 (\$10,000). The beautiful carved stalls of fifteenth century work which had previously formed part of the fittings were placed in the chancel and the building was renovated and decorated in many ways. The work of restoration did not stop there, but was continued for three years until the nave also was put into a state of complete repair. The cost of

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 227. ⁴⁵ Keith, "Scottish Bishops," p. 180. ⁴⁶ Grub, "Ecl. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 347 (note). ⁴⁷ The above particulars of history are taken from Walcott's "Ancient Church of Scot.," p. 204. ⁴⁸ Grub, "Ecl. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 87.

the whole work, amounting to some £26,000 (\$130,000), was defrayed by private generosity alone. The handsome building, though necessarily devoid of much that added to its beauty and interest in Catholic days, nevertheless affords some idea of what it must have been in its glory.

Many interesting monuments have been preserved. Among them are effigies of Bishop Finlay Dermoch (1419), the builder of the bridge over the Allan, and of Malise Earl of Strathearne and his Countess. Previous to repairs undertaken in 1817, three slabs of plain blue marble marked the resting place of three daughters of John, Lord Drummond. They were graves to which much interest was attached by reason of the sad fate of the unfortunate ladies whose bodies lay there. Eupheme, Lady Fleming, and Margaret and Sibylla Drummond were poisoned in 1501 by means of a meal of which they all partook, and were buried together in Dunblane Cathedral. The reason for the crime and its perpetrators have never been satisfactorily ascertained. Margaret, who was the mistress of James IV., is thought by some to have been privately married to the King and to have fallen a victim to the jealousy of certain nobles who feared the exaltation of the family of Drummond by a public acknowledgment of the marriage. The matter, however, cannot be proved.

Dunblane, in these days, is a place of little consequence. In a work published half a century ago it is thus described: "In the broad valley which separates the Grampian mountains from the chain of the Ochils, southward by a few miles of the green ramparts of Ardoch, where the Romans have left unperishing memorials of their far-reaching energy and enterprise, there lies a pleasant, sequestered, peaceful village, holding, by courtesy, the title of a cathedral city."⁴⁹ Since that time there have been some few changes; the train now rushes the traveler through the pleasant scenery, and the station stands under the very eminence crowned by the gray tower of the Cathedral. Yet the place has gained very little by such changes; the centre of its life has long departed, and like the renovated church, which was the cause of such greatness as the little town could once boast of, Dunblane is but a helpless witness of what Scotland lost when she renounced the Catholic faith.

The See of Ross was one of those founded by King David I.; its existence dates from about the year 1128. The first Cathedral was built at Rosemarkie on the western shore of the Moray Firth. It stood on the site of an ancient church raised by the Irish St. Boniface or Kiritinus, who evangelized the district in the eighth century. A new Cathedral was erected about the beginning of the fourteenth

⁴⁹ Billings, "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland," Vol. II.

century at a spot then known as Chanonry, situated about a mile from Rosemarkie on the other side of the promontory called Chanonry Point. The two little burghs were united by James II. in 1444 into one town under the name of Fortrose.⁵⁰

The later Cathedral, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Boniface, was a small building of rich red sandstone and is considered to have been of remarkable beauty. "The style," says a competent authority, "is the purest and most elaborate Middle Pointed; and the whole church, though probably not 120 feet long, must have been an architectural gem of the very first description. The exquisite beauty of the mouldings shows that in whatever other respect these remote parts of Scotland were barbarous, in ecclesiology, at least, they were on a par with any other branch of the mediæval church."⁵¹ The building consisted of a nave 30 feet wide, of four bays, with aisles 14 feet wide, a choir with aisles, an eastern Lady Chapel, a vaulted Chapter House to the northeast and a western tower. There were small transepts and a turret over the rood-loft. The great east window was a particularly fine one of five lights.

An amusing local legend relates that the Moray fairies, envious of the splendid Cathedral at Fortrose, constructed a road across the Firth and carried the church bodily to Elgin, translating the Elgin Cathedral to Fortrose. When daylight surprised them at their work the "little people" had succeeded in destroying the road with the exception of a portion near the shore on either side. These portions are now known as Chanonry Point, near Fortrose, and Ardersier, the promontory near Fort George, on the Moray side. This is the Morayshire edition of the legend, but that current in Ross-shire says that the fairies were constructing the road at night when a Highlander, passing by, wished the work "God speed," and thus broke the charm before the fairy workmen had succeeded in accomplishing more than is now seen in the two points referred to. The variety in the tradition illustrates the jealousy of the people for the renown of their particular Cathedrals; Ross claiming for theirs the title of the more beautiful building and Moray declaring that in any case it had been transferred to them.⁵²

The Chapter of the Cathedral of Ross consisted of a Dean and six other dignitaries, with twelve canons and prebendaries and several vicars and chaplains. The residences of Bishop and Chapter, which gave the name of Chanonry to the neighborhood of the Cathedral and the small town which surrounded it, seem to have been worthy of the beautiful church. The last Catholic bishop of the see thus

⁵⁰ The authorities followed with regard to this cathedral are Walcott's "*Ancient Church of Scotland*" and "*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*" (Bannatyne Club), Vol. II., Pt. II. (Rosemarkie). ⁵¹ Neale, quoted by Robertson, "*Scottish Abbeyes and Cathedrals*," p. 74. ⁵² *Vide*, "*Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot.*," Rosemarkie.

refers to them: "The name of the Toune situat vpon the syd of the firth, is named the Chanrie, quhair (is) the Bischopes Palice, nocht far distant frome the Channounis houses, in beutie, and magnificence, Inferiour to verie few with us."⁵³

Many of the lands belonging to the Cathedral had been given for the benefit of the chaplains in common; others were endowments for particular altars. Thus in 1451 there is record of certain charters granted to the Chapel of St. Nicholas. In 1512, King James IV. renewed a grant of lands for payment of the services of a perpetual chaplain in the church; in 1529, James V. presented Sir William Spens to a chaplaincy founded by his predecessors—probably that referred to in the earlier document—and such presentations were made by the same King and by Queen Mary after him, as often as the benefice fell vacant. A chaplaincy of St. Lawrence and another of St. Boniface are alluded to in various deeds and many others existed bearing the names of the lands which furnished their revenues; thus there were the chaplaincies of Alnes (three in number), Obstull, Drummond, Navity, Munloch, Kynnok and the like.

Some of the bishops are renowned in the history of the country. Bishop Elphinstone, founder of Aberdeen University, for example, was occupant of the See of Ross before he was translated to Aberdeen in 1484. Bishop John Fraser had been Abbot of the Cistercian house of Melrose. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1506. Bishop Robert Cairncrosse, formerly Abbot of the famous house of Austin Canons at Holyrood, Edinburgh, was made Bishop of Ross in 1534. He was a chaplain of James V. and became in 1528 Lord Treasurer of the kingdom. On the death of the King he was made one of the Lords of the Council to the Governor, the Earl of Arran. Bishop Henry Sinclair had been in early life a great favorite with James V. He was a learned Canonist and became Vice President of the College of Justice. But the most celebrated of all the bishops of this see was, undoubtedly, John Leslie. He had been educated at Aberdeen and Paris; in the latter university he took his doctorate. In 1560, when official of Aberdeen, he was chosen by the Lords of the Congregation to discuss points of faith with John Knox at Edinburgh; nothing was settled by the discussion, but as Leslie was detained in Edinburgh and prohibited from preaching it would seem that the Protestant party were in fear of his powers. When Queen Mary was invited to return home from France, Leslie was sent by the Catholic party to place their loyal services at the Queen's disposal. He accompanied Mary to Scotland, and this was the commencement of a life-long attachment to his sovereign which was to

⁵³ Leslie, "Hist. of Scot.," from the M. S. translation from the Latin made by Fr. James Dalrymple, O. S. B., of the Scots Monastery of Ratisbon in 1596, and preserved at Fort Augustus Abbey.

make him famous in the history of his time. He was made Bishop of Ross in 1565 and continued to be the Queen's confidential agent till her untimely end. Imprisoned in 1572 by Elizabeth of England for his share in striving to bring about a marriage between the Queen of the Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, he was banished the realm and visited the courts of France, Spain and Germany to ask help for his royal mistress, but without success. He went to Rome in 1575 and afterwards was named Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Rouen, though he never enjoyed the dignity. The news of his Queen's tragic end caused him such grief that he gave up the world and retired to a monastery of Austin Canons at Brussels, where he died in 1596. He left behind him many valuable writings.⁵⁴

It would seem that the Cathedral buildings were long left unmolested during the troublous times of the Reformation period. Bishop Leslie obtained the see after the disastrous events in the southern parts of the country and seems to have been able to preserve his own with singular ability. Under James VI., however, the Cathedral of Ross had to suffer the fate of other churches of the same nature. In 1572, while the rightful bishop was in prison in England, William, Lord Ruthven, received a grant of "the haill leid quhairwith the cathedrall kirk of Ros wes theikit alsweill principal kirk as queir and ilis thair of,"⁵⁵ to sell or otherwise dispose of at his pleasure. The temporalities were bestowed upon Lord Methuen in 1585. The stonework, doubtless much decayed in places by the weather, after being left roofless for nearly a century, was sacrilegiously carried off by Cromwell to build a fort in Inverness in 1653. In this way the whole of the Bishop's Palace and the greater part of the church were demolished. The only remains now to be seen are a portion of the south aisles of nave and choir and the detached chapter house. A soft toned bell, carried off by Cromwell, now hangs in the old square tower of Inverness High Church. It is said to have been the "Angelus" Bell. Several sepulchral monuments are still to be seen among the ruins. A canopied tomb of a lady, said to have been a Countess of Ross, who died in 1380, is pronounced by Neale, "one of the most beautiful monuments I ever saw."⁵⁶ The body of a bishop, supposed to have been buried more than 300 years, was found in one of the tombs in 1797 and is mentioned in the *London Chronicle* of October 12 in that year. In 1854, the same tomb, or that of another bishop was accidentally opened and an entire skeleton, swathed in beautiful silk and gold damask and clothed in silken

⁵⁴ These particulars of Bishop Leslie's life are taken from "Historical Records of the Family of Leslie," Vol. III., p. 402-7. ⁵⁵ Orig. Paroch. Scotiae, p. 572. An English version may be useful to readers unversed in Scottish idiom. "The whole of the lead wherewith the Cathedral Church of Ross was roofed—the nave as well as the choir and aisles thereof."

⁵⁶ Quoted in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. I., p. 283.

robes, was found within it. In 1880, a hoard of 1,100 silver coins of the date of Robert III. (1390-1404) was discovered in the Cathedral precincts; the money had apparently been hidden there for safety during perilous times.⁵⁷

The Cathedral of the Diocese of Orkney, which at least one mediæval historian places next to that of Ross in the sequence of sees, was the Church of St. Magnus, Kirkwall.⁵⁸ It enjoys the distinction of being the only Scottish Cathedral which exists whole and entire in the present day and that, probably, by reason of its isolated situation on the distant island of the Orkneys known as Pomona or Mainland.

It is worthy of note that Kirkwall Cathedral, like that of Glasgow—the only other in Scotland which can claim anything like architectural completeness dating from Catholic times—rose over the body of a popular saint. St. Magnus⁵⁹ was the son of Erlin, the Norwegian Earl of Orkney. His family possessions being seized upon by his cousin Haco in 1116, a contest was imminent. Wishing to avoid bloodshed, Magnus agreed to meet Haco in the neighboring island of Egilshay, so that the dispute might be amicably settled. But Haco treacherously brought with him an armed band and Magnus, after a night spent in prayer and the reception of the sacraments, to prepare for the end which he clearly foresaw, was barbarously slaughtered.⁶⁰ His nephew, Earl Ronald, in fulfilment of a vow, erected a bishop's see at Kirkwall and commenced the Cathedral on his acquisition of the earldom of Orkney, about the year 1138. Magnus had been popularly proclaimed a martyr and received the honors due to one, and it was Ronald's intention to translate his remains from Birsay, where they had been laid, to the new church. The building, however, made such slow progress that the works had to be suspended for want of funds and Ronald did not live to see the completion of his design. The body of the martyr was eventually enshrined at Kirkwall, being removed from Christchurch, Birsay, the former seat of the bishopric, to the new Cathedral. It is possible that this was done during Ronald's lifetime, as some suppose that he succeeded in building a portion of the choir and transept.

In course of time the new sanctuary gradually grew in size and splendor until it reached the noble proportions now to be seen. The church was the work of several successive bishops, assisted by alms

⁵⁷ "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland," Vol. III., p. 55. ⁵⁸ Billings, "Antiquities of Scotland," and Walcott, "Ancient Church of Scotland," are the chief authorities followed in the account of this Cathedral. Other sources are indicated by notes.

⁵⁹ By a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, July 5, 1808, the *cultus* of St. Magnus, together with that of several other Scottish saints, has been declared to have existed *ab immemorabili tempore*. ⁶⁰ Vide Pinkerton's "Lives of Scottish Saints," Vol. II. *Vita Magni Comitiss Orcadum*.

from all the countries of Christendom—for the *cultus* of St. Magnus had become widely spread—and the Cathedral was not really finished till the early part of the sixteenth century.

Like Glasgow Cathedral, Kirkwall also is built on a cruciform ground-plan, but the transepts are longer than those of the former church. Its material is dark red sandstone with ornamentation in yellow stone in certain portions. Seen from the sea it looks almost as large as the whole town, dominating all other buildings by its massive proportions. In reality it is not an extensive church; but its parts are so constructed as to convey to the spectator the impression of its being larger than it actually is. Its total length outside from east to west is 234 feet and its total width 56 feet. The square central tower had once a lofty spire, but it was destroyed by lightning in 1671 and a somewhat squat pyramidal roof has taken its place.

The interior is of striking grandeur. Its vaulted roofs are supported upon twenty-eight massive pillars; those of the nave are grand circular columns, each measuring fifteen feet in circumference, and the arches are semi-circular. The choir is in somewhat later style, though Norman predominates; some of the columns are clustered with carved capitals, but the arches are semi-circular. The east window, dating from about 1511, is of four lights in pointed arches, surmounted by a beautiful rose window; it is thought to have been the contribution to the building of Bishop Edward Stewart. The three tiers of solid Norman arches rising on either side of the nave to the stone roof—for triforium and clerestory are of a like character—give an impression of severe but imposing grandeur. It adds to the perfection of the church that those who carried on the work in its successive periods preserved the character of the original architecture in all the chief portions; they did not, as in so many other instances, continue the building in a style more recently introduced, as though to stamp their own individuality upon what they undertook. Hence, although experts can discover five different styles, to the ordinary observer the church, taken as a whole, seems almost symmetrical—Norman, with few exceptions, predominating.

Kirkwall Cathedral cannot be considered as belonging to the Scottish Church until the fifteenth century; for previous to 1472 the bishops of Orkney were subject to the Archbishop of Drontheim, since the islands belonged to Norway. When James III. espoused Margaret, daughter of Christiern, King of Denmark and Norway, in 1469, the Orkney Islands were pledged to Scotland until the completion of the payment of the dowry bestowed upon the Princess by the marriage contract;⁶¹ as full payment was never made, the islands

⁶¹ Fraser-Tytler, "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. II., chap. iv.

passed permanently under the dominion of the Scottish monarch and Orkney became a suffragan bishopric of St. Andrews. Little is known of the history of the see, the earlier records having perished. Bishop Andrew, in 1486, procured the erection of Kirkwall into a royal burgh with the right of holding courts and having fairs and markets. Bishop Robert Maxwell, in the following century, provided the three fine-toned bells which still hang in the tower, and fitted the choir with stalls. During his bishopric, in 1540,⁶² James V. visited in person all the remoter portions of his dominion, including the Orkney Islands, twelve vessels having been prepared and furnished for the voyage. The King "was gratified on reaching the Orkneys by finding these islands in a state of greater improvement and civilization than he had ventured to expect."⁶³ The bishop, as Leslie informs us, entertained the royal party nobly. "Robert Maxuel," says the quaint translation of Fr. Dalrymple, "than Bischof in thir partes, receiuet the King and al his cumpanie with ane honest table and all sygnes and taiknes (*tokens*) of beneuolence, Honestie and Humanitie."⁶⁴ Bishop Maxwell died in that year, or early in the next, as his successor, Bishop Reid, was recommended to the Pope by James V. in a letter dated April 5, 1541.⁶⁵

Robert Reid, the most distinguished occupant of this see, had been educated at St. Andrews University, and in 1526 was made Commendatory Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Kinloss, in Moray, receiving the abbatial blessing three years later. He was appointed in 1530 Commendator of Beaulieu Priory in Ross-shire, and continued to act as superior of both houses even after his nomination to the See of Orkney. He was a man of more than ordinary ability and filled many important functions of state under James V., who frequently consulted him in important affairs. In his two monasteries he was zealous for learning as well as discipline and employed the learned Ferrarius to instruct the monks in classics. In his episcopal city he founded a school for boys, and left in his will funds towards the establishment of an university in Edinburgh, and though nothing was accomplished towards that end for some years after his time, he is justly regarded as the real founder of that institution. Besides adding some important features to Kirkwall Cathedral, Bishop Reid built a fine tower to the Bishop's Palace, where his statue is still to be seen.⁶⁶ He re-constituted his Cathedral Chapter, since it had become much disorganized and had dwindled to six canons and six chaplains whose status was altogether undefined.

⁶² Walcott, probably following Keith, gives 1536 as the date, but this is impossible. The Treasurer's Accounts for June—Aug., 1540, contain the expenses of the expedition, and Fraser-Tytler in a note to his History (Vol. II., chap. ix.) proves conclusively that it was in that year. ⁶³ Fraser-Tytler, Vol. II., chap. ix. ⁶⁴ Dalrymple's Leslie, *Fort Augustus M. S.* ⁶⁵ Stuart, "Records of the Monastery of Kinloss," pref. p. li. ⁶⁶ "Ordnance Gazetteer of Scot.," Kirkwall.

Under the new arrangement it consisted of seven dignitaries—dean, archdeacon, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, sub-dean and sub-chanter or organist—together with seven other canons, thirteen chaplains and six singing boys.⁶⁷

The Cathedral escaped the wholesale destruction which befell so many ecclesiastical buildings at the unhappy period of the Reformation; the probable reason of this, as before remarked, was its distance from the mainland of Scotland. It was, however, at one time, in danger of demolition from other causes. In 1614 Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, son of an illegitimate son of James V., assumed a kind of independent sovereignty in the island, and when called to account instigated a rebellion which was eventually crushed by the Earl of Caithness. During the struggle the Cathedral, one of the rebel strongholds, was nearly destroyed, and it was only at the earnest entreaty of the Protestant occupant of the see that the Earl of Caithness was induced to spare it.⁶⁸

The revenues, when episcopacy was no longer tolerated in Scotland, having become the property of the crown, it became difficult to provide, from time to time, for the necessary repairs, which in so large a building entailed no inconsiderable expense. Many appeals were made to the government for help, but they appear to have had no result. In 1805 a private benefactor generously provided a small annual sum towards the purpose, and thus it was possible to keep the venerable Cathedral in some sort of repair.⁶⁹ In 1845 the government expended some £3,000 (\$15,000) in restoration of the building. After the Reformation unsightly pews, galleries, screens and the like had been erected for Presbyterian worship; these were cleared away. During the operations the tombs of two of the bishops were discovered—one of them being that of the very first known occupant of the see, Bishop William. Ten years later it was decided that the choir of the Cathedral belonged to the city, and the Town Council and other representatives at once proceeded to undo all that had been done. The pews were restored, the screen reërected between choir and nave and some of the pillars were actually painted yellow. The finely carved structure known as the "Earl's Pew," on the south side of the choir, probably built from some ancient screen or episcopal throne, was removed bodily, and worse than all, the bones of Bishop William, which again came to light during the alterations, were carted off as rubbish!⁷⁰

Since this last "restoration" no further alterations have taken place; the choir, with its unsuitable furniture, still serves the purpose

⁶⁷ The details of this interesting foundation, the last of the kind before the overthrow of religion, may be found in "Hist. of Beaulieu Priory," by E. Chisholm Batten, appendix No. XXV. ⁶⁸ "Ordnance Gazetteer," Kirkwall. ⁶⁹ Billings, "Antiquities of Scot." ⁷⁰ "Ordnance Gazetteer."

of a parish church, and though the people of Kirkwall are proud of their ancient Cathedral, they are inclined to lament the cost necessarily incurred for even the decent preservation of so large a structure.

It is a subject for grateful recognition that through all the centuries the body of the martyr saint of Orkney has reposed undisturbed under the shelter of the glorious building raised to his honor by the devotion of the peoples of Europe. It matters little that the exact spot wherein the sacred treasure was deposited can no longer be identified, it has certainly never been molested. May we not hope that like the treasure it contains and on account of it, the shrine also has been divinely guarded—and that with distinct purpose—from the spoiler's hand. It would seem as though the body of the martyr of Orkney, like that of Glasgow's apostolic bishop, Kentigern, had merited the signal preservation apparent in both Cathedrals; may it presage the restoration of the venerable sanctuaries to the worship for which they were built and the revival within their walls of Catholic rites!

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THE JESUITS AND TYRANNICIDE.

DID THE JESUITS TEACH THE DOCTRINE OF ASSASSINATING TYRANTS?

NAPOLEON, whose searching knowledge of mankind, historic achievements and transcendent genius have not only raised him to the stature of a world's hero, but have given even his casual utterances the impressiveness and authority of oracular truth, perhaps somewhat imperfectly focalizes this latter endowment, when in sententious vigor and philosophic crispness, he tells us that "a calumny once born, cannot be killed." The imperial dictum has the reminiscent familiarity of a decrepit platitude, and with a strange perverseness runs in diametric opposition to a currently accepted truism that truth in spite of all human vicissitudes will, and must prevail. We can hardly picture the mind of the great Emperor so peculiarly constituted, so lacking the elemental intuitions of our common nature, the ripened judgment of the statesman, the innate instincts of the Christian, that he would clothe falsehood in its most pernicious form with the attribute of immortality. Carlyle tells us that the Corsican "has words in him which are like Austerlitz bat-

ties." This is hardly the case here, where we must do violence to the intellect to divest ourselves of a sense of commonplaceness. All the same, he rises to a just and full appreciation of the potency and longevity of calumny. He himself, with the most colossal and puissant enginery ever controlled by human ambition, a ductile substance in his hands, his Promethean proportions looming over the petty royalties like Brobdingnag in the land of Lilliput, disporting himself with crowns and kingdoms with the reckless willfulness of a wayward child tossing about its toys:

Whose game was empire, and whose stakes were thrones,
Whose table earth, whose dice were human bones:

surrounded by the bravest marshals who ever brandished a sword, worshiped by the most fearless veterans who ever braved death; his wish an unwritten law, his beck a stern command, his smile a gracious condescension, his frown an impending calamity—who does not know that he winced, smarted, grew livid with impotent rage under the lash of calumny!

We must not suppose that the march of calumny is therefore an unbroken triumph. Its pathway is not unopposed, its vulnerable parts unassailed, its humiliating defeats infrequent, its utter rout unprecedented. But driven to covert, with every visible avenue of escape hermetically sealed, or crushed to the ground in death's agony, like the elusive animal typifying impersonate cunning, it usually vanishes, in more or less attenuated and scotched condition, only to appear chameleon or phoenix-like in disguise or obscurity, not a whit less active, boastful and mischievous.

Probably in no field of human endeavor, not even excepting that of political life, is this more patent, unscrupulous and universal than in religious controversy. That in the heat of polemic strife Christian charity should be chilled, that with the most savage passions of the heart fiercely ablaze, the canons of social amenity should be trampled under foot, that the yawning gulf separating the followers of a common Redeemer should be hopelessly widened, is a melancholy phenomenon. Yet in view of our inherent human weakness, fallible judgment, vacillating will and divergency of temperament it may be measurably accounted for. That error, misinformation and falsehood, however, should cloak themselves in the mantle of religion, even play the rôle of vindictive justice, and with the flimsiest shreds of evidence and utterly discredited credentials invade the sanctuary of truth itself to poison its wells, obscure its light, stifle its voice, and thus propagate and perpetuate themselves, is a spectacle, certainly not in consonance with even the most primitive ethnic conceptions of rectitude, and absolutely subversive, if not fatal to the peace, security, even existence of Christian, natural morality.

In the world of science a glaring error once detected relegates it to the past; in philosophy a fanciful hypothesis once contraverted, ends its career; in politics a sophistic theory once exploded, seals its own death. But in history, especially ecclesiastical history, the detection, exposure and refutation of a great calumny only seems to endue it with a more vigorous elasticity of life.

Burke claims that "rage and frenzy will pull down more in half an hour than prudence, deliberation and foresight can build up in a hundred years." What he here says of the French Revolution can with equal force be applied to historical calumny. One brutal blow of the sledge will shatter the most divinely inspired masterpiece that ever took form under chisel and mallet; one blazing firebrand will shrivel into an unsightly mass of charred paint the most glowing canvas that ever brush or pallet conjured into flushed life; one insignificant train of explosives will blow to blackened dust the most incomparable architectural creation that ever sprang from the brain of genius. It requires nothing more than to paint the radiant seraph in neutral tints or negative colors to divest him of his celestial glamour. Paint him in revolting, black hues, and no oral or written commentary is needful to interpret the new portraiture. In the same way, with even more enduringly disastrous results, a single unvarnished historian, with the insidious virus of calumny—pervasive as an infection, can inoculate the whole body of historical writing, and give it a momentum and vitality that

"Lends corruption lighter wings to fly"

and sends it through the centuries in exultant malignity.

If any specific illustration of this truth, involving the prophetic insight of Napoleon's axiom were necessary, one in which the insidious efficacy and seemingly deathless vitality of calumny would be fully and conspicuously exhibited, we need but turn our attention to the historical vicissitudes of the Society of Jesus. From its establishment in 1540—six years before Luther's death—down to the present day, when the Reformer's work has run to seed, it has been the concentrated target at which every delirious fanatic and theological corybant has emptied his quiver of poison dipped darts of senseless lampooning, quenchless hatred and corrosive slander. Not an offense known in the darkest annals of criminology, or hatched in the brain of the most decadent pruriency, but has been laid to its door. Volume after volume, with parasitic fecundity swarmed from the printing press until the *Jesuitica* bibliography forms no insignificant part of the standard library or bookseller's catalogue. Who has not read of the poisoned potion of Clement XIV., the divulged confession of Maria Theresia, the *Monita Secreta*, the instigation of the Thirty Years' War, the Massacre of St. Bar-

tholomews, the obligation to commit sin, the lawfulness of assassinating tyrants, the end justifies the means, the immoral theology of the Society, the assassinations of Henry IV., Lincoln and Garfield—nay, even the last screed of inflaming insurrection in the Philippine Islands? From the strident Seckendorf to the anomorphous Pascal, from the historical buccaneering Thompson to the last despatch of yellow tinged journalism—who has not heard some of these charges rung in major and minor key?

On what basis are these charges usually made, on what historic data do they rest? Invariably on the representation of the sworn, deadly enemies of the Jesuits; with no adducible proof that can be traced to a trustworthy source; with a shameless disregard, if not contempt for the most elementary laws of judicial evidence, philosophic reasoning or historic probability. The guiding principle, in the absence of damaging or criminating evidence, seems to be nothing more than a slavishly yielding obedience to Voltaire's battle cry against Christianity, "*l'audace, et encore l'audace, et toujours de l'audace.*" An old English saw tells us that "an ill name is half hanged," and if the campaign of calumniating mud could have extirpated the Society, it would be buried beyond the reach and power of exhumation. However, Cardinal Newman, on whom these tactics were tried, assures us in that meek wisdom of his that "mud is not immortal," and if a stronger argument were needed to prove the verity of his postulate, we have a most illustrious example in the Society of Jesus.

We propose singling out one of these calumnies, which seems to possess a perennial charm to the Protestant controversialist, and which despite denials and refutations, rotates and returns in endlessly lying repetitions—the lawfulness of assassinating tyrants. A more fitting text could not be chosen for this inquiry than the solemn and explicit reiteration of the charge in our leading American periodical,¹ where the writer, the Earl of Portsmouth, acquits himself in the following recondite fashion:

"The Jesuits were watching," the writer is speaking of the Catholic reaction immediately after the Reformation, "the Jesuits were watching with intense alarm the movement among the European sovereigns to embrace for political and popular reasons, heretical opinions. It is not unnatural, therefore, that assassination, which in those days was the speediest means of altering or checking the stream of political events, should be justified, even recommended in the book (*Suarez, De Fide*), the object of which is to place the Papacy upon a supreme pedestal of ascendancy both as a moral and a practical force. . . . The Jesuits were not only inspired with

¹ The *North American Review*, November, 1899, p. 726.

the desire to weaken the authority of liberal minded sovereigns, but, when we remember the very remarkable tenets that are contained in a book which was published at the end of the sixteenth century, by Stephanus Hojeda, who was at the same time Visitor of the Jesuits in the province of Toledo, they seem to have evolved, as the strongest basis for Roman Catholicism, the broader democratic principles. . . . In this book, '*De Rege et Regis Institutione*,' it is argued with great subtlety that a sovereign who belonged to the class of tyrant did not possess any claim to the name of 'King;' nor had he any right, having regard to the fact that he had by his conduct placed himself in opposition to the welfare and well-being of his subjects, to possess either the privileges or the respect which belong to the sovereign."

The history of tyrannicide—the term regicide is misleading, and in the specific case under discussion a misnomer—is one of unwaning interest to the student of political history and moral science. It has been so overspread with factitious accretions, painted in such lurid colors, that its true lineaments have been blurred and its historical bearings distorted. It usually reveals itself in an endeavor to give ethical basis and patriotic sanction to a problem of absorbing, even vital interest to the perpetuity of the State and the inviolability of personal rights. Not only in ages when might was right, and grim feudal despotism at times overawed and crushed all law, natural and divine, but even in the full blaze of modern enlightenment, with the widest scope of liberty in possession of mankind, we see it occasionally lose its speculative character, and with woeful results enter the field of practical solution. The bloodstained trails of the tyrannicide can be traced in the history of every nation, civilized or barbarian, Christian or pagan, ancient or modern. Its justification, not as an abstract principle, but as a deed of the loftiest patriotic grandeur, as an imperious moral duty, as a political necessity, is perpetuated in the legendary myths of primitive peoples, discussed in the Christian schools of law, philosophy and theology, and even in our days, when some tragic national calamity brings the ghastly apparition to our attention, is received with mingled sensations of approval and dissent.

The writer of the article peremptorily brushes aside the past history of tyrannicide. He springs it on us as a brand new thesis, the creation of an individual school of thought, fully developed like Minerva springing from the brain of Jupiter, and casts the full responsibility and its accompanying stigma on the—Jesuits. This method of argumentation is not new nor unexpected. While it is devoid of the charm of novelty, the zest of piquancy, or the claims of originality, it usually is effective. Like the wooden admiral resem-

bling Kit Nubbles always threw Mr. Quilp into a paroxysm of rage, the mere silhouette of a Jesuit will always inspire a certain element with lurking suspicion, intensified awe and palsying horror. It smacks strongly of polemic methods, which still appeal to a distinctive type of the Protestant mind: methods "to gain a short, contemptible and soon fading reward," says Milton, "not to stir the constancy and firmness of any wise man . . . but to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, image-doting rabble." The mythologic dragon's teeth had merely to be sown into the ground to leap up as fully armed warriors; the most flatulent absurdity and blood-chilling crime need only be flung at the Jesuits and it will instantly receive the credence of an indisputable fact.

In looking closer at his attitude, it will be seen at a glance that he is treading unfamiliar ground. By attribution he makes one author state what painstaking care fails to verify; by suppression he skeletonizes another only to make him utter meaningless half truths; he ascribes authorship to a man (Hojeda) whose name never appeared on a title page. Finally, and this is really amazing and points a most telling moral, he does not mention the name of the Jesuit nor the work indissolubly identified with the murder of tyrants, the very storm centre of the controversy, and who has been the innocent occasion of exposing "the Jesuits, and chiefly in France"—we are quoting Bayle, their sworn enemy—"to a thousand bloody reproaches and to very mortifying insults, which are repeated every day and will never be ended; which historians will in passion transcribe one from another."²

It is not the intention to enter into a detailed history of tyrannicide. The question that now begs solution is, did the doctrine originate with the Jesuits? Were they the first to promulgate it even hypothetically? Can their name be associated with even a shadow of truth with one instance of its practical application?

"States," says Aristotle, "decree the most illustrious rewards, not to him who catches a thief, but to him who kills a tyrant."³ This may be said to reflect the Grecian mind. "What crime can be greater than killing not merely a man, but a friend? And yet," asks Cicero, "is he a criminal who kills a tyrant though he should be his friend?"⁴ This crystallizes Roman sentiment. We can readily picture the thunderous applause that greeted the impersonator of Hercules when in a tragedy by Seneca he stirs the pulse of the

"There can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king."

² Bayle's Dictionary. Art. Mariana. 2 Lond. ed., 1737. ³ Politics, L. II., c. 5.
⁴ "De Officiis" iii., 4.

liberty loving Romans by an outburst that comes like a shout from the depths of the great nation's heart:

Garlands of flowers, wreaths of laurels, pæans of triumph, carved statuary, immortal verse was the reward of such heroism. Imperishable fame clusters about the names of Timoleon and Brutus, Hercules and Theseus, Harmodius and Aristogiton. This was the pagan appreciation of tyrannicide.

In the ages of faith, "when those mediæval Pontiffs who had borne aloft the lamp of knowledge . . . who had guided and controlled the march of nations and had been almost worshiped as the representatives of the Almighty;"⁵ "when Europe had formed . . . one family united by the bond of religion under the tutelage of the Papacy;"⁶ when "without the Roman hierarchy Europe would have probably become the prey of despots, the theatre of eternal warfare, or perhaps a Mongolian desert altogether;"⁷ when the Papacy "saved Europe from total barbarism . . . created bonds of connection between the most isolated states . . . was a supreme tribunal" which "prevented and arrested the despotism of Emperors"⁸—during this period despotism and tyranny were counselled and rebuked, restrained and punished by the supreme Spiritual Power. John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, and Jean Petit, in the fifteenth, may have brought it into some prominence, when it formed with Abelard's *Sic et Non* or Peter Lombard's *Sentences* the subject of metaphysical dialectics, or theological web spinning only to find a summary condemnation by the Council of Constance, 1415.⁹

This tribunal, holding in check despotism, smiting tyranny, vindicating justice, was abolished at the Reformation. In sundering Christian unity, the floodgates of rebellion and anarchy were flung open; in casting off the yoke of ecclesiastical authority, that of civil authority was concurrently repudiated, and we find the very foundation of the social and political fabric shaken to its very depths. "The only event of modern times which can be compared to the Reformation is the French Revolution," says Macaulay.¹⁰ Every lover of the Old Faith was an enemy of God; the higher and more influential his position the more heinous his crime. "It was especially the Judaizing turn of early Protestantism," says Hallam, which made it

⁵ Lecky, "History of Rationalism," Vol. I., p. 266. ⁶ Fisher, "History of the Reformation," p. 32. ⁷ Herder, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte," 20 Buch. ⁸ Ancillon, "Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe," Vol. I., pp. 79, 106. ⁹ The following opinion is the one condemned by the Council of Constance, XVI. Session, July 6, 1415: "Every tyrant can and must allowably and meretriciously be killed by any of his vassals or subjects, even by secret machinations or well simulated flattery, without any regard for an administered oath or a previously entered compact, without awaiting the judicial sentence or order of the judge." Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum, nova coll.*, Vol. XXVII., p. 765. ¹⁰ *Miscellanies: Review of Nare's "Memoirs of Burgley,"* p. 173.

seek "for precedents and models in the Old Testament, and delighted to recount how the tribes of Israel had fallen away from Rehoboam, how the Maccabees had repelled the Syrian, how Eglon had been smitten by the dagger of Ehud,"¹¹ that made the new doctrine a covert menace to all authority.

It needs but a cursory study of the Reformation literature to have this truth brought home to us with an evidence as copious as it is overwhelming. Luther, vacillating between prince and peasant, did not hesitate to express himself in language admitting of no ambiguity. The gruff directness and unbridled intensity of his passionate nature stands fully revealed in his reply to the query "whether a tyrant who acts arbitrarily against law and justice can be killed." His answer is: "It is not lawful for a private or ordinary person, who is in no official position or command, to do so even if he can. . . . But if by force he [the tyrant] steals one man's wife, another's daughter, and still another's land, and the citizens unite, no longer able to endure or suffer this oppression and tyranny, they can kill him as they would any other murderer or highwayman."¹² Melancthon, usually more restrained in language and less violent in manner than his mentor, outstrips him in his justification of a tyrant's assassination. With calm composure, not in a heated work of controversy, but in a well digested compendium of moral philosophy, he maintains: "if a tyrant is a usurper, who has not yet seized the government, they who are confederated to legitimate authority can on their own responsibility murder him like a robber."¹³ That he would see his theory an accomplished fact is sadly evident in his letter to Vitus Theodor (1540). "The English tyrant"—he is referring to his fellow reformer Henry VIII.—"has murdered Cromwell. . . . How apposite are not the words of the tragedy: 'a more acceptable offering cannot be sacrificed to God than a tyrant.' May God inspire some hero with the resolution."¹⁴ Zwingli, reputed to be the most temperate and tolerant of the Reformers, does not mince words when he deals with the same subject, which, by the way, he does rather exhaustively. "When by the suffrage and consent of the whole people, or the better part of it," is the Jacobin way he has of putting it, "a tyrant is deposed or put to death, God is the chief leader in that deed."¹⁵ "When Kings rule perfidiously and against the law of God," an allusion and discrimination that needs no comment, "they may, according to the word of God, be deposed. Now that we are so lukewarm in upholding public justice and endure the vices of tyrants to reign nowadays with impunity; justly therefore are we by them trod under foot, and shall

¹¹ "Literature of Europe," Vol. II., p. 135. ¹² Tischreden, Fol. 482, Leipz., 1621; *Sämmtliche Werke*, Vol. XLII., pp. 201, 202, 206, 207. ¹³ Corp. Ref., tom. XVI., p. 105. ¹⁴ *Ibid*, tom. III., p. 1076. ¹⁵ Opera, tom. I., Art. 42.

at length with them be punished. Yet ways are not wanting," he significantly hints at, "by which tyrants may be removed, but there lacks public justice. Beware, ye tyrants," he is addressing the Catholic princes, "for now the Gospel of Jesus Christ spreading far and wide will renew the lives of many to love innocence and justice; which if ye also shall do, ye shall be honored. But if ye shall go on to rage and do violence, ye shall be trampled on by all men."¹⁶ The inferential, if not direct incitement to revolution, even regicide, is here neither obscure nor ambiguous. Calvin, his hands still dripping with the blood of Servetus, lays down the evangelical maxim: "Earthly princes depose themselves when they rise against God; yes, they are unworthy to be numbered among men; rather it behooves us to spit on their heads."¹⁷ The cowardly assassination of the Duke of Guise (1563) was not only approved, but strong evidence seems to point, encouraged, if not inspired by Beza. "Could I, in the heat of so just a war," he writes, "have known a way either by strategy or violent force to put the Duke out of the way . . . I would not excuse the deed."¹⁸ The assassin, Jean Poltrot, was considered a man of such heroic sanctity that his name was enrolled in the Geneva martyrology. In full accordance with these sentiments, but in more guarded language, is Bucer. "If a sovereign prince endeavor by arms to defend transgressions, to subvert those things which are taught in the word of God, they who are in authority under him ought first dissuade him; if they prevail not, and that he now bears himself not as a prince, but an enemy, and seeks to violate privileges and rights granted to inferior magistrates, exploring first the assistance of God, they should rather to try all ways and means [sic!] than to betray the flock of Christ to such an enemy of God."¹⁹

More pointed and accentuated is the teaching of the Scottish Reformers. To quote Knox and his collaborators, in the words of Milton "were to insert their whole booke, written purposely on this argument."²⁰ An extract from George Buchanan reflects the prevalent Reformed opinion, and that he was dealing with a condition and not a theory, the history of Scotland fully attests. He contends that a tyrant "must pass as an enemy of God and man; in my opinion," he continues, "he has as little right to be included among men as wolves and other ferocious beasts. Who kills them does not only benefit himself, but the common weal. If I could enact a law, I would order like the Romans were accustomed to treat monsters—that such men should be taken to an uninhabited country or sank in the depths of

¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Calv. in Dan., Vs. 22; Opusc., tom. III., p. 29. Ed. Par., 1633. ¹⁸ Schlosser, Theodor Beza, pp. 172-173. ¹⁹ Bucer, in Matth., c. v. ²⁰ Milton's Prose Works, Vol. II., p. 40. Bohn's ed.

the ocean, and moreover far from the shore, that not even the pestilence of their bodies need be feared. For those who kill them rewards should be offered, not only by the public in general, but also by individual citizens, in the same manner that we give prizes to those who kill bears or entrap their cubs."²¹ It was this book that gave the inspiration and steeled the hearts that brought Charles I. to the block in 1649. The Puritan divines followed in the same footsteps. "The people may kill wicked princes as monstrous and savage beasts," says one.²² "When Kings or rulers become blasphemers of God," says Goodman, pastor of the English church at Geneva, "oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted Kings or lawful magistrates, but as private men to be examined, accused and condemned and punished by the law of God, and being convicted and punished by that law is not man's but God's doing."²³ "Ungodly rulers," . . . says another, "being without God, ought to have no authority over God's people."²⁴ "No person is exempt by any law of God from this punishment; be he King, Queen or Emperor, he must die the death; for God hath not placed them above others to transgress His laws as they list, but to be subject to them as well as others; and if they be subject to His laws, then to the punishment also."²⁵ "When magistrates cease to do their duty," continues the same divine, "the people are as it were without magistrates, yea, worse, and then God giveth the sword into the people's hand, and Himself is become immediately their head."²⁶

The attitude of the Reformers could not be summarized more fully and convincingly than Milton does it in his controversy with Salmasius. "You admit," is the well-founded taunt of the irate poet, "that 'some of the Reformers' taught that a tyrant must be put out of the way; to judge who a tyrant is, however, must be relegated to the wise and learned. You do not allude to the Reformers, who so expressed themselves. But I will name them, because you say 'they are much worse than the Jesuits.' They are Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, Parens, besides many others."²⁷

Luther died in 1546, Melanchthon in 1560, Calvin in 1564, Bucer in 1551, Zwingli in 1531, Knox in 1572, Buchanan in 1582—here then we have the cumulative evidence that the justifiable murder of a tyrant, even a good ruler, if he opposed the "pure Gospel" as taught by the Reformation Pleiades, was not an esoteric doctrine confined to academic speculation, a moot question relegated to political debate, a subject of theological word tilting, but was enunciated with all the pomp and circumstance, sustained and buttressed by the most solemn appeals to Holy Scripture, that invested it with the weight of

²¹ *De Jure Regni* apud Scotus, pp. 50-51. Edinburgh, 1580. ²² England's complaint against the canons, Milton, *ut supra*, p. 41. ²³ Christopher Goodman, *Cf. Obedience*, p. 139. ²⁴ *Ib.*, p. 144. ²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 184. ²⁶ *Ib.*, p. 185. ²⁷ Joannis Miltoni *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (prima), c. 1, n. 16 (Londini, 1651).

a defined article of faith. No matter how divergent and contradictory the Reformers may have been in the support of their individual doctrines, we find a most singular unanimity prevailing here.

Now for the first time the Jesuit enters upon the scene. In 1599—years after the Reformers had gone to their eternal accounting—Juan Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit, and not Hojeda, wrote a work²⁸ which received a most unenviable notoriety and unaccountable odiousness. The work was written at the urgent solicitation of Garcia de Loaysa, tutor to the family of Philip II., and owing to his death before its completion was dedicated to Philip III. It was not intended for the layman, but advisedly and specifically designed as a rule of conduct for royalty, in the same manner that the drafted protocol or the attaché's secret instruction is designed for the diplomatic corps, and not the public. Aside of the intrinsic evidence of the work this is made still clearer by the author's dedication of this great work, "The History of Spain."²⁹ In it he explicitly states: "In the year just elapsed I delivered to Your Majesty a book which I compiled on the true attributes a King should possess; my earnest desire was that all princes might read and digest it."

Mariana was a man of shrewd political observation, commanding ability, conspicuous piety, in addition to being a distinguished philologist, an authoritative historian and a profound theologian. Above all, he looms up as a man of unimpeachable integrity—an integrity which no court flattery could weaken, a fearless courage which no adversity could dampen, an exalted sense of justice which no royal frown could daunt. The book is characteristic of the man. Pre-scinding from the one chapter, which made it the target of abuse and denunciation, it is an exhibition of superb statesmanship, a model of equitable legislation, a masterly plea for the imprescriptible rights of the law-abiding subject in his reciprocal relation to the royal ruler. Principal Fairbairn says that "Suarez and Mariana preached strong doctrines as to the duty of kings and the rights of peoples."³⁰ But the latter did more. While pointing out the lofty dignity, the inherent prerogatives, the vast power of sovereigns, he lays even greater stress on the sacred responsibility, the equitable judgment and paternal solicitude, that must be their inseparable accompaniments. With critical nicety, constructive skill and keen discernment, purged of all pedantry, he deals with every branch of administrative statecraft. The police, courts, taxes, coinage, army,

²⁸ *De Rege et Regis Institutione, Libri III., ad Hispaniam Regem Catholicum.* The quotations in the article are taken from the Toledo edition, 1599. ²⁹ "Mariana's History" is justly esteemed for the extent of the author's researches, for the general accuracy of his acquaintance with the materials at his command, for the sagacity of his reflections and characterizations, and above all for the merit of his style, which, in its simplicity, vividness and directness, has deservedly been compared to that of Livy." *Encycl. Brit.*, Vol. XV., p. 546, ninth ed. ³⁰ *Contemp. Rev.*, February, 1886, p. 177.

almshouses, theatre—all receive judicious and scholarly treatment. Above all, in clear, articulate, ringing tones is heard the watchword of liberty and the common weal. "The whole work," says Hallam, "breathes a spirit of liberty and the common good."³¹ In it we find the cry that kindled the fire of American Independence. "The king cannot impose taxes against the will of the people"³² was here clearly proclaimed before Samuel Adams raised the same cry in Boston in 1764, or the Boston Tea Party brought matters to a crisis, with the same tocsin of war in 1773. Adam Smith could hardly display a more thorough grasp of economic problems; Jefferson could not have been more savage in arraigining despotism, more ardent in advocating liberty, more aggressive in championing justice, more sympathetic in commiserating oppression; nor Franklin more aphoristic in his homely wisdom, more telling in his apt illustrations, more trenchant in his incisive logic, than this maligned Jesuit was in an age of absolutism in the very teeth of royalty.

In the sixth chapter of this noted book he gives synthetic form to his propositions and, with a mind richly stored with classical, legal and Biblical knowledge, subjects them to masterly treatment. What Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zwingli, Bucer, Knox, had answered affirmatively and given the precedent of a finality, going to their graves before this book was published, is now handled in a similar way, in almost the exact terms and language, by a Catholic scholar, but with what results?

To the old query, "whether it is allowable to kill a tyrant," he replies: "If a prince proves to be the ruin of a State, plunders public property, tramples under foot common law and holy religion, and signalizes his career by arrogance, insolence and godlessness," then, after public deliberation and decision to warn him, and all hope of betterment proving ineffectual, he can be deposed. Should war ensue, any citizen has the right of self-protection, and the right to take up arms to kill the attainted enemy of his country. He gives a hypothetical case. "Just the same, at least this is my opinion"—he is never opinionated or dogmatic in his views—"must we maintain in the following case: the State is crushed by the tyranny of the sovereign; the citizens are denied the possibility of public assemblage, but they are determinedly resolved to put an end to tyrannical disorder, to the criminality of the sovereign, presupposing it to be public and unendurable, and by anticipation prevent him from devastating the fatherland—for instance, to deprive it of its religion or place the heel of the oppressor on its neck. When under such conditions some one corresponds to the public clamor and

³¹ Literature of Europe, Vol. II., p. 146. ³² Ibid.

attempts to kill him, I for my part cannot look upon him as a malefactor." To bring his illustration to a still more vivid realization, in an inconsiderate and unhappy allusion he recalls the assassination of Henry III. of France by Jacques Clement (1589), then still fresh in the memory of the public. "Most people," he contends, "look upon the murderer as the eternal glory of France; . . . many think his deed worthy of immortality; other men conspicuous for prudence and learning reprobate it." He dissents with the latter, and though he does not even remotely approximate the bloodthirsty maxim of George Buchanan in maintaining that a tyrant "should be shot down like a savage monster," his conclusion is clear and explicit, that under the qualifying circumstances enumerated tyrannicide is permissible. He again emphasizes the fact that he is individually responsible for his opinion, "which," to use his own words, "I really maintain with a sincere mind; but I am human and liable to error. If any one shall teach me better, he will receive my gratitude."

This, with the omission of some non-essentials, epitomizes the teachings of Mariana which, like the shirt of Nessus, clings to the Jesuits, in spite of protest or disavowal.

Huber, one of the bitter adversaries of the order whose work is still quoted by uncritical and credulous writers, has the confession wrung from him, "if we abstract the doctrine of the permissibility of tyrannicide, the book is the worthy monument of a mind honestly devoted to the best interests of the kingdom as well as to the people."³³ The eminent Protestant pedagogue, Dr. Leutbrecher, who subjects the work to an exhaustive and critical analysis,³⁴ speaks eulogistically of it. "As a mirror for Princes (*Fürstenspiegel*) the entire work appears to me to be nothing less than the ripened fruit of a many-yeared study of history; . . . it is in my opinion better than all mirrors of Princes that have appeared before or since. . . . Mariana, as seldom happens, means it perfectly honest with the kings. He instructs them in frank and candid language concerning all their rights and duties, in all their relations to the State. . . . Moreover, Mariana always makes a wide distinction between a ruler and a tyrant: only for the former is the work written; the latter needs no education, moral training, no prudence in governing: besides, such a work is utterly useless for him; . . . against tyranny he grows indignant, like the just man, who has no fear of death. If I take all into consideration, how much more Mariana by honesty and frankness surpasses the authors of other mirrors of princes. . . . I can rightly designate it, as the best."

³³ Der Jesuiten orden, p. 247. ³⁴ Der berühmte Jesuit Juan Mariana über den König und dessen Erziehung. Dr. J. Leutbrecher, Erlangen, 1830, pp. 73-78.

Did the book and the doctrine receive the approval and sanction of the superiors or theologians of the order?

The visitor Stephan Hojeda, of the Province Toledo, formally allowed the publication of the work in 1588, it having previously been approved by certain censors to whom it was entrusted. That Hojeda himself read it, or that it fell under the eyes of Aquaviva, the general of the order, until it was condemned by him, cannot be proven, nor is it claimed. But even if the book censors allowed a permit for its publication, it certainly would not represent the collective or authoritative teaching of the order. We might as well reason that the individual brief of a Supreme Court judge exhibits the unanimous opinion of the entire Bench, or the unratified resolutions drafted by a caucus committee represents a constitutional enactment. This Ranke admits with evident reluctance. "The views of Mariana cannot be viewed as a doctrine of the order, much less of the Catholic Church."³⁵ Grotius fully concurs with him.³⁶ On the contrary, the strongest evidence is not wanting that as soon as the true character of the obnoxious views became known, the book met with instant condemnation. Aquaviva, the general of the order, took peremptory and summary measures, not only in having the offensive passages suppressed, but in disavowing the supposititious doctrines it was said to teach. In 1605 the Provincial Congregation of Jesuits at Paris censured the work, a censure that Aquaviva ratified by issuing a decree, in which, under the severest penalties, he enacts that no one in the order "should either publicly write or teach, or privately advise, what might in any way tend to the destruction of princes."³⁷

Two remarkable and significant facts must likewise be taken into consideration here. That a book which ostensibly contained the most radical, revolutionary and murderous doctrines, subversive to social order, menacing the stability of government, jeopardizing the life of the king, should have met with the cordial approval of Philip III., and been issued under the auspices and warranty not only of the order—*Cum permissu superiorum*—but also under that of the king—*cum privilegio S. C. Majestatis*: that this pernicious doctrine should have eluded the keen scent and escaped the lynx-eyed scrutiny of the inquisitor of heretical pravity of the Spanish Inquisition—a proverbial scrutiny that tradition almost magnifies to a state of omniscience. Again, it must be explained how the suppressed and unexpurgated and garbled work was published surreptitiously in 1605 and 1611—not in Spain, for that could not have been done with

³⁵ *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. XXIV., p. 236. ³⁶ *Opera Theol.*, T. IV., p. 702.
³⁷ *Decretum etiam addidit vehemens et grave; ne quis à nostris hominibus aut publice quicquam scriberet, doceretve; aut privatim consilii cuiquam daret, quod in principum perniciem ulla ratione vergeret.* Bayle, ut supra, p. 130.

impunity, but in Frankfort and Mayence, by the Huguenot John Aubri, heir of the Calvinist publisher Wechel. They retained the original title, permission and imprint, and this reprinted in spite of solemn denial and vehement protest! In fact, the work would have been as unnoticed and harmless as a school primer, had not the enemies of the Jesuits misrepresented and distorted it in France.

What importance attaches to the condemnation of the University of the Sorbonne may be gleaned from two vital facts, usually minimized or thrust aside. During the domination of the League, the Sorbonne, in common with the Parliament of Paris, declared Henry III. as having forfeited his crown as "a tyrant," absolved all from the oath of allegiance and incited the nation to battle against him for life and death. The same Parliament at Bordeaux actually had a public thanksgiving service celebrated, to commemorate the happy success of the assassination.³⁸ Now, this same university is urged, if not virtually compelled, to condemn this work, and basing its verdict on this condemnation, Parliament issued a decree (June 8, 1610) to have it consigned to the flames by the public executioner. This ignominious sentence was imposed, not for any tyrannicidal doctrine, but on account of its malicious aspersions on the sacred majesty of Henry III. This is fully admitted by Herzog,³⁹ but is still more evident from the decree itself. "The court having seen," so runs the decree, "the book of John Mariana, entitled '*De Rege et Regis Institutione*,' printed at Mentz and other places [the unauthorized and pirated editions of Aubri] containing several blasphemies against the deceased King Henry III. of most happy memory; the persons and states of sovereign Kings and princes, and other propositions contrary to said decree. . . . The said court hath ordained and doth ordain that the said book of Mariana shall be burned by the public executioner before the church at Paris."⁴⁰

In fact, it may be safely assumed that this

doubtful tale from fairyland,
Hard for the non-elect to understand,

would not have aroused a ripple of comment, that the work would have dropt still-born from the press, that in an atmosphere where every Reformed conventicle was surcharged with the same teaching, it would have died an unobserved and unmourned death, only that its putative paternity was foisted on a member of the Society of Jesus.

But does not the consensus of Jesuit teaching countenance such a doctrine? Are not the most illustrious theologians of the order its ardent advocates? If we were to follow the lead of Dr. Littledale,⁴¹

³⁸ Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon, Vol. VIII., p. 978. ³⁹ Real Encyclopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, Vol. IX., p. 329. ⁴⁰ Bayle, ut. sup., p. 132. ⁴¹ Encycl. Brit., Article, Jesuits.

who, when he deals with the Jesuits spits the venom of an infuriated reptile, and other professional maligners of his ilk, we could arrive at no other conclusion. But if we extricate ourselves from this pestilential quagmire of shameless misrepresentation, escape the mephitic atmosphere of absurd misunderstanding, and with some patience and candor delve in original sources, a most marvelous disillusion awaits us. We merely take the teaching of a few of Mariana's contemporaries of the Society of Jesus, and discover not only that the preponderating sentiment is against his teaching, but that he stands alone, and isolated in its maintenance, one dissonant voice in a chorus of almost unprecedented unanimity. In 1585, thirteen years before the publication of Mariana's book, Salmeron, the distinguished Jesuit exegete, commenting on the words, "there is no power but of God," teaches: "In so far that royal power is derived from the law of nature, it follows that it has its source in God, who Himself is the origin of the natural law . . . the abuse [of power] comes from man." He continues: "It is not the province of the individual to pass a judgment whether rulers possess their sovereignty justly or unjustly. . . . And since we are commanded to obey the rulers and princes without any distinction, even the despotic ones, and this was done by the saints and by Christ, to give us an example meekly to submit to such rulers, even that of the Emperor and Herod, who usurped this authority—in like manner we must obey such authority in all that does not contravene the law of God; for God must always be obeyed more than man. Moreover, it is not allowed to the individual, on his own impulse, to murder a tyrant; at the command of God he can do this (just as God killed Eglon, the King of the Moabites); he cannot do this especially when the tyrant is in possession of the government and is supported by an armed power. . . . If the tyrant, however, issues forth publicly as the enemy of the people, and incessantly perpetrates his wickedness, then he can be killed by any private man, not on his own authority, however, but at the command of the magistrates." Later on he goes further: "It is not against the law of Christ in the Gospel that in the providence of God pagan rulers govern, which was actually the case until Constantine."⁴² In 1595 Valentia, a Spanish Jesuit, taught: "The lawful ruler, who by cruelty to his people has become a tyrant, dare not be killed by a private individual. For to call him to a sense of duty is the province of the magistrates, who alone are justified in opposing him and calling the citizens to their aid."⁴³ Lessius, in the same year that Aubri issued the spurious edition of Mariana, teaches

⁴² A. Salmeronis, S. J., *Commentarii—Opera omnia*, tom. XIII., lib. iv., p. 680-683. For this extract, and those that follow, the writer is indebted to Duhr's *Jesuiten Fabeln*, Freiburg, 1892. ⁴³ Gregorii de Valentia, *Commentatorium theol.*, tom. III., p. 986. Ed. Luyden, 1609.

still more pointedly: ". . . A prince, although he rule despotically, all the same he remains the ruler. On this account Holy Scripture commands us to obey the pagan rulers as sovereigns in lawful things (thus Rom. xiii., 1; Peter ii., etc.), although they governed most tyrannically, in so far that they persecuted the church, and endeavored to coerce the subjects to godlessness. Therefore such a ruler dare not be killed by any of his subjects, unless in self-defense of one's own life. . . . If the ruler also seized the temporal goods, they are not to be valued so highly that to avert such a calamity it would be allowed to kill him."⁴⁴ Becan, in 1608, teaches identically the same, "because the true and legitimate King, even though he rule as a tyrant, all the same remains chief master. On this account Holy Scripture commands us that in all lawful things we are to obey even pagan rulers as our sovereigns, even though they be the greatest tyrants."⁴⁵ In 1609 Heiss, a German Jesuit, teaches: "I hold it to be the more probable and common opinion that no private individual, unless it be in an act of self-defense, dare lay violent hands on the lawful ruler, unless on account of state reasons he has been judicially sentenced and declared to be a tyrant and enemy of the Commonwealth. This teaching," he continues, "is defended by Cajetan, Satus, Gregory of Valentia, Leonard Lessius, Louis Richeom, Gretseo and the rest of our Society, in so far that they maintain that no lawful ruler can be killed, even if he oppress the state in a tyrannical way. The same is taught beautifully and comprehensively by P. Emmanuel Saa in his aphorisms for father confessors: 'He who reigns despotically cannot be deprived of his rightful government, much less of his life, without a public sentence.' This is the common teaching of the Jesuits."⁴⁶

Suarez, who is frequently linked with Mariana as a defender of tyrannicide, says explicitly: "I maintain that a lawful prince dare not be killed by a private individual on account of despotic government, or any other crime. This is the opinion of most theologians."⁴⁷

In short, these opinions coincide with the accepted teaching of St. Thomas,⁴⁸ and is called the *sententia communis* by Billuart,⁴⁹ and it was precisely this protection with which the Catholic teaching encompassed the King, that made one of the shrewdest and most sagacious statesmen declare that "Protestant sovereigns must have

⁴⁴ De jure et justitia, lib. II., c. ix., dub. 4. ⁴⁵ Opuscula theologica, tom. I., p. 130. Ed. Paris, 1633.

⁴⁶ Seb. Heiss, S. J., Ad Aphorismos Calv., p. 162. ⁴⁷ Defensio fidei catholicae, lib. VI., c. iv., n. 2; Opera omnia, tom. XXIV., p. 675. Ed. Paris, 1859. The author of the article in the *North American Review* quotes this work as De Fide, an entirely different and utterly irrelevant treatise in volume XII. of the same author's complete works. ⁴⁸ 2 Sent., Dist. 44, q. 2, art. 2, ad 5 tum. ⁴⁹ De jure et just. Diss. 10, art. 2

lost their senses not to see the absurd folly of supporting a religion which recognizes the right of private judgment and the sovereignty of the people, in preference to another religion which maintains that against our legitimate sovereign, were he a Nero, we have no other right than to allow our heads to be cut off while respectfully asserting the truth."⁵⁰

We need only place these opinions in juxtaposition to those of the Reformers quoted above, to discover which of them reflect the loftier morality, which are more in consonance with the spirit and teaching of our Lord, which disclose the more confident patriotism, which, in short, teach in clear, taunting, inflammatory language the doctrine of tyrannicide. From the assassination of Henry III. in 1589, to that of President McKinley in 1901, can the name of a Jesuit be identified, with even a scintilla of admissible evidence, with a single national tragedy?

All the same the campaign and march of defamation will go on. "They who have read the numberless apologies published by the Jesuits," says Bayle, assuredly no friend of the order, "and will examine them with fairness, will find such an ample vindication of certain occurrences, that every sensible foe must refrain from further charges. However, we need only to allege anything against the Jesuits, whatever the imagination inspires, and we can rest assured that the unnumbered multitude will give it a ready credence."⁵¹

"I appeal to thousands of men," is the challenge of the oracle of infidelity, Voltaire, "who like myself were educated by them [Jesuits]. Therefore I cannot desist expressing my astonishment that they are accused of teaching a pernicious morality. . . . I make the challenge: there is nothing more contradictory, unjust and disgraceful to mankind than to accuse men of a depraved morality who lead the most austere lives in Europe, and cheerfully go into the face of death in the remotest parts of Asia and America."⁵²

The prayer of St. Ignatius for his spiritual children—"O God . . . grant that they may never cease to be persecuted for Thy greater glory"—is, after all, nothing more than a devout realization of that most comforting of benedictions given on the Mount: "Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake: be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven."⁵³ Persecution is the badge of the Jesuit.

H. G. GANSS.

Washington, D. C.

⁵⁰ De Maistre, *Lettres et Opuscules inedites*, p. 39. Paris, 1851. ⁵¹ *Lettres*. Lettre 322 à Mr. Pecher, tom. IV., n. 863. Ed. Amsterd., 1729. ⁵² *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, tom. 55, lettre au R. P. La Tour, ed. 1831. ⁵³ Matt. v., 11-12.

THE RELATIONS OF ECONOMIC THEORIES TO IRELAND'S DOWNFALL.

AN interesting article by Mr. M. J. Magee, who was one of the members of the Irish Board of Agriculture,* in the *North American Review* for January last, on the subject of "The Irish Industrial Revival," draws a hopeful picture of the possibilities of a new system recently inaugurated in Ireland with a view to save an industrial condition which may be truly described as *in articulo mortis*. With their long experience of the disappointments resulting from prognostications of a similar kind, from the days of the Earl of Carlisle down to Mr. Balfour and the Congested Districts Board, Irishmen who hope still for the resurrection of their country will hesitate to share the optimism of the writer concerning this particular experiment, which, after a careful examination of its prospectus, seems very like the process of putting new wine into old bottles. If Boards could keep out the winter's flaw of national ruin, no other country on the face of the globe had been in the position of Ireland to resist disaster. It has been an interminable succession of Boards, wearisome as the rise and fall of the climbing waves to Ulysses and his crew, as far back as the longest living memory stretches. And there was not a single Board of all the long array long ago gone into the bottomless pit of failure and oblivion, which did not promise as bravely or make its bow with as good a resolve to do its devoir, for its pay, as the smiling new one, the latest birth of Time, whose programme has been ably put before the American public through the medium of the *North American Review*. All these Boards have been simply expedients such as mariners use to keep their ships from sinking, in foul weather, when the pumps are unequal to the task of expelling the element which has changed from the servant to the master. They only patch up fissures, while the entire hull in reality needs rebuilding. No Board, nor any aggregation of Boards, will ever fill the place of Government for Ireland. A Government means a mind as well as an arm—a heart as well as a head. All that Ireland has ever known of her foreign Government is the arm; head, or heart, or mind has ever, save in the brief episode of Drummond's rule as Chief Secretary, been most carefully kept out of sight.

One simple fact serves to illustrate the illusory character of the

* To the great regret of all who knew him, and to the great loss of the movement for Irish revival, Mr. Magee died before his article had seen the light. He was one of those earnest practical men who, although accepting official position under the British Crown, believe that they can accomplish more good from that fact than they could by endeavoring as private individuals to work out their own ideas for the amelioration of Ireland's unhappy condition.

Board principle as a specific for the desperate case of Ireland, better than a thousand pleas for the claims of fresh Boards. It is the resignation of Mr. T. W. Russell, who, as a member of the Unionist Ministry, was for a good many years joined to the Board which is the Shah-in-Shah of Irish Boards—namely, the Local Government Board, whose permanent headquarters are in the chief British stronghold in Ireland—Dublin Castle. Mr. Russell had long been endeavoring to redeem the promises he gave the electors of South Tyrone when seeking their votes a few years ago, that he would strive for a readjustment of the land code in the direction of fair play for the tenant-farmer, and when he sought to give the promise practical effect, his Unionist colleagues made his place so hot that he found it necessary to send in his resignation, and Lord Salisbury accepted it without any affectation of anguish. So much for the Board system, as it affects the material side of the Irish question.

As regards the spiritual and intellectual side, the case is, however, far more hopeless for those who plead for Board rule as a working substitute for Home Rule. The body called the National Board of Education is charged with the task of moulding the mind of the people, in great measure. The story of its attempt to make loyal non-Catholic West Britons out of three generations of disaffected Irish Catholics is well known as one of the most disastrous failures in all history. Recently, the Archbishop of Dublin, who had for some years been struggling with the task of getting the officials who steer the executive branch of that Board, from their desks in London, to do their duty as it should be done, found his efforts so fruitless that he gave up the attempt and resigned his office, at the same time publicly stating his reasons for the extreme step. And in order to show that the step was deliberate and that he could not be prevailed upon to revoke it by the Lord Lieutenant, he caused the letter to that functionary announcing his determination to be published in the daily press, together with a statement of the reasons which impelled him to resign.

The Board system, under a larger principle, might serve a useful purpose, in a country so circumstanced as Ireland is to-day. That state is in the last degree critical. It is only the nicest handling that can save her from total ruin and chaos. It is not merely ruin to the general population that is threatened: the landed class is equally in danger of destruction, for the fate of both is involved in the issues pending in the immediate future. No other country in the world occupies the anomalous position that Ireland does to-day; and this, even her most ungenerous critics are compelled to own, through no fault of hers, but simply through a combination of causes which lay beyond her power to influence.

To put the position as it is to-day into a nutshell, Ireland is placed between two fires of calamity's forces. While on the one hand the revenue from her landed industries is being perpetually drained, to be spent in England or on the Continent of Europe by the landlord class, the ranks of the toilers who produce that wealth are being constantly thinned, not piecemeal, but in vast volume. America operates on the island as the loadstone rock on the ship in the Arabian Nights' story. It is pulling her population out in thousands yearly, just as the loadstone did the nails of the ship, so that eventually the vessel must fall to pieces if something do not occur to draw her out of the sphere of danger and destruction. To these shores are flying all the wage-earning power of Ireland; those who have youth and energy and adaptability for work and vitality to perpetuate the race are yearly pouring into our seaports, a living tide of fertility for new lands, signifying also exhaustion for the old, and the great ocean steamers are packed with them as fast as they can be placed on the service. And it should never be forgotten that while America is thus draining the island of her best blood, she gives nothing in return. Her seaports are closed against the industries of the country which ought, under more favorable conditions, to be the means of retaining its population at home. The Dingley tariff is a barrier so effectual as to render outside competition perfectly impossible. It acts thus in a duplex way to Ireland's ruin. The bait of the high wages which it enables the country to pay draw the people over with an irresistible force. They never see the other side of the picture. The fact that high wages means an increased cost of living all round is altogether kept out of sight or overlooked; the terrible severity of an extreme climate is never taken into calculation; youth and lusty strength only laugh at such dangers as merely imaginary, and it is so until the penniless immigrant finds himself or herself out of work and friendless, in the keen-fanged, merciless winter or fainting with exhaustion in the torrid summer months. It is only then it is realized how infinitely preferable are privation and poor wages in one's own home, where never are extremes of heat and cold, to stranger lands, where the seasons are as unrelenting as the hearts of speculators in foreign labor. The fate of the Illyrian gladiator dying, far from his rude hut and ruder household, on the sands of some Roman circus, was not more direful than that of the unfortunate Irish immigrant, when sickness or adversity overtakes him or her, in the slums of the great American cities.

This, then, is the economical position of Ireland to-day: Her earnings in money are drained from her by the landlords; they come or they send their agents annually to squeeze out the last farthing with the regularity of the small storekeeper's attention to

his cash register. The people who earn the rents, on the other hand, are annually decreasing in number, and so lessening the ability of the land to pay; the public burdens are growing heavier because of the decrease in the number of those supposed to bear them; the burden of the unproductive class is increasing in direct ratio to the falling-off in the number of wage-earners. And while Ireland gives her best blood to swell the tide of American prosperity, she receives in return for it the high protective duties which bar her wool, her spirits, her bacon and her leather from the American markets; the full force of American competition admitted to British and Irish ports, on a free trade basis, of American beef, American bacon and American sham butter, which, while inferior in quality to her own products, are yet lower in price, and so preferred by the poorer class of consumers—which means the majority.

Now, can any clear-headed person for a moment delude himself into the belief that with such a state of things actually in existence a country can be rescued from imminent ruin by any device such as a Board, or any number of Boards? What is needed for the desperate case of Ireland is a statesman—a man with a heart as well as a head.

Free trade is the direct cause of Ireland's economical plight. That splendid shibboleth of the orthodox theorists, while it vindicated their claims in the case of Great Britain, has proved its one-sidedness no less convincingly in the case of poor little Ireland. Such a statement may appear paradoxical to those who look at Great Britain and Ireland as close-lying members of one small group of islands on the European side of the Atlantic. But nothing is more intelligible when the facts are examined. The factors in the proposition are mainly two. Ireland is almost solely an agricultural country, and produces more from her fields than she can consume—at least on the scale of dietary arranged for her people by her landlord physicians. Her people are forced to live on stirabout and potatoes, while her beef, mutton, bacon and wheat go to the English markets, and the money they realize is the landlords' share of the spoil. While these strange substitutes for the lilies of the field, who neither toil nor spin, might do something to justify their absorption of the country's wealth by living at home and spending the money among the people, they ostentatiously neglect the duty and defy public opinion by betaking themselves over sea with the same regularity as the migratory birds, and only come to Ireland for the hunting season or the time of Dublin Castle festivities.

The Board of Agriculture, of which the late Mr. Magee was an eloquent and intelligent member, was one articulation in a much larger system, the credit of originating which is due to Mr. Horace

C. Plunkett. It is known as the Department of Agriculture and Industries. It is referred to as the outward expression of "the new industrial movement in Ireland," and the objects of this movement, as stated at the outset of Mr. Magee's paper, are such as must commend themselves to all people who admire generous ideals in language, but do not attach much importance to the practical side of glittering propositions. They are these:

"The awakening of a spirit of manly independence and self-reliance, the development of the country's resources, the revival and promotion of trade and industry, the preservation and retention of the people on the land given them by God, the unification of all creeds and classes for the benefit of the community and the abolition of sectarian ill feeling; such are the main characteristics of the new industrial movement in Ireland."

Par parenthese, and prior to any consideration of the means by which it is proposed to have this admirable programme carried into effect, some explanation of the reference to sectarian ill feeling is due, lest readers unaware of real conditions in Ireland might be led into a belief that would be cruelly unjust to the great majority of the Irish people. They might not unnaturally infer, in ignorance of the true state of affairs, that religious animosity is common to all sections of the Irish population; whereas it is notoriously true that it is only in one portion of the island, and that the most prosperous part, that such an animus is found. Among the Protestant people of the North hatred of their Catholic fellow-countrymen is cherished and perpetuated as a sort of historical heritage, and manifests itself at stated periods in murderous outbursts with the regularity of the equinoxes. This unnatural spirit, so far from being discountenanced and repressed as it should be by any enlightened Government, is openly and ostentatiously encouraged and promoted, as a statesmanlike way of safeguarding the permanence of British rule in Ireland, by keeping the country in a perennial condition of division and turmoil. South of the Boyne there is no trace of sectarian rancor. The vast majority of the population is of the Catholic faith, and the few scattered Protestants among them are invariably treated with the utmost respect and kindness. Adherents of the Protestant Church are often selected by them to represent them in Parliament and on the local Councils. "Sectarian ill feeling," therefore, is a phrase that may mislead. So far as it exists and under present conditions it is beyond the reach of any system of administration short of actual control of Irish affairs by an Irish government. It has been deliberately planted in the Irish system by an alien Government, for a specific purpose hostile to Ireland's well-being, and is deliberately maintained there with the same afore-

thought and malice. It operates through the machinery of the Orange Association, whose nefarious procedure is too well known to the whole world to require any recital here. Since this irreconcilable organization is hand in hand with the central power, it is futile to hope for the abatement of "sectarian ill feeling" through the influence of any such agency as an Irish Board, no matter how beneficent its purpose.

This matter disposed of, it is proper to consider the more practical portion of the programme contemplated by the promoters of the new industrial movement. The references to "a spirit of manly independence and self-reliance" do not seem to be in the best of taste, inasmuch as the first-named appears to reflect upon a people who have sacrificed more as a people for the preservation of national independence and national faith than any other extant; and the second had been sedulously discouraged among the agricultural classes ever since the substitution of English landlordism for the old tribal system of the country, under which the soil was the property of the clan which occupied the territory. Landlordism, which wrested the fruits of the soil from the tiller to an idle incomer, took away all stimulus to "self-reliance," because *pari passu* with the tenant's industry increased the landlords' cupidity, and every acre of soil reclaimed from mountain and morass by the painful toil of the tenant and his family brought not a reward, but a burden of additional rent. The imputation of want of self-reliance, conveyed in the outline of objects of the new movement, is therefore unjustifiable, in so far as it would seem to reflect upon the cultivators of the soil. No doubt it has been placed there innocently, without any desire to blame those who were the victims of a vicious system, instead of the oppressors who sowed the seeds of apathy and indifference. Any one who reads farther on in Mr. Magee's paper will perceive that he at least did not hold the tenant altogether responsible for his faults as an agriculturist, since he had been careful to hint at some of the grievous hardships to which the land system subjected the cultivators, but the darker facts of the case are left untouched. It is only those who had been conversant with the Report of the Devon Commission and the still later Reports of the Royal Commission on which the late Mr. Gladstone based his land legislation who are aware of the absolute ownership over the tenant which the law gave the landlord. Every feature of the frightful feudalism which preceded the outbreak of the French Revolution was reproduced in the Irish social system, so that the Russian serf was far more of a freeman in reality than the Irish tenant-farmer to whom the British Constitution, in solemn mockery, gave a vote, only to have it used against him by his landlord to get the chain of

slavery fastened the more securely about his neck. Woe to the tenant who dared to exercise the franchise in opposition to the wishes of his landlord: the roadside was his certain doom; ruin and death for himself and his family stared him in the face. Self-reliance indeed! As well expect it in the turn-spit or the mill-horse. The uninstructed may take the view that such conditions marked an era long since past: it is proper to inform them that they existed, as a matter of fact, down to a very few years ago, and are not yet entirely non-existent, since many indirect means of coercing his tenant are left in the landlord's hands.

Concerning those items of the programme which might naturally be regarded as free from the element of controversy and entirely practical in design, Mr. Magee's paper invites careful examination. These propositions are as follow:

1. The development of the country's resources.
2. The revival and promotion of trade and industry.
3. The preservation and retention of the people on the land.

None of these objects ought to be affected by other than practical influences. As economic aims, they are each dependent on the working of laws which though unfelt and unseen are as inexorable and sure as the laws of nature. They ought to be simply matters which come within the domain of political economy. But, in the case of Ireland, is it possible so to treat them? It is the praiseworthy object of the new industrial revival to endeavor to rescue the agricultural industries from the danger, which only a few years seemed imminent, of annihilation. With that object an Act of Parliament was passed in 1899 by which a State Department of Agriculture and Industries was established. The amount of money provided for the purposes of this measure, Mr. Magee stated, was a million dollars a year. One million dollars for the resuscitation of a nation, while eight or nine hundred millions have already gone out in the endeavor to crush another one out of existence! A generous contribution truly—when it is remembered that Ireland is being unjustly drained, according to the finding of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations, of about seventeen millions annually, over and above her legitimate proportion of taxation—all for the support of an imperial system in which she has neither interest nor share—save in the way of hard knocks when the fighting has to be done.

When Swift was mad he forgot that the British were the military as well as the civil masters in Ireland and wrote:

Lo! here's a proof of Irish sense,
Here Irish wit is seen:
When nothing's left that's worth defense,
They build a magazine.

The provision of two hundred thousand pounds a year for the

protection and preservation of Irish industries, destroyed entirely by the direct and indirect operation of English legislation for Ireland, by an alien Government, for a specific purpose hostile to Ireland's bears a remarkable analogy to the building of a magazine for the protection of a place plundered of everything which was worth the taking.

Denmark, France, Holland, Belgium, as well as other civilized countries, Mr. Magee pointed out, possess elaborate Departments of State for Agriculture and Industries. Quite true; but these countries also possess their own Home Governments, and are not administered for the benefit of strangers. One of the most forceful points in Mr. Magee's article is the fact that the success of Denmark in increasing its agricultural output is "the effectiveness with which the Government is enabled, chiefly through organization among the farmers, to come to the assistance of their industry with expert advice, technical instruction and material support." The chief aim of the British Government in Ireland always has been, judging by their legislation and their declarations, to place the Irish farmers at a disadvantage with all foreign competitors and as much at the mercy of a grasping landocracy as it was possible for legislation to do.

In ordinary conditions such undertakings should be regarded as outside the pale of any polemical discussion. But the case of Ireland is peculiar. Differences in race and religion and aspiration spring surprises at many points when the administration of new laws lies altogether in the hands of those who are entirely out of sympathy with the people. It is easy to furnish cases in point, like this: A Board of Technical Instruction is one of the adjuncts of the new Department. Its function is the establishment of technical schools for instruction in various industries, to be carried on with the coöperation of the local councils. Although it is a fundamental rule of the new industrial organization "that neither religious nor political affairs shall be introduced or even adverted to, in the business transacted," the absence from these elements at board discussions by no means insures their exclusion from the practical application of the law when it comes down to matters of detail. How this comes to pass we may gather from the respective addresses of the Bishop of Limerick and the Bishop of Down and Connor, recently delivered before gatherings of teachers and pupils for the annual prize distributions. Dr. O'Dwyer remarked that it was an unfortunate thing that a number of Englishmen and Scotchmen had to be brought over and placed at the head of every department, to impart technical instruction. Perhaps it was unavoidable, but he deplored it. These teachers were non-Catholics, and they knew very little of the country and its people. The educational system

of Ireland, he warned these teachers, was denominational, and if they attempted to set aside the Catholic schools, which had already done enormous work in the way of technical education, and the Catholic clergy, who were their managers, they would make an utter mistake. Nor was there much comfort to be derived from the attitude of the local Municipal Council. As far as any help from that body to the Catholic schools, for the purposes of technical instruction, Dr. O'Dwyer remarked, they might just as well be under a municipality of French infidels.

Here we have indications of danger from two sources, in the seemingly harmless and colorless law on technical education. The attitude of the Limerick Municipality, which drew so bitter a rebuke from the Bishop, is accounted for by the very fact dwelt upon by him in the previous sentences of his warning. Its antipathy to English and Scotch rule is so intense that it will not coöperate, under the provisions of the law, with any system that introduces this element into the sphere of Irish instruction. This is the only rational explanation of a misunderstanding which is somewhat anomalous in present Irish politics.

In Belfast much the same sort of dangers threaten to impede the march of technical instruction, though the conditions vary. The Belfast Corporation are not unwilling to coöperate in the work of technical education, but they want to do it their own way, and this, it need hardly be said, does not contemplate any concession to Catholic sentiment. From a speech recently made by the President of the Belfast Institute, Dr. Henry said he anticipated grave dangers to Catholic interests, and he warned parents that for the present they would do well to keep their children at the primary and intermediate schools, under Catholic teachers, instead of sending them to the places where the plans of the Corporation were intended to be developed. Later on, the Bishop observed, he would indicate the nature of the dangers which he dreaded under the new system.

The general heading under which the subject is proposed—these obstacles apart—is “the revival and promotion of trade and industry.” This sounds well and looks well in print. It has done so and seemed so, time out of mind. It was one of the main planks of O'Connell's mighty Repeal movement. The Repeal Association offered splendid prizes for practical essays by scientific men on the best way to effect the same object. Sir Robert Kane won the principal one for a really comprehensive survey called “The Material Resources of Ireland,” combined with practical suggestions on the best means of utilizing them. But nothing came from them save momentary enthusiasm. The Home Rule Association and the Land League respectively followed suit, by the appointment of commit-

tees to promote Irish manufactures. These did some good in the way of a partial resuscitation of the woollen industry, but this came too late in the day to prove a national benefit, since the Scotch and English woollen manufacturers, who had the field all to themselves when the Irish trade was killed by William the Third and his Parliament, had perfected their finishing machinery so, and secured the market, in the two centuries of Ireland's sleep, that it was found impossible to compete with them outside of Ireland. Equally hopeless was the idea of finding a market in the United States, where, if the Dingley tariff never existed, the Irish product would be too heavy for general use, besides being too costly by reason of its purity. Cotton is King of the clothing market here, and he will brook no ponderous competitor.

For the present, the utmost that the most ambitious friends of Ireland can hope for, so far as a revival of Irish industries is concerned, is the regaining of the Irish market. Year by year this has been filched away by the inroads of an age of cheap shoddy. English and Scotch shoddy fills Ireland's clothing shops; American machinery ploughs her fields and cuts her corn; American beef and bacon, and Australian mutton, fill her butchers' stalls, while her own vastly superior produce is consumed only by English buyers. Take any ordinary Irish mechanic as he walks Irish streets to-day, and examine what he wears. While he feeds on inferior American canned or refrigerated meat, he is clothed from head to foot in English or Scotch shoddy. The only thing Irish that pertains to his material condition is the draught of native porter or whisky with which he has fortified himself, mayhap, on his way to work or when his day's toil is over. If the new industrial movement can succeed in recapturing the Irish market for the Irish, for the present it cannot hope for more. And as the population gradually dwindles down by the twofold process of depletion of the young by emigration and want of recuperative power in the residuum left behind, the age-spent and the immature, this market must gradually narrow.

It is not in the power of a Board, or a plurality of Boards, to legislate for such a position as this. Only a National Government with plenary powers could hope to do so.

Ireland needs a return to protection. As long as American agricultural produce can be put on her markets, free of duty, in competition with her own, which has paid the uttermost farthing in rent, her hands are tied. As long as trashy stuff from Manchester mills and trashy shoes from Northampton factories are admitted to her markets, to undersell her own sound productions in wool and leather, she must continue to bleed to death.

The system which is called Local Government in Ireland is deceptive in its title. To observers unacquainted with the country's real condition it conveys the impression of adequate powers given to a small portion of the British dominions. In England and Scotland the same phrase means a devolution of power and a wise decentralization. There the central authority seeks freedom of movement in great concerns by asking the people to free it from the responsibility of deciding issues which are of secondary importance. In Ireland it means something very different. It signifies a curbing hand on every petty detail of local expenditure. The only real improvement in fiscal machinery effected under the new Local Government Act is the substitution of popular representatives for the old system of Grand Juries, in whose hands lay the power of local assessments, and whose invariable practice was a bestowal of valuable contracts on their own particular favorites or partisans. This corrupt system after having flourished for centuries, has now come to an end, as all public levies are assessed by mixed bodies of ratepayers and landlords, elected by popular vote, but subject still, in the matter of public expenditure, to the supervision and veto of the central authority in Dublin Castle. But for all greater public purposes Local Government is no more effective than the Gulf Stream. It may put up a parish pump; it cannot give a charter to open a mine or build a railroad. Permission to undertake such improvements must be obtained *from the English Parliament*. The Bill must be initiated in St. Stephen's, and for this purpose a host of lawyers, experts and witnesses must be sent to London, in order to inform a committee of English members what particular thing the particular Irish locality proposes to do; and after all this preparation and consequent heavy outlay the English committee may, and very often does, say it will not give its consent. As long as the British Parliament retains the power to act in this preposterous way, it is idle to dream of any substantial improvement in Ireland's material position.

To illustrate: In the eighteen years of "Grattan's Parliament," when the power of vetoing Irish measures was taken from the English House, and Ireland was free to legislate for her own needs, the great system of canals which may still be seen intersecting the country was devised, begun and finished. Canals, in those days, were what the railways are to-day. They were the great arteries of commerce. Recognizing their indispensability to the progress of the country, the Irish Parliament voted six hundred thousand pounds—an immense sum a hundred and fifty years ago—to be levied off the whole country—for the purpose of their construction. Under the system of Local Government and County Councils no such enterprise is possible. Local jealousies would prevent it. No county

would vote money for an undertaking from which itself might derive no immediate benefit.

Agriculture, in the language of Mr. Magee's paper, is practically the sole industrial pursuit left to the country. It has been so ever since England robbed it of the power to legislate for itself. England deliberately destroyed Ireland's manufactures, for the enrichment of her own traders. And when Ireland was thriving by success of her sole remaining industry, England threw down the barriers which enabled that industry to thrive and flooded the Irish market with foreign grain, grown on land that paid no rent, in competition with her own, raised on rackrented soil. Free trade has been the ruin of the Irish farmer. It is this which has driven the millions of emigrants out of the country. Farming in Ireland, with the hope of profit, became an operation somewhat equivalent to that of pouring water into a sieve. Ireland's trouble is, therefore, quite as much economical as it is physical. She is the helpless victim of conflicting economical theories and systems. The Free Trade system of England and the high Protection system of the United States are to her as the upper and the nether millstones, and she is being ground between them. For some years after the accomplishment of the Union agriculture prospered in Ireland, owing to the long European wars, so as to compensate the country, in a measure, for the simultaneous decline of her manufacturing industries as the result of the migration of the nobility and gentry to London to attend the British Parliament. But as soon as peace was made after the battle of Waterloo, prices of agricultural produce went down with a rush, and ruin overtook many thousands. When the period of Free Trade came with the abolition of the Corn Laws, the ruin was given an infinitely wider area, and the way was cleared for the awful holocausts of the Famine in 1846 and 1847.

If the agricultural system of Ireland be not preserved from ruin by enlightened action, what hope is there left for the country? Since it is, as Mr. Magee declared, her sole prop, must not the whole public come tumbling down if it be cut away? Hence Mr. Plunkett's Agricultural Board may be of some service in enabling the Irish farmers to stave off the dismal hour of final ruin by means of organization and improved methods of farming and the placing of its products in marketable fashion. But, after all, this is but tinkering with a mighty problem. It is an old subterfuge to obscure the actualities of the situation. As long as we can recall, the country has been led on by this Will-o'-the-Wisp phantom, all the time her wealth and her population were being sucked away with fearful rapidity. The Royal Dublin Society has been working for the improvement of stock and methods of farming from time immemorial.

So has the Kilkenny Agricultural Society, the Ossory Farming Society and many other societies that are now only memories. For several decades there was a persistent and most pernicious system of illusion over the results of these societies' endeavors to better the situation. It seemed to be the theory that what benefited the few—the men who raised cattle and the men engaged in the cattle trade—must be a general benefit, while the steady outflow of the people from the seaports was regarded with equanimity, if not with satisfaction as the providential way of disposing of the surplus population. If, as Goldsmith says, that land fares ill "where wealth accumulates and men decay," what must be the plight of a country where, while the population perishes there is no accumulation of money, but a vast decrease? The loss of population to Ireland meant not only an immediate money loss per head, but an indirect loss in the utilization of this labor by competitors for Irish trade. This is a view of the consequences of Irish emigration which is not often perceived. The late Professor O'Sullivan, of Cork Queen's College, has put it very clearly in the course of a valuable book on Irish resources published by the Cork Industrial Exhibition Committee (1886). He says: "The enormous annual emigration of laborers from Europe to North America, *every one of whom* represents an average expenditure of at least *one hundred pounds to the native country of the emigrant*, has enabled the United States and the Dominion of Canada to open up boundless tracts of virgin land, the fee of which often costs less than one year's rent in Ireland. . . . All these favorable conditions of tillage, conjoined with equally favorable conditions of transport, have reduced the profits of corn-growing in Ireland to so very narrow a margin that the better lands have been laid down in grass and the poorer driven out of cultivation altogether."

"Neither religious nor political affairs shall be introduced, or even adverted to, in connection with the business transacted," Mr. Magee's paper states, is the rule of the new industrial organization—a very salutary principle, so far as business meetings are concerned. But this rule does not prescind the consideration, *from outside*, of the important bearing which "religious affairs" at all events exercise upon this eminently practical question.

With the steady obstinacy of an incurable bigot, the British Government denies to Ireland the advantages of a Catholic University. Now it has been clearly shown that without such a University it is impossible for the Irish people to make any progress in the face of foreign competition. It is Science that directs the hand of Labor in the production of those articles which compete with her products, but there is little or no science behind the product of the Irish soil. The blessings of a University flow downward. They permeate all

the community. The arts are taught, and the technical knowledge by which these arts are applied is imparted as well; and gradually the whole body politic becomes a sharer in the blessings which learning bestows on a few. The Irish Bishops have again and again declared their conviction that without a Catholic University there can be no real resuscitation of Ireland's industries; and the facts are year by year demonstrating most clearly the absolute correctness of their prognosis. For the purpose of carrying out Mr. Plunkett's progressive movement instructors in mechanical art have to be imported from England and Scotland, and, as the Bishop of Limerick complains, these persons are entirely out of sympathy with those whom they come to teach, and naturally more or less prejudiced against them; a state of things hardly conducive to real progress. Technical training in England and Scotland is the outcome of university extension. There is no valid reason why Ireland should be debarred from a like benefit, save the blind and miserable bigotry of the Government which holds the country by the throat. "We might even import scientific skill," says Professor Sullivan, "but unless we have skilled hands in the country, or systematically set about training our unskilled ones, manufacturing industry cannot thrive—nay, cannot come into existence in a country."

An obstacle to Ireland's progress that may well be described as perfectly insurmountable is the position of the Irish railways. There is no power on earth, as matters stand at present, that can compel the directors of these undertakings to alter their policy with regard to Irish trade. Ever since these railroads were built their policy has been uniformly repressive, and seemed to have as its objective the encouragement of English trade at the expense of the Irish. Their rates for freight are so high as to be simply destructive of Irish internal commerce. It is almost as cheap to send a cargo across the Atlantic as to despatch one a couple of hundred miles on an Irish railway. One great English line, indeed, controls, it is said, a couple of the Irish lines, and of course things are so managed as to make the interests of the one country entirely subordinate to those of the other. Were there an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive, its first care would be, in order to stave off ruin, to bring in a measure to buy up the Irish railways and to work them in the interests of the country. Ireland is rich in minerals, yet, owing to the prohibitive policy of the railway companies, it has been found impossible to develop the mining industries of the country to any considerable degree.

A good many years ago an association was formed in Ireland with the object of persuading the Government to buy up the railways and work them for the benefit of the country. A great deal of

evidence regarding the project was given before the Devonshire Commission, and a special report in favor of the project was made by the Right Hon. W. Monsell, M. P. (Lord Emly). But nothing whatever came of it. It is to be presumed that the English railway companies, whose interest it is to have things remain as they are, were able to use their influence with the Government with such effect as to put a stop to the agitation. The directors of these companies exert a powerful influence over the Government. They control a vast number of votes, since their employes number thousands. How can it be hoped that any Agricultural Board, or any other kind of Board, could deal with the obstacle of railway maladministration? The system is ingrained and incurable. Nothing but heroic measures could possibly effect a remedy.

Take the case of New Zealand, where, down to a few years ago, a system somewhat resembling that of Ireland prevailed. Now the colony has the benefit of a plenary Home Rule, and see what a magical change has come over it. Premier Seddon recently summed up the results for the past ten years, in brief, thus: "There has been an increase in the population at the ratio of 19 per cent., in the exports of 40 per cent., in the bank deposits of 60 per cent. The wealth of the country has increased from \$5,700 per family to \$7,400—a figure exceeded nowhere in the world. There has been a large increase in the country's debt during the period—to \$54,000,000, or \$300 per family, but the three-fourths of that amount which are invested in railroads, land settlement, advances to settlers, etc., not only pay interest on the bonds issued therefor, but yield a profit of \$300,000 a year to help pay the interest on the remainder. Even the remaining debt is indirectly profitable, as nearly all of it was incurred for new roads, bridges and public buildings, and for the purchase of native lands. During the year just ended the Government reduced railroad rates $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., in pursuance of its policy to reduce these rates whenever the reduction could be made; and the roads still net the Government enough to pay the interest on their bonds. Instead of causing a deficit this cut in rates was followed by such an increase in traffic as to yield the Government more than ever before."

Now, if all this progress is possible at the antipodes, what might be the case of Ireland under an enlightened Home Government, with all the advantages of propinquity to the English and Continental markets? She would, in that case, be a powerful buttress and support to England, instead of being as now the "tendon Achillei" to the unwieldy Empire. The more closely the position of Ireland is studied the clearer it becomes that ruin is inevitable if the existing economical conditions be not modified in the near future. The

first necessity of the case is protection for her industries if they are not to be wholly annihilated. To that end the creation of a Home Government is absolutely indispensable. The work of the ill-starred Act of Union must be all undone if the country is to be rescued from the abyss of bankruptcy.

No better illustration of the inefficiency of any system short of complete decentralization could be afforded than the case of this British colony and the other chief British colonies. As long as they were held in leading strings they languished; once emancipated from London red-tape their progress was that of young giants. There is not a single argument that makes against the manumission of Ireland that was not applicable to the colonies, as long as their position was one of dependence on Downing street. Their discontent might have been utilized by an enemy as a means of striking at the power of the Empire—just as Ireland's discontent menaces its safety to-day. A wise liberality in policy was substituted for the old miserable jealousy and niggardliness, and lo! the whole scene is changed as if by magic. The liberated colonies become the loyal and devoted ramparts of the Empire. Can any one doubt that a similar transformation is possible in the case of Ireland? Humanity, in regard to its material interests, is much the same all over the area of civilization.

It is not to decry the importance of Mr. Plunkett's movement to say that of itself it is inadequate—entirely inadequate—for the regeneration of Ireland. It has done, and can do, much in a practical way toward preventing immediate and general collapse. It cannot possibly, under the present broad economic conditions, do more than help the remaining handful of people to keep themselves from total beggary by utilizing such resources as they find to hand. But what a task lies before the Irishman who aspires to place his country on the same industrial plane that she occupied ere English competitors began to scheme for her ruin. That work took nearly two centuries to accomplish. Can any one hope to undo its awful results in a lifetime? Were the Government at last to let the scales drop from its eyes and allow the Irish to manage their own affairs, such an organization as Mr. Plunkett's must be a most valuable agency for the revival of industries, because of the information it would have been enabled to collect and the experience it had acquired regarding the most effective fields of action. But if its effect on the mind of Ireland were to divert the country from the larger aim of securing control of her own resources, then the policy of supporting it could hardly be considered as the true line of patriotic duty. So far as can be seen, however, this danger is infinitesimal. There seems no

distinct line of cleavage as yet between the industrial problem and the higher national one.

One of the first needs of Ireland, in order to have any industrial revival, is a law making trades disputes subject to compulsory arbitration. Such a law is now in operation in New Zealand, and has been found eminently conducive to the welfare and quiet of the country. Strikes have been in Ireland the fruitful causes of disaster. They were encouraged, in many cases, by English manufacturers who coveted the trade. Agitators were paid to go to Ireland and incite workmen to strike. Many industries were killed by this means. Once driven out of the country they never returned. In addition to these subterranean methods of undermining Irish trade, Parliament was constantly enacting laws, in obedience to the pressure of English manufacturing corporations, for the hampering and strangulation of Irish industries. Mr. Froude, who cannot be charged with any particular bias in favor of fair play for Ireland, is one of the most eloquent witnesses on the persistency and thoroughness with which this policy of strangulation was applied. Is there any difference in the disposition of the England to-day—any manifestation of a desire to atone for a long course of deliberate wrong toward a country which she had forced into a ruinous pact for the surrender of her liberties and her interests into her hands? Not the smallest vestige. Her policy is invariably just as narrow, selfish, and pitiless as when she was passing her Navigation Acts and her Acts for the suppression of the Irish woollen trade.

It is the purpose of the Government, as announced in the King's speech on opening Parliament, to introduce a new Land Bill for Ireland. As this measure, however, does not contemplate any compulsory buying-out of the Irish landlords, not much can be hoped from it, since the Irish tenant farmer cannot possibly compete, while paying a heavy rent, with the American producer, who pays a nominal one. As there is some disposition in England to recede from the principle of free trade, in that direction there would appear to be some better reason for hope. As long as England maintains a free trade system, and as long as high protective duties bar Ireland's products from foreign markets, her case can be little improved by any effort of her own, even under a Home Rule Government whose hands were not perfectly free to deal with her fiscal position according to her desperate necessities. If Canada, New Zealand and Australia be permitted to legislate on such matters without danger to British stability, it is difficult to see why Ireland should be denied the right of protecting her own interests in the same line.

An Industrial Exposition will open in Cork in the course of a few months. Advantage might well be taken of the occasion to hold a

great economic council. The best and wisest heads in the country could be brought together to devise means whereby it might yet be saved from final shipwreck. The danger is appalling. In the last extremity the British Government may come to realize that what saved the colonies to the common defense may yet save Ireland also. Until this is realized, Boards may come and Boards may go, but Ireland must continue to sink under her deadly hemorrhage.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

THE NEW LANGUAGE DESPOTISM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THE regulation of a people's language by statutes is essentially a modern idea in politics. Outside the political world it is still regarded, by thinkers, as a matter which nature regulates in her own way as she does the succession of the seasons and the growth of harvests. Human usage, as the old Latin poet of Augustus sang, is still the cause, the law, and the judge of every form of human speech. However, political activity has, of comparatively recent years, undertaken to mould language to the convenience or policy of governments in certain countries. The idea is probably an outgrowth of the other modern one that the thoughts and schooling of men may be regulated by legislation. It is remarkable that both these ideas have been brought forward almost simultaneously with the abandonment of the system of state formed religion which had been in vogue in most Protestant states since the time of Luther. It looks as though the human mind could never rest from experiments in the matter of government, however unfortunate the result of previous attempts of a similar kind.

Two great Governments in Europe are now, and have for some years back, been engaged in the policy of making language subordinate to state interests. In both the state interests are regarded by the administrations as identical with absolute rule of the sovereign. In the larger, Russia, the autocracy of the Czar has almost the force of a religious dogma. In Prussia, indeed, representatives of the people form a part of the general government, but the King, with complete control of the army, and the traditions of two centuries of absolutism to support him, openly maintains his claim to supremacy in case of divergence of opinions between himself and the popular representation. The title of "War Lord" so commonly put

forward by the Kaiser of Germany indicates sufficiently his belief in his own autocracy whenever its assertion is needed. Both Czar and Kaiser have decided that the languages which their subjects may speak is a matter to be determined by the sovereign's will or whim. Diversity of speech has existed both in Russia and in Prussia from time immemorial. Nicholas II. and William II. have decided that they do not wish it to continue. In Prussia the Polish population of Posen, of West Prussia and Silesia have been ordered to forget the tongue of their fathers and learn that of their German conquerors. In Russia Poles and Germans alike are bidden to adopt the language of their less civilized Russian fellow subjects under penalty of the law.

Tyrannical as such an exercise of arbitrary power seems to men used to the liberty of free Christian states, it is at least in keeping with the traditional despotism of Russia and Prussia. Peter the Great regulated the beards of his Russians by imperial decree and substituted a semi-military board for a Patriarch as head of the national religion. Frederick of Prussia prescribed the amount of money which any class of his subjects might carry when traveling, and where each man might attend college. His father employed the public revenues in gathering a regiment of giants and trying to perpetuate the race in his dominions by marriages with wives of similar stature. Where the power of the sovereign could be thus exercised without resistance it is little wonder that the authority to regulate language and religion should be claimed. Neither Peter nor Frederick, it is true, attempted the latter task, but it was because their individual tastes lay otherwise. Peter despised his native Russian as a dialect of savages. Frederick disdained his own German speech as only fit for the use of peasants. French was the chosen language of both these older despots whose modern representatives are engaged in forcing on other nations the languages despised by their own ancestral despots. The policy is at least consistent, in as much as it assumes that the will of the monarch is the highest law. But what is to be thought of a similar policy of state regulation of language when put forward by men claiming as their motive the spread of American ideas of popular liberties? Moreover, these gentlemen are not monarchs by divine right or hereditary appointment. They are not even trained in the administration of governing in any community. They are simply five revocable employés of the American administration, selected by the late President at his own discretion from judicial appointments, the practice of American law and obscure chairs in new universities of the western states. The sentiment of despotic power must indeed grow fast in office, when Messrs. Taft, Moses and Worcester, after six months' residence in a new land, can lay down the new theory that instruction

in the native dialects is not desirable for seven millions of people, and that compulsory education in English is necessary for the moral and social elevation of the Philippines.

How new the theory is the Commissioner who was taken from a chair of history in the State University of California ought to know at least. It may be that the interests of his fellow pedagogues obscured his intellectual vision, or he could not but be aware that all through the course of history even the most autocratic despots have abstained from interference with human liberty in the use of language, and that on the simple grounds of its danger to their authority. In the great empire of the ancient world the Roman Cæsars made no attempt to force the Latin tongue on the inhabitants of the provinces. Greek continued the official as well as the popular language east of the Adriatic until finally it supplanted Latin as the official tongue of the Eastern Empire. The old Coptic of Egypt survived the conquests of both Greek and Latin, the Hebrew of the Jewish race did the same through all the severities inflicted on the despised Jewish race. When the Western Empire had lasted four centuries the Christian St. Augustine had still to preach in the Panic tongue to his people and St. Martin in that of the Celtic Gauls. The barbarian chiefs who came as invaders to build up kingdoms on the Roman territory followed the same course. They seized the lands and plundered the cities of the conquered peoples, but they did not interfere with their language. Theodoric and Clovis called Roman statesmen to help in organizing their new kingdoms. The languages of modern Europe are a proof that through all the convulsions of eighteen centuries speech, at least, of men has been left free by political despotism, and been regulated in fact, as well as in theory, by the influence of its natural laws of development alone.

Its rights were respected even by the Asiatic hordes who brought the creed invented by Mahommed to give sanction to the despotism of Caliph or Sultan. The Christians of Spain were not required to adopt the language of Arabia when the Court of Cordova was the centre of Arabic culture, and the native language still a dialect as uncultivated as that of the Tagals or Visayas of our own day. The Sultans of Turkey did not impose restrictions on the speech of the various races that bowed submissively to their law. Arab and Kurd as well as Christian Greek or Armenian was left to use the tongue of their fathers and to bring up their children to cherish its use, as freely as they were left to sow and reap, to wear turban or toga as their taste desired. It is certainly remarkable, in an age which boasts of the growth of personal liberty, encroachments on natural individual rights should be put forward as policy of government.

Something similar indeed may be noted in the matter of state

regulation of religious belief. The Roman Emperors had tried to regulate religion by political law and had to confess their failure after a series of experiments lasting from Nero to Diocletian. With the intellectual development of the European renaissance the ambition of rulers to regulate the beliefs of their subjects was revived. Luther's maxim, "*Cujus regis ejus religio*," is a bold assertion of the claim of the Cæsars of Rome that the Emperor's sanction was required for the practice of Christian rites. The King in England, the Magistrates in Massachusetts, the Electors and Margraves of every German Protestant state all claimed the power to form the beliefs of their subjects in matter of divine revelation. They assumed this authority even while respecting in other points the maxims of statecraft of Macchiaveli and Bacon, which pointed out the risk of extending despotic control into the daily lives of even a submissive people. The pretensions of rulers to regulate religion at least as far as forming one for official recognition alone have been abandoned in most civilized lands. Are they to be followed by pretensions to regulate popular language?

There are grounds to fear such may be the case. State interference in details of private life which had been left free even by the most reckless despots of other times became a feature of European governments in the eighteenth century under the influence of the philosophy which tried to substitute human science for Christian morality as the guide of society. The half savage Peter of Russia was the first ruler to lead the way in this new direction. Several of the German sovereigns followed, like the two Fredericks of Prussia and later Joseph of Austria. It became fashionable to attempt the character of "enlightened despot" of enlarged ideas and to regard the common people as fitting objects of experimental social science. Voltire and his fellow wits sneered at the national heroes of their own country while they lavished flattery on Catherine of Russia's despotic measures of supposed civilizing influence or Frederick's conquest of Silesia. The school of unbelieving philosophers that dominated public opinion in France and England alternately applauded and mocked the different projects of social regeneration put forward by their crowned admirers. Voltaire satirized Frederick's pettiness and Frederick sneered at Joseph's meddling in the religious practices of his subjects. "My brother the sacristan" was his favorite term for the Austrian ruler when the latter had entered on his career of innovations. The disturbances which followed in Belgium and Italy before the French Revolution were a practical object lesson of the folly of Joseph's reforms in a sphere outside his own. Though European races would submit to be taxed or led to war at the will of a monarch, it was found that there were limits to their

submission when their social life and religion were made the matters of his interference.

The use of national languages was one of the matters in which human liberty was left undisturbed through all political changes down to the French Revolution. There had been many changes in the boundaries and forms of government of European states since the close of the middle ages, but the languages that then existed continued to be spoken as before. In that point no conqueror thought of interfering. When Louis of France added German Alsace and Spanish Rousillon to his dominions he left his new subjects to follow their own discretion in that matter. The variety of tongues used within any state was regarded rather with pride than otherwise by its rulers. Mazarin founded the College of the "Four Nations" in Paris as a natural and politic recognition of the distinct nationalities incorporated into the French monarchy under his administration. The absolutism of Louis made no attempt to disturb the social life or language of his subjects, even while the French language itself was spoken in every court of Europe and recognized as the international language of diplomacy and culture.

It was the same everywhere else on the European Continent. Belgium, Naples and Lombardy were parts of the Spanish monarchy for nearly two centuries, but no attempt was made to displace Italian or Walloon by the Castillian language. In the courts and administration, as well as in common life and the schools, the native languages were everywhere recognized. In Austria, Magyar and German, Slavonian and Romanian, continued to use their national speech under the government of a German Emperor as they had done under their national sovereigns. In Poland and Switzerland, republican institutions respected differences of language among their citizens as naturally as any of the other liberties which they esteemed it their special glory to maintain. The unity of the Polish Republic was not held to be impaired because Lithuanian was spoken beyond the Niemen, or Ruthenian south of the Prypet. French Geneva and German Uri united with the Italian Grisons in a common nationality without seeking to force a common language on their citizens. They still remain united for all political ends as closely as any nation of the world.

In the face of these facts it is interesting to trace the origin of the movement for enforced uniformity in national language which has sprung up in several countries of late years. Russia since 1863 has been putting all its power at work to root out the Polish language from the Czar's dominions, though it is used by the most intelligent and civilized portion of the subjects of the empire. Prussia for the last fifteen or twenty years has been similarly engaged in Posen and

West Prussia. England is trying to supplant Italian in the Maltese courts by her own foreign tongue, and a section of the politicians of our own land are working strenuously to change the languages of the Tagals and Visayas of the Philippines for English. One asks with some wonder whence has come this sudden impulse for subjecting the languages of men to state regulation.

It may be traced, we believe, in its origin, to the military despotism into which Napoleon organized the general upheaval, political, religious and social, of the French Revolution. A mania for regulating society on scientific principles had found favor during the domination of the first Republic which took the place of the monarchy of the Bourbons. The old provinces of France with their Parliaments and local laws, the old independent universities and systems of education were all swept away as ruthlessly as the monarchy and the Church. Local boundaries sanctioned by tradition and custom had to give place to departments laid out on mathematical principles of surveying. When the successful soldier became absolute ruler of revolutionized France he accepted in part the ideas of the theorists whom he had displaced. He used as much of them as tended to the strengthening of his own personal power. The state control of schooling was in his eyes, as in those of the Prussian Frederick before him, chiefly useful in securing a military uniformity in the ideas of all Frenchmen. The ambition of Napoleon to be able to tell what every child in France might be studying at any hour of the day exemplifies at once the object and the dangers of this system which was dignified by the name of public education. It meant that the drill which is suitable specially to form soldiers should begin with the cradle, and military efficiency, not social development, should be the great end of the whole national life. The public schools, it was the despot's hope, would give him the same control over the minds of Frenchmen as Mahomedan beliefs gave to the victorious Sultans of the Osmanlis.

These ideas were too favorable to absolutism to be neglected by the monarchs of other European countries after the fall of Napoleon. Metternich, the Minister of Austria who filled a place during the thirty years after the Treaty of Vienna like that of Bismarck at a later time, took up the Napoleonic ideas in the point of public schooling. They were adopted by the other German sovereigns and to a limited degree by the rulers of Russia. What should be taught in school and university had before the French Revolution been left to the free will of the public and the skill of individual teachers. After the fall of Napoleon it grew more and more to be reckoned among the police forces of the government, especially in the absolutist monarchies of Europe. Mental development had been left

free to find its own methods and objects alike by Roman Cæsarism, the feudal lords and the rulers of the centralized nations of Europe down to the French Revolution. The Republic of Letters was a fact as well as a name. The universities of France and England, of Spain and Germany moulded each its own subjects and methods of instruction according to the abilities and judgments of its learned members. It was not supposed that learning could be promoted by being mainly directed to political ends. The centralized University of France showed how schooling might be made an engine of absolute government, and the lesson was readily taken by absolute rulers. In Austria and Prussia the traditions and corporate influence of the old university bodies were too powerful to be attacked openly, but the interference of the political authority in the lower schools was introduced to a degree before unknown. In Russia the whole system of education was subjected to as absolute a military rule as even Napoleon could have desired. The only object of intellectual development in individuals there is to provide the government with trained servants for its various departments. The ideas of state regulated education have since spread to lands which do not recognize the value of personal despotism as a system of government. It is well to remember that their first development on a large scale is due to the genius of a soldier who aspired to dominate Europe by higher military training of his subjects. State uniformity in schooling and thoughts of citizens or subjects is certainly conducive to such an object, but there are many who will refuse to accept such an object as the chief end of national existence.

The regulation of schooling to uniform standard by political laws naturally suggested further extensions of political activity. If state directed teaching can make all men think alike; why should it not also make them speak alike if the governing authority so wills? Napoleon was not responsible for this last development of his methods, but it has grown naturally from his ideas. The War of Culture of Bismarck and the Russian campaign against German and Polish language are alike developments of Napoleon's state control of education.

The idea of regulating national languages by law may be said to have originated with the Austrian Minister Prince Metternich after the Treaty of Vienna. Metternich was the dominant spirit in the Congress which arranged that settlement of Europe and for thirty-five years afterwards his influence and personality were as influential as those of Bismarck after Sedan. Though a bitter foe of Napoleon personally, the Austrian statesman cordially adopted the lessons in intelligent despotism given by the French Emperor. He aimed to give Austria military power like that of France under

Napoleon, and he was ready to sacrifice every consideration to that. A complete centralization of the various nationalities which made up the Austrian state seemed important for that end, and the introduction of a common language appeared the readiest means to bring such a centralization into fact.

The condition of Austria is peculiar among the Powers of modern Europe. It is a government, but not a nation in the same sense as France, Germany or Spain are nations. It is a union of many distinct races, under a common head, but it has been formed not by conquest but by successive coalitions in which each country preserved its own national existence while uniting in a political league for mutual protection. The formation of the modern Austrian Empire has more points of resemblance to that of our own Union than it has to any European model. In the sixteenth century the Slavonian kingdom of Bohemia and the German Archduchy of Austria chose the ruler of the last as their common sovereign, while each retained its domestic self-government. Moravia and Bohemia had already been united by a similar bond. A generation later, when the Hungarian monarch Louis perished on the field of Mochacz, the necessity of defense against Turkish invasion made the Hungarian Diet elect the Austrian Archduke as King of Hungary, and the law of hereditary monarchy has continued the union to our own time. Smaller countries, the Tyrol, Styria and Carinthia, were similarly united on terms of local home rule with the dominions ruled by the Archduke. At the Treaty of Utrecht, Lombardy and Belgium, which had till then been united with Spain, in a similar bond, were joined to the territories of the House of Austria. The union of states thus formed was modified only slightly during the eighteenth century and the Napoleonic wars. Polish Silesia was separated from the Austrian dominions by Frederick of Prussia's conquests, and Polish Galicia was added to them by equally lawless force. In the same way Belgium was taken away, and Venice and Dalmatia added as members of the Union in the nineteenth century.

This union of many nations under a single ruler had no political name down to the end of the eighteenth century. It was simply the "dominions of the House of Austria," not an Austrian nation. The Archdukes, from the time of Charles V., were chosen Emperors of Germany almost as a matter of course, and that was the title usually given to the ruler of the Austrian dominions. His title was drawn from a land over most of which he had no political power, his real power from countries which gave him no common title of sovereignty.

When the old German Empire was dissolved by the Treaty of Presburg its last ruler assumed the new title of Emperor of Austria.

It was then, for the first time, that the name of the small archduchy which had hitherto been only a German province was applied to the whole body of state that recognized the Archduke as their hereditary sovereign. The constitutions and mutual relations of these states were not changed. To Hungarians the Emperor of Austria was still only the King of Hungary within that country. The rest of Europe, however, gradually came to regard the new name as a national designation. Hungarians, Bohemians, Gallicians and Croats were called by the name of Austrians outside the bounds of the empire.

Metternich, after the Congress of Vienna, desired to make this artificial union of different countries a centralized nation like the France of Napoleon. In population and territory it was not dissimilar, but for military purposes the half dozen nationalities of Austria could not compare with the power of centralized France. It was the aim of Metternich to fuse those nationalities into one, in institutions and national sentiments as they were already united for defense under a common ruler and political name. For that he began by trying to force a common language on all Austrian subjects regardless of their origin or history.

That language he decided should be German, as it was that of the Court and Emperor. It did not matter, in his judgment, that German was a foreign tongue to three-fourths of the population of the Empire. To him, as to Hamilton and Jay in the early days of our own Union, a strong central government was the most essential point for national existence. As Hamilton would have liked to reduce the various States of America to the dimensions of the smallest among them, so Metternich applied himself to sub-divide politically the different countries which make up the Austrian Empire. He sowed division between Croats and Magyars in Hungary, between Ruthenians and Poles in Galicia, between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia. In the meantime he steadily pushed the German language into use everywhere in the public service, the army and the schools. For some years it looked as if his policy might succeed. German was spoken commonly in the cities of Hungary and Poland to the exclusion of the national tongues, which were officially treated as mere provincial dialects. The local institutions were modified on new models, stamped with a uniformity like that of the Code Napoleon, and praised by the official press as the products of enlightened civilization. In the universities of Bohemia and Hungary the language of the court was the common channel of communication between teachers and pupils. In science, in literature, among professional men, courtiers and officials, it looked as though the opinions of Vienna were dominating every part of the Austrian Empire as Paris rules public opinion in France.

How deceitful these appearances were was shown within a few years. Kossuth, in Buda Pesth, took up the advocacy of the language of Hungary as a patriotic duty and the Magyar population responded to his call. In other parts of the Empire similar feelings were evoked. The scientific centralization of Metternich, instead of consolidating the various races into an artificial nation, stirred their feelings and differences into mutual hostility. The old union of many nationalities under one head had been sufficiently strong to repel the power of Solyman and humble the pride of the Grande Monarque of France. It had kept itself unbroken through the wars of Frederick of Prussia and Napoleon, and had come out of the struggle with the last in triumph. The policy of Metternich, in seeking to obliterate the various national languages and institutions, brought the whole Empire to the verge of destruction in 1848. The population of Vienna rose in revolution in imitation of the Paris of Louis XVI. and nearly every other section of the Empire followed in the same course, but with different aims. Hungary separated absolutely from its old allegiance. Venice restored its old Republic and Milan invited Carlo Alberto of Sardinia to receive it into his dominions. The army on which the policy of Metternich had relied shared the same national impulses as the populations. The Hungarian regiments threw their lot with Hungary, the Italian with Italy. The Emperor Ferdinand resigned in desperation, and it was only by calling in the aid of Russia that the Austrian monarchy was saved from destruction.

With that help against the largest division of the Empire, and the flight of Metternich, the crisis was passed, but the jealousies excited by the crusade against national languages and institutions remained. A few years later Lombardy was again detached from the Austrian dominion by Napoleon III. and Venetia a little later by the combined forces of Prussia and Italy. The Austrian Emperor recognized the impracticability of bending national feelings to political ends by force, and frankly acknowledged it. The separate national governments have all been restored, and Federal Union, not a centralized government, is now the law of Austria's national existence. The lesson is one worth noting in other countries which may feel inclined to seek strength for aggression abroad at the cost of self-government at home.

Metternich's attempt to suppress national languages by political agencies found imitators in the neighboring military monarchies. Prussia, though the large majority of its population are of German race, has a large Polish element in its dominions as a result of the conquests of Frederick. In Posen, West Prussia and Silesia the Polish race is the large majority, and it has been the steady policy of

Prussian Kings to encourage the immigration of Germans into those provinces and to displace the use of the Polish language. The present Kaiser continues this policy in both its branches actively. In all the public schools German is made the vehicle of instruction even for children whose parents have no knowledge of any tongue but their own. Quite recently, in the village of Wretschen in Posen, a number of mothers of families were sentenced by the German courts to long terms of imprisonment for protesting against floggings inflicted by Prussian teachers on their children as a penalty for their incapacity to understand the state language. Even elementary religious teaching is only allowed to be given in the foreign tongue. The natural result of ignorance of essential duties of life and citizenship is counted no importance by official wisdom in comparison to the introduction of a new form of speech. The coercion is extended to the courts, the post office, the police, the railroads, the naming of streets and every other institution or practice which can be reached by political despotism. Though the campaign against Polish nationality and language has been now kept up during nearly a century, it does not appear to have attained any measurable success as far as the objects aimed at by the government are concerned. Very lately, in the Prussian Parliament, complaints were made that the Polish population was not merely keeping up proportionately with the Germans of Prussia, but was actually increasing its relative strength. The only effect so far has been to embitter the hostility between Germans and Poles on national grounds and to stimulate the activity of the Polish press and literature. Dislike of the government in general is daily growing among the Polish element in Prussia and is a serious danger in the possible event of a war with the great Slavonian power on the eastern border. When one compares the loyalty of the German population of Alsace to France with the hostility of the Poles of Posen to their German masters it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast. German Alsace was separated by force from the German Empire over two hundred years ago. For three-fourths of that time international wars came regularly to keep up feelings of national jealousy between Frenchmen and Germans, yet the Germans incorporated with France became the most loyal of Frenchmen. In Hungary, it may be added, in like manner the German "Seven Cities" of Transylvania were among the most devoted citizens of Hungary in the revolution of '48 against the German monarchy at Vienna. In Prussian Poland there was no friendly nation beyond the border to keep alive the feeling of nationality among the annexed populations. Russia, though Slavonian by race, has always been the national foe of Poland, and the Czar's despotism is as hateful to Polish ideas, at

least as Prussian absolutism. Still the Prussian Poles to-day are thoroughly hostile to the government and institutions of the kingdom of which they have formed a part for four generations. How comes this difference between them and the Alsatians and Corsicans incorporated with the French population? The answer would seem to be that all French rulers respected the national languages of their new citizens, while the Prussian tried to root them out. The result is hardly such as to encourage the advocates of governmental interference in national languages as a means of promoting national unity.

Russia is the third power which has attempted the state regulation of language. The conditions there are different from those in German Poland or Austria. In those the foreign language which it was attempted to introduce had the merit of culture on its side at least equal in literary value to that of the native tongue attacked. In Russia, on the contrary, the official tongue was comparatively a rude one. In literature, in science, in political institutions and general civilization the old kingdom of Poland stood as far superior to the subjects of the Czar as the Greeks of Constantinople stood to their Turkish conquerors. Still, after the reign of the first Alexander, the imperial government undertook to force its own official language as well as its laws upon its Polish subjects. The war against Polish language is still going on in Russian Poland as in Prussian Posen. It has succeeded in reducing the great province of Lithuania, once among the most cultured parts of the old Polish state, to a lower degree of educational development than even that of the semi-barbarous Russian districts. It has not succeeded in lessening the number of Polish speaking subjects of the Empire after nearly forty years of autocratic repression. What the actual result has been may be best gathered from a Russian source. The memoirs of Kornitoff, the oldest of Russian statesmen and a bitter enemy of Polish nationality during a life of ninety years, have lately been published. In them the statement is found that in the matter of superiority in culture the twenty millions of the Polish nationality outweigh the eighty millions of Russian. "Our poverty in culture compared with the wealth of the Polish element is apparent to every one," he declares. He goes on: "Our strength in the culture of civilization is not only small, but what is worse, it excites no feeling of emulation among the great majority of Russians who are alike indifferent to patriotic and to religious sentiments. Polish society, on the contrary, works incessantly and unanimously for its national and political ideals. The recovery of its independence is the inspiration of all scientific and literary activity among the Poles and their hate is constant, alike for the Russian government, its political

ideals and its orthodox religion. The Polish nation to-day can show a hundred writers of genius to every ten of Russian birth, and naturally it is steadily gaining ground in the contest of ideas between itself and the mighty Russian nation."

It looks as if the language campaign in Russia were even a more conspicuous failure than in Prussia. It has stimulated not destroyed the Polish language.

The experience of the three governments just described is, one would think, ample warning of the folly of attempting to force the laws of nature to political ends. The growth of human language is a natural process of the human intellect, and it can no more be regulated by legislation than the course of storms or the heat of summer. Men, in society, form their speech by their own needs and sentiments, and each national language is bound up with intimate feelings and traditions which defy the control of any political power. In each of the cases we have alluded to, the end sought by the law-makers was definite and clear. It was to give a political empire of many races the unity of other states where a single race predominated. The method adopted was the forced introduction of a common language through all the channels of power controlled by government. That these are inadequate to the end desired, and that their employment has produced a result directly contrary to the one sought by the rulers has been shown by experience clearly enough, as might have been foretold from the principles of human nature by any intelligent thinker.

It is instructive to compare the feeling of national loyalty in lands of different languages, where politics have not been allowed to interfere in their use, with the strength of the same feeling in the three empires which have tried the impossible task of state regulation of speech. In all the convulsions of modern Europe two states have been singularly free from internal disturbance. Belgium is one, Switzerland the other. In the first Flemish is the native tongue of half the population, Walloon or French of the other. During the whole course of Belgium's political existence the attachment of each race to the common country has been at least as strong as that of the French people to France or the English to England. In Switzerland the same conditions exist, though its cantons are divided between French, German and Italian in their official language. In old France the loyalty of the German and Italian speaking elements to the national unity has already been mentioned. Even in the British Empire the loyalty of French speaking Jersey and Welsh speaking Wales is something widely different from that of the Irish race, on whom a foreign speech has been despotically imposed. The lesson to statesmen is sufficiently plain.

So well indeed has the independence of language from political control been recognized by the common sense of mankind, that during the whole course of European foreign conquests no serious attempt has been made to impose the language of the conquerors on subject races. The natives of Algeria still speak their native Arabic or Kabyle, those of India their Hindostanee or Tamil, the Javanese their Malay tongue. Even where colonies of one European race have been transferred, politically, to the rule of another the original language has nearly always held its ground. Mauritius is still a French speaking land after a hundred years of English rule, and Quebec after a hundred and fifty. It is hardly necessary to recall that South Africa has not yet adopted the speech or national feelings of England, though a hundred years have passed since its separation from Holland.

In the face of all these facts lying before the eyes of the world, one asks, with wonder, what intelligence has prompted the American rulers of the Philippines to attempt the task of changing the language of seven millions of people? That they are seriously trying the same policy that the Czar of Russia and the German Kaiser have failed in is evident enough. "Common schools must be established everywhere and as a minimum standard every child must be taught the elements of arithmetic and to read and write in the English language" is the dictum of Judge Taft and his colleagues in their report to Mr. Root. "It is not practicable," they add, in all apparent seriousness, "to make the native languages the base of instruction, for this would necessitate the translation not merely of school primers, but of many texts of every sort into the principal dialects." Considering that the seven millions of Filipinos have been living in civilization for many generations, and that they already possess over two thousand schools for their own use, it is not evident why school primers need be translated for them from similar works adapted to the minds of children of other races. Neither is it evident why if needed such a task should be wholly beyond human power to execute. Father de Rada, the old Franciscan friar, accomplished it in the sixteenth century, and it has been repeated since by hundreds of Spanish teachers. To translate the elements of Christian doctrine into the dialects of savages, unacquainted with abstract ideas, is certainly a more difficult work than turning school primers and arithmetics from English or German into the languages of the now civilized Tagals and Visayas. The first has been successfully accomplished by Catholic missionaries in nearly every part of the earth. Proof exists not only in the Philippines, but in nearly every Indian dialect of our own continent. Why, then, should such an undertaking seem impossible to five Commissioners who put forward their own intel-

lectual superiority as their justification for assuming control of an unwilling people? If they cannot translate school primers into Tagal, with the resources of the American Treasury to draw on, why not leave the instruction of the Tagals to the teachers who can?

The authorities with which the Commissioners, one, by the way, a college professor of history and another a college professor of zoology, support their remarkable decision are as surprising as the grounds on which they base it. The "commanding officers" of the American army are unanimous in urging English instruction and asking for trained English teachers, and "most of the commanding officers who have reported state that no instruction in native dialects is desirable." It is hardly the custom to regulate primary schooling by the wisdom of soldiers, nor is it generally thought that the officers of an army of invasion are competent judges of the intellectual wants of the people on whom they are waging war, but the rulers of the Philippines seem to assume both as facts which cannot be gainsaid. The climax of absurdity is the report of one of these military authorities, Captain Echols, which solemnly states: "To teach English to the natives a knowledge of Spanish or Tagalog is not necessary. I at one time had charge of 4,000 American Indians, with six American boarding schools (sic). Not a child could speak a word of English on entering the schools,' and, in three months from entry, these children could speak it fairly well, and this was accomplished by teachers utterly unfamiliar with any one of the numerous native dialects."

Captain Echols' report speaks for itself. Is a smattering of English words such as he boasts of having given to some Indian children "in six boarding schools" the kind of education which Messrs. Taft and Moses recommend for the elevation of the Filipinos? Is it more practicable to provide boarding schools, run by teachers utterly unfamiliar with the native dialects, than to translate school primers into Tagalog? The effect of the education given to the American Indians during the last thirty years, on the plan admired by Captain Echols, has not been such as to command the admiration of any but those engaged in the handling of Indian supplies. It certainly bears unsatisfactory comparison with the system which has filled Luzon and the Visaya Islands with millions of civilized men formed from races like the head hunters of Borneo.

It is evident from this selection of authorities on the subject that the Commissioners themselves have no practical knowledge of the methods by which languages are really taught in schools where such instruction is a reality. Such schools exist in many lands of Europe, especially near the borders of countries of different speech. In all, familiarity with both the languages used is necessary. It is

exactly the same in the Philippines as in Switzerland or Holland, and it has been exacted there, under the Spanish government, alike from teachers and priests. The method of Captain Echols was tried in the American missionary college in Connecticut as far back as the first Congregational mission to Hawaii. Three Hawaiian natives were taught English in the mission boarding school and taken out as interpreters by Messrs. Bingham and Thurston. Those gentlemen on experience reported their interpreters wholly useless. They had English words, but no grasp of ideas, and they were alike unable to convey those of their countrymen to the ministers, or the ministers' doctrines to their own people. Any competent teacher could predict the same result in the Philippines, were it practicable to try Captain Echols' method.

Another curious question arises from the supposed impossibility of finding American translators into the native languages. It is what opinion the Commissioners must really hold of the intellectual superiority of the teachers they are importing over the natives whom they propose to elevate to "higher standards." It has usually been held that educated men can learn new languages more readily than unschooled peasants. The reverse seems to be the case, in the mind of the Commissioners at least, in the Philippines. That the whole body of Tagal and Visaya children can become proficient in English in a few years if only a teacher is sent among every few thousands of them is assumed as perfectly natural. That the teachers themselves cannot be expected to master the native dialects, or even Spanish, before commencing their functions, seems equally natural to the intelligence of the Commissioners. The distinction is not flattering to the success of the American school system at home in developing intelligence. The peculiarity of requiring Malay children to accomplish a work in their primary schools which American college and normal school graduates find too much for their capacities is a strange specimen of the intelligence of the supreme government now ruling over the islands.

The same may be said of the motives which have led them to add the science of pedagogy to the already difficult functions of establishing a foreign government among a strange race on strictly American principles. That the only known principles of government that may be called distinctively American are that every people is the best judge of its own needs, and entitled to govern itself, may be let pass here. We are referring only to the reasons which prompted the Philippine Commissioners to add the new duty of regulation of the language and daily instruction of children to the sufficiently numerous duties of government, as it is ordinarily carried on in our own and other civilized countries. The administration of justice, the

collection of revenues, the establishment of a police, the regulation of municipal rights, of public works, of mining and forestry, of commerce, coinage, post office, military and naval matters would, to most minds, seem tasks sufficient to employ all the abilities of many more than five commissioners when seven millions of men have to be dealt with at the close of a devastating war. Some reason for adding experiments in school teaching and the introduction of a foreign language to these multifarious duties before any of them had been even reduced to working would naturally be looked for, but none is found in the report of the Commissioners.

They simply inform the public that there was a system of schools in these islands under Spanish rule, and that these differed from American common schools. The main difference described is that under the Spanish system a school was ungraded and strictly sectarian, while the American standard is a non-sectarian graded school. It is not explained how the schools already existing could be sectarian where no sects of different religions exist, so we may infer the Commissioners simply mean that religious instruction in the Catholic doctrines is regarded by the Filipinos as a normal part of schooling, while it is not thought so by the majority of public school teachers in America. It seems an inadequate reason for the new government to undertake both the schooling and the languages of the people put under its rule. Beyond this the only discovery reported in the educational condition of the islands is that of a "great diversity of opinion, due largely to the diverse conditions existing in the archipelago." The sagacity of this deduction recalls the Captain Bunsby of Dickens, but it seems hardly to warrant the conclusion arrived at in the report that the "peculiar conditions existing demand a centralized control of the public school system." The diverse conditions would seem to demand the very opposite to most minds. They certainly do when they are found on American soil.

What the result is likely to be for the moral and intellectual development of the Filipino population from the introduction as teachers of a thousand or more foreigners, ignorant alike of their language, their religion, their national character and social life, is not a pleasant thing to contemplate. Up to this time Catholic faith has been the basis on which all the moral ideas and moral life of the Filipinos has rested. That is acknowledged by the Commission. That their morality, in all points which are recognized by society and law through the civilized world, is at least equal to the average of our own land is not denied. The Commission's report describes Manila, even during the war, as "better than any American city of its size" in the matters of drunkenness and disorder, and adds that crimes of violence are comparatively few and "the general moral condition of

the city greatly maligned" by American correspondents. How is that moral condition likely to be affected when all teaching of religious motives for it is excluded from the schooling of the young, and their teachers are selected mainly on their knowledge of a foreign language and contempt of that spoken by their pupils. It is quite safe to assert, from the lessons of experience, that it will be one of two and no other. Either the Catholic Filipinos will reject the foreign teachers and their lessons alike, as the Catholic Poles to-day reject the German schoolmasters at the cost of imprisonment, or the young generation will grow up with a moral training like that of the Indians, who during the last thirty years have been trained in the "non-sectarian graded schools" which are the ideals of the Philippine Commission. The prospect is not encouraging if the reports of our own Indian Bureau may be given any credit. Crimes of violence, robbery and murder are at least ten-fold more numerous among the schooled Indians of America than among the Tagals or Visayas of the Philippines. Is that an object to be desired in the judgment of the Commission? If not we would like to know what is the exact nature of the elevation, moral and material, which they so confidently expect from their venture into the field of school teaching and the suppression of the languages in which ten generations have thought and spoken in the Philippines.

The dangers to the national union with which Austria is now threatened from the language war between Czech and German is a further warning to us here in America of the consequences that may arise from state interference with national tongues. Against the glib assertion of the "commanding officers" quoted by the Commission that instruction in the native dialects is not desirable, we may recall the grave words of Leo XIII. in his recent apostolic letter to the Bohemian Bishops on this very point.

One cause of the disunion now existing in Bohemia may be traced to the languages which its people speak according to their different descent. The desire to cherish and love the tongue of his parents is implanted by nature in every human being. We abstain from any decision in controversies of this kind. It is surely not censurable to cherish the mother tongue within due bounds. It is the duty of temporal rulers to safeguard individual rights where they do not interfere with the welfare of the state. It is ours to provide that religion be not brought into peril by such disputes, since faith is the highest possession of the soul, and the source of all other good. Though addressed to the episcopate of a foreign land, these words may well be pondered by us here in America.

From what source, in point of fact, have the members of the Taft Commission drawn the inspiration to imitate the policy of Czar and

Kaiser by rooting out the national languages of the Philippine people? It is certainly not from American practice since the foundation of our government. The American people has followed the example of the older civilized world in respecting, consistently, the right of its citizens to use the tongue of their fathers or any other, at their own judgment. The German-Americans of Pennsylvania have retained their ancestral tongue unchanged since their first settlement on this continent, and they have equal rights with any other class of Americans. In Louisiana the French-Americans have done the same on a larger scale, and their right to do so is recognized as well in the courts as in the schools. In California for many years the laws were printed equally in English and Spanish, and both languages were used on terms of equality in the Constitutional Convention and subsequent legislatures. Judge Taft and his fellows deny the same right to Filipinos. He limits the suffrage to those who can read and write Spanish or English unless they own a certain amount of real estate. The educational test, in the Philippines, excludes those who read and write their native tongues, unless they add the further one of either English or Spanish. As the large majority use their own languages for all purposes, they are only allowed to vote if possessed of property. Were a similar educational test applied in our country, and the command of at least one foreign language required as a qualification for the exercise of citizenship, the diminution in the lists of voters would make the suffrage a mockery. It is to be seriously feared it would exclude most of the gentlemen of the very Commission which is now proclaiming its desire to raise the Filipinos to the moral and intellectual standard of American citizens. If any one of them can even write Spanish it is not apparent from their report. It looks as if their decision that the use of the native languages for instruction is not desirable were based on the same reasons which made the Belgian college rector decline the services of George Primrose as a professor of Greek. "Young man," said the dignitary, "I do not know a word of Greek. I got my degree without Greek, I became rector of this college without Greek. I receive ten thousand florins a year without Greek. In fact, then, I don't see the use of Greek to me or any one else." On similar lines Messrs. Taft and Worcester may justify their antipathy to the Tagal and Visayan tongues. They do not know a word of them, yet without that knowledge they have been chosen by the President for their posts, they are now ruling in Manila, and they are drawing much larger salaries than they ever received in any previous employment. To them, indeed, the conclusion may be satisfactory that Tagal is of no use to them or to anybody else. It will hardly be so to the seven millions of human beings who are so

lightly told that the speech which has been handed down from their fathers and fathers' fathers, and which they have thought and spoke and prayed since infancy must be changed for the tongue of another race because their rulers of yesterday find it impracticable to provide school primers in that speech.

We do not think the American people will, on reflection, commit itself to the dangerous course of school despotism advised by the prentice statesmen of the Commission. That the root of bitterness it would plant may become a tree of no small dimensions the agitation now going on in Bohemia is a significant warning. Tagals and Visayas are men and have the feelings of men, even though they are "mere Malays," as the "common people" of our own land were incapable of understanding or virtue in the eyes of Judge Jay. The cult of the English language is not accepted by the great majority of American people, whatever may be the case with a body of college professors who find in it their justification for ignorance of any other.

BRYAN J. CLINCH.

San Francisco.

Scientific Chronicle.

EXPLORING THE ATMOSPHERE.

Most people in this country are familiar with the daily weather map published in the daily press and with the weather forecasts announced through the same medium. Few, however, realize the vastness of the work involved in preparing the material on which these predictions are based, or the benefit, estimated in money, which these predictions bring to the country. The annual expenditure by the government for the support of this bureau is over one million dollars. More than this amount is often saved by one timely prediction, as is shown in an instance cited by Mr. Willis L. Moore, Chief of the United States Weather Bureau, in the *Scientific American Supplement* for January 25 last. In the case referred to, the prediction of a cold wave saved over three million dollars' worth of property which would have been destroyed were it not for the precautions taken on account of the warning given by the Weather Bureau. In distributing these warnings it is not unusual for the Bureau to send out one hundred thousand telegrams in the space of one or two hours. If we add to this the millions saved the shipping industries of the country annually, we can readily see that the cost of the Bureau is a good government investment.

The success of the predictions depends largely upon the fact that over the great extent of our vast country we have 1,200 skilfully trained officials who report to Washington concerning weather conditions. Equidistantly distributed over the country there are 180 fully equipped meteorological stations. There is a central observatory in each State and Territory, to which the subordinate offices of the State or Territory report and to which about 3,000 voluntary observers throughout the country send their observations. With such a well regulated system of observations daily reported to one central office in Washington, we can form some idea of the confidence that may be placed in the predictions that are based on an accurate knowledge of the progress of any atmospheric condition as well as the modifications it is undergoing while in motion across the extent of the American Continent. A long series of such well regulated and coördinated observations made in the air strata near the surface of the earth has enabled the observers to give quite accurate predictions of what is to come as far as the causes operating at the lower levels of the atmosphere are concerned.

However, it has long been recognized that there are disturbing

causes that can be taken into account only by a better knowledge of the conditions that prevail in the upper strata of the atmosphere. Hence the adoption of means whereby these conditions may be studied. Glaisher in England in the middle of the last century understood the importance of this study when he made his wonderful balloon ascensions, in one of which, made of the 5th of September, 1861, he reached the phenomenal height of about seven miles. In this ascent, however, it must be noted that after he had reached the height of about 29,000 feet the cold was so intense that he fainted and could take no more observations, and the height attained is only an approximate estimation made from the lowest barometric height supposed to have been reached.

After the days of Glaisher interest in such observations seems to have waned in England, but was born with new vigor in the United States, France, Austria and Russia. Knowledge of the atmospheric conditions in the higher strata was at first sought by means of observations taken at observatories placed on the summits of high mountains. But it was soon realized that even at such elevations the conditions were influenced by the air from the plains below and that it was necessary to reach higher and freer air strata if the study was to be of any value in advancing the science of meteorology.

It was at this stage of the question that the idea of Mr. Willis Moore was put into execution in the United States. Seventeen places were selected in different parts of the States and daily observations were made of the temperatures, pressures and air currents at a height of one mile above the surface. These observations were made by means of self-registering instruments carried to that height by kites. The form of kite adopted was the Hargrave, which resembles a box with the top and bottom removed. The kite has from 80 to 90 square feet of lifting surface, and the weight of the instruments carried is a little over two pounds. It is held by a steel piano wire played out from a reel. The length of the wire and its angle of inclination give the height of the kite.

The kite proved itself a most useful instrument in the hands of meteorologists and gradually perfected it explored higher and higher strata of the atmosphere, reaching a height of 12,000 feet. But while the kite experiments were making in this country, in France they were experimenting with unmanned balloons. From the first these experiments met with success. The first unmanned balloon sent up from Paris by Hermite reached a height of 45,000 feet and the self-registering instruments it carried worked perfectly to an altitude of 36,000 feet. Later one launched at Berlin by Assmann rose to a height of 46,500 feet, registering at that height a barometric pressure of only 3.3 inches. Very few of these unmanned balloons were lost,

for they were labelled with a notice directing the finder to inform the nearest observatory of the finding of the balloon. In this way eight out of every ten were returned.

At the international æronautic conferences of 1896 and 1898 the importance of concerted action was discussed and Austrian, Bavarian, Belgian, French, German and Russian æronauts agreed to make simultaneous explorations of the atmosphere at the beginning of each month. Hence on certain days manned and unmanned balloons and captive kites start for the higher levels of the atmosphere from Berlin, Brussels, Munich, Paris, St. Petersburg, Strasburg and Vienna. In these explorations Germany holds a unique position on account of the results obtained by means of her manned balloons. Dr. Berson reached the height of 30,030 feet. In his balloon ascensions he overcomes the difficulty of breathing in the highly rarefied air of these great altitudes by carrying along a supply of oxygen. In company with Süring on the 1st of August last he reached the phenomenal height of 33,700 feet, where he found a temperature of —40 degrees Fahrenheit.

The conclusions reached from the observations thus made are at present chiefly two, one regarding the temperature of the air and the other the motion of the air. It was always known that the temperature diminished as the elevation increased. Relying on the observations of Glaisher meteorologists never thought that the higher strata were as cold as they are. There seems to be a law of decrease of about three degrees Fahrenheit for every elevation of a thousand feet. The temperature of freezing is found between 6,600 and 10,000 feet above the surface of the earth. The more accurate observations of the present day are obtained by the use of more perfect instruments and the more careful protection of these instruments from disturbing causes. The decrease of three degrees for every elevation of one thousand feet does not hold good at great heights, but the ratio of decrease grows higher, reaching nearly twice as much in the highest levels. In connection with this variation of temperature it is interesting to note the fact that the variations which constitute the difference between summer and winter are felt also at these higher levels although of course not in the same degree.

The result of these atmospheric explorations is to throw light on the cause of the long known cold spell which is observed in the middle of May. It seems clear now that this cold wave is not due to local disturbances nor yet, as it was thought to the earth entering a colder part of planetary space, but to a mass of air about 30,000 feet thick and covering all Europe which is set into rotatory motion, so that cold air from the north polar regions is brought down upon

Western Europe, while warm air is poured upon Eastern Europe from the southwest. The cause of this regularly recurring rotation of the air is yet unknown. In general there is in the upper strata a far more simple distribution of temperatures, pressures and air currents, and the full effect upon the prediction of surface changes in the air will depend upon further explorations.

RADIUM.

In 1898 M. Curie, Madame Curie and M. Bemont discovered in an ore of uranium a new substance to which the name of radium was given. The extraction of this substance from the ore is a long and costly process. From a ton of the ore only about .10 of a gramme of radium chloride is obtained. Radium has been classed as an element and its atomic weight determined as 175. Still whether it is an element or only an allotropic modification of an element is not clear. Recent investigation seems to confirm the latter opinion.

The chief interest in the new substance centres in its extraordinary properties. Its property of emitting rays similar in some respects to X-rays attracts most attention. In 1896 Becquerel in a study of phosphorescent bodies found that the salts of uranium emit radiations that have a great similarity to the X-rays. These have been called Becquerel rays. Radium emits these rays in quantity about 100,000 times greater than uranium.

The character of these rays and their cause is at present an open question. The difficulty of solving the puzzle increases with every new investigation. At first these rays seemed to be merely Rontgen rays. Soon, however, they developed extraordinary peculiarities. Like cathodic rays they are in part deviated by the magnetic field. Another part is not deviated like the X-rays. The deviable rays are charged negatively. These rays are not reflected or refracted or polarized, and this is contrary to our present conception of all vibratory motion. How, then, are we to explain these rays? Are they a form of radiant energy or of radiant matter?

According to the first theory the radium is the centre whence emanate waves whereby energy is transmitted to the objects that receive and absorb these rays or waves. According to the second or corpuscular theory now in vogue the radium is a centre whence emanate exceedingly small particles of matter which impinge on objects in their path and thus transmit the energy of the source.

Radium seems to emit particles of matter and the radium dust, as it is called, renders all the objects that it reaches radio-active. As a consequence no precise electrical measurements can be made in its presence, for all the insulators become good conductors. Radium,

moreover, has the property of being spontaneously luminous. This is readily observed in semi-darkness and the intensity of the light is great enough to distinguish written characters. Moisture diminishes the luminosity which is restored on drying. Time does not seem to diminish the brightness of the light, for at the end of a year there is no perceptible difference in the intensity of the light.

The radium rays produce very interesting chemical effects. They convert oxygen into ozone and in general act as powerful oxidizing agents. They, moreover, exercise an energetic action on photographic plates, even through opaque bodies, producing radiographs like those of the X-rays. The physiological effects are not less interesting. The radiations produce more serious burns than the X-rays do. A small amount of radium inclosed in a tube and carried in the vest pocket caused a severe burn in the side which with careful treatment did not heal for several weeks.

In connection with the theoretical question involved in the study of the new phenomena of radio-activity, the experiments of Sir William Crookes, described in a paper read before the Royal Society on February 6 are of great interest. As the lecturer stated, "these experiments indicate that the electrons from the radio-active agent partake of the properties of a fog or mist of material particles capable of diffusing away in the free air like odoriferous particles when not kept in by a thick metal screen." This conclusion was arrived at from a series of experiments indicating the action of these radiations on photographic plates. A sensitive plate exposed over two pieces of radio-active material, the one surrounded by free air, the other separated from the plate by a column of air inclosed in a thick lead tube, showed a strong action in the latter case and no action in the former after the lapse of forty-eight hours.

A large number of similar experiments with different radio-active substances and with variations in the time of exposure gave results justifying the above conclusion. A further series of experiments showed that a current of air passing over a radio-active substance and allowed to impinge upon a photographic plate effects it and therefore that such an air current carries with it a certain proportion of the corpuscles radiated from the substance.

A highly active self-luminous radium compound loses some of its energy on exposure to ordinary air, but when sealed in vacuo in a quartz tube no diminution of energy has been detected in the space of twelve months. According to the measurements of M. and Mme. Curie the radiating energy is the ten-millionth part of a watt. It is certain that the study of these new phenomena will lead to a readjustment of our notions of the transmission of energy by means of radiation.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

Since our last Chronicle, wherein we referred to the experiments of Guglielmo Marconi at St. Johns, Newfoundland, he has announced to the world something of the success he met with in those experiments. In *McClure's Magazine* for February, 1902, Mr. Ray Stannard Baker prints an account of Marconi's achievements as given by himself in a personal interview at St. John's and in conversation on a journey to Nova Scotia which Mr. Baker made in company with Mr. Marconi.

The results may be thus briefly stated: On December 10, 1901, Marconi sent up one of his kites as a preliminary test of the wind velocity. The wire snapped and the kite blew out to sea. He then sent up a 14-foot hydrogen balloon which met with the same fate. On the 12th he succeeded in holding a kite at an elevation of about 400 feet. By previous agreement the operators at Poldu, Cornwall, England, were on the receipt of the news that everything was ready to begin sending the prearranged signal at 3 P. M. and continue to do so at regular intervals until 6 P. M., English time. This corresponded to the time between 11.30 and 2.30 P. M. at St. Johns.

At noon on December 12, at his table with all the delicate receiving instruments within easy reach and connected to the ærial wire, Marconi sat, a telephone receiver to his ear, waiting for the signal. For half an hour nothing was heard. Then the tapper hit the coherer, an indication that something was coming. Shortly after Marconi handed the receiver to his companion, Mr. Kemp, asking him to try if he could hear anything. Mr. Kemp took the receiver and heard faintly yet distinctly the three little clicks, the letter S, sent out from England by previous arrangement. At 10 minutes past 1 more signals came, and both observers assured themselves again that there could be no mistake.

At 20 minutes after 2 other repetitions of the signals were received. The fact that the kite did not maintain a constant height above the earth prevented the continuous reception of the signals sent out from England.

The previous successes of the inventor, coupled with the fact that he has never been obliged to retract any statement that he has given to the world, was sufficient to bring universal acceptance of the truth of the achievement the moment Marconi announced it.

Any doubt that might have arisen about the message having come from some passing steamer carrying Marconi instruments, was quickly removed by the fact that the "call" of a steamer is not the letter "S," but the letter "V." Moreover, the receiver used by Marconi was tuned to the transmitting instrument in England, and

would not respond to any other known transmitter. This method of tuning for selective signalling Marconi has perfected to a certain degree, but much yet remains to be done as far as the public has been informed.

After obtaining these results Mr. Marconi returned to England. If there was any doubt about the Newfoundland results it was dispelled by the results obtained on his return trip to New York. He reached New York on Saturday, March 1, and gave to the public through the daily press the facts concerning the communication kept up between the Cornwall station, England, and the Philadelphia, the vessel on which he sailed. Complete messages were received regularly until the vessel had reached a point 1,551.5 miles from the station at Cornwall, England. This was the last point at which a complete message was received, but signals continued to be received until the vessel had put 2,099 miles between herself and the sending station. This is about the distance the signals were received in the experiments made last December at Newfoundland; thus showing that the power of the Cornwall station is just about great enough to send signals that distance.

Mr. Marconi brought with him on this trip two experienced assistants who will have charge of the arrangements for the Newfoundland station. The power of the English station will also be increased considerably. When these improvements have been made we can confidently expect to see the commercial application of wireless telegraphy.

It is announced that a contract has been made with the Canadian government for the transmission of transatlantic messages at the rate of ten cents a word and press despatches at a rate of five cents. In return the government will contribute \$80,000 towards the erection of the station in Nova Scotia. If this be true there will be a saving of 60 per cent. on the present rate of 25 cents for ordinary transatlantic messages.

FORMATION OF HAIL.

An interesting article has lately appeared in *Knowledge* giving an explanation of the formation of hailstones. The explanation advanced draws on no occult forces, but shows that the forces we know exist are sufficient to account for the observed phenomena. First of all it is necessary to have moisture, and we know that it exists in the atmosphere in abundance. The clouds are nothing but great patches of moisture floating in the air. But for the formation of clouds even the moisture of the air must be condensed. For this

condensation a fall in temperature is necessary which is secured in the ever increasing cold of the higher elevations to which the moisture is rising. Then the condensed moisture must be floated for a time in the air. In the centre of the hailstone is found an atom of dust forming the foundation of the icy structure. The moisture of the air is thus suspended by this floating dust particle. The height to which the dust particle has been raised represents the expenditure of an amount of energy, for the force of gravity had to be overcome, and this can be done only by the expenditure of energy which alone does work. This is storing up in the dust particle with its load of moisture a large amount of potential energy which will be utilized in its future development.

The dust particle with its moisture must be raised to greater heights than the second stage of the process, the freezing of the water may be enacted. This is the infant hailstone which under favorable conditions will develop. It must be carried up to colder heights by one of those strong ascending currents that rise from all parts of the earth. The existence of these currents is indicated by the cumulus clouds which are but the tops of such columns of air made visible by the condensation of the vapor that they carry. The tiny atom of dust with its load of moisture entering such an ascending column is carried to a height where its position is decidedly advantageous and where the water on it congeals. Even here it may find a new force to raise it still higher. Whenever condensation takes place there is always an accompanying liberation of latent heat. The effect of this heat is, of course, to raise the temperature of the layers of air in which it is set free and consequently to start a new upward movement of the air. Here the miniature hailstone would be in a region surrounded by ice crystals on which it could feed for its growth. Starting with this frozen rain-drop we find that it is resolutely pulled to earth by the force of gravity and must before long yield to this dominating force and begin its downward journey.

As it begins to descend slowly it draws to itself other particles of frozen moisture just as surely as it itself is drawn to the earth. This conglomerate mass is continually shifting its centre of gravity as it grows irregularly. In its downward journey it will pass through strata of the air that vary very much in temperature and moisture. Some layers will be above the freezing point and others below. In its fall it may plunge through a cloud a thousand feet in thickness. The moisture clinging to it is quickly frozen. This variation of conditions to which the hailstone is subjected produces a marked peculiarity in its structure. Each hailstone is made up of a series of icy girdles alternately clear and opaque. These tell the story of the strata through which it passed. When the temperature of the strata

was below that of the hailstone the moisture that deposited on it was frozen into a clear girdle of ice. When the temperature was above that of the stone then the girdle of ice was opaque.

Another favorable condition for the growth of a hailstone is the lengthening of the time of fall. The presence of conditions producing this effect can be easily detected at least in the case of hailstorms remarkable for the large size of the hailstones. Hail usually accompanies a thunderstorm or a tornado. In both there is an atmospheric whirl. A hailstone in the process of growing caught up in this whirl instead of falling direct to earth in a vertical line, would be carried round and round in the air, an operation that may be repeated several times. In this motion it will be carried again and again through strata of varying degrees of moisture and temperature, and its growth will go on just as if it was falling vertically, only that it will continue longer and produce a larger hailstone. Finally a variation in the rate of motion or in the size of the stone will result in the stone being cast off from the sides of the cloud. As a result the hail falls on the earth in a long narrow belt, the width of which is determined by the dimensions of the cloud.

WIRELESS TELEPHONY.

The success of the method of transmitting telegraphic signals without the use of the familiar land wires and submarine cables had the effect of stimulating research for a way of transmitting speech without the use of the connecting wires of our present telephone system. Although several attempts have been made to develop a successful system of wireless telephony, still the experimental stage has not been passed. Results have been obtained, however, which are very encouraging and which seem to point to a solution of the problem that will be of commercial value.

In this connection the wireless telephone system of Professor A. Frederick Collins, an electrical engineer of Philadelphia, must be referred to. The Collins system makes use of the earth as the connection between the sending and the receiving station. At each station there is the ordinary equipment of a simple telephone station, the telephone receiver and transmitter, connected up in the ordinary way. Instead of the ærial wire connections now in use, at each station a single wire runs down into the ground, where it is joined to a zinc wire screen buried a few feet beneath the surface of the earth. With such an arrangement sounds of all kinds may be sent through the transmitter and received with a distinctness surpassing that of the ordinary method of telephone communication.

By means of this invention messages have been transmitted without wires across the Delaware river, at Philadelphia, a distance of over a mile, and it is reported that the words received have in all cases been as sharp and as clear as if uttered by a person only a few feet away. The inventor, according to report, has solved the problem of selective telephony, whereby instruments may be so tuned that only the receiver intended will catch the message sent out by a given transmitter. In the arrangement referred to both a receiver and transmitter must be employed, for one of the instruments will not fulfil both functions.

M. E. Ducretet, a well-known French electrician, has been experimenting along the same lines and with very marked success. He also uses the earth as the sole conductor. In his experiments the transmitter consists of a microphone and a few cells of battery connected directly to two metal plates of considerable surface buried about six feet below the surface of the ground. This is the sending station. At the receiving station he makes use of a well about 60 feet deep. Down into this well a metal ball about three inches in diameter is lowered by means of an insulated wire. At the top of the well the wire emerges through a cast iron pipe twelve feet long and four inches in diameter. This wire is attached to one end of an ordinary telephone receiver, the other end of which is connected to the iron pipe at the surface of the ground. The metal ball at the bottom of the well rests upon the ground. Thus two earth circuits are made and in the experiments described they were a considerable distance apart, being separated by building with cellars and thick walls.

When the microphone is spoken into all the vibrations, even the feeblest, give rise to variations in the current which is closed through the earth. Notwithstanding the multiple variations of this current and the nature of the conductor, the words are reproduced at the receiving station with remarkable distinctness. If the ball at the receiving station, which rests at the bottom of the well, be raised off the ground all reception of messages ceases at that station. In the neighboring building dynamos, both direct and alternating, were working during the experiments, but they did not interfere in any way with the transmission of the messages.

With the arrangement above described the operator was able to send currents strong enough to work a telegraphic relay and also an electric bell. M. Ducretet is at present continuing his experiments over greater distances and under varying conditions.

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Notices.

JESUS LIVING IN THE PRIEST. Considerations on the Greatness and Holiness of the Priesthood. By the *Rev. P. Millet, S. J.* English Translation by the Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D. D., Bishop of Nashville. 8vo., pp. 517. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This work was originally written in French and first published in 1858. It was afterwards translated into Italian and ran through four editions, the last one appearing in 1898. The author's name did not appear on the first edition, but the merits of the work were sufficient to procure for it a warm reception. Then the author carefully revised it, made many additions to it and brought it out over his own name. He explains his purpose briefly thus:

"The only end which I propose myself in this work is to increase the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ in priests and through them, in all Christian peoples. The title which I give it necessarily forbids mention in its pages of certain vices which at times dishonor the sanctuary, and I have therefore excluded all such matter. A long experience, gained in giving retreats to ecclesiastics, has taught me, first, that it is very beneficial to remind a priest of his sublime vocation and to strongly impress upon his mind whatever will best serve to withdraw him from all that is base and mean; and, next, that he should be encouraged rather than frightened. While his mission is to do good, many struggles and gainsayings come to him from every side, and, of all temptations, discouragement is the most frequent and the most depressing. My purpose is to place this book at his side as a friend to buoy him up, to strengthen and console him; as a friend who will ceaselessly speak to him, saying: Courage, courage, O man of God! You are going along the same road already traversed by your Divine Master. He looks down upon you from high heaven, and is preparing to crown, not what you successfully accomplish, but what you honestly endeavor to do."

The history of the present translation is interesting. "The translator, while in Rome in 1899, picked up a copy of the work in a book store. He was attracted by the title, and still more by the table of contents. No book he had read on the subject seemed quite satisfactory. He began to read this, and was fairly carried away by its order, its precision, its luminous teaching, its deep spirituality and its common sense. When he had read it through he put it aside for some months and then took it up again. It was even more instructive, edifying and delightful than when first read, thus fulfilling in a measure the conditions of a classic."

The declaration of the author's purpose and the translator's experience caused us to approach the book with keenly awakened interest, and we were not disappointed. Every priest must have felt over and over again the discouragement that follows a realization of the sublimity of the priesthood and man's unworthiness. At such times he must have yearned for the reassuring voice of a true friend who would bid him take courage and remember that he was walking in the footsteps of the suffering Jesus, who would crown not only his successful accomplishments, but his honest endeavors. And now to be assured that he can find this friend in Father Millet's book, is sufficient to induce him to take it up with the eagerness with which he would run forward to meet a dear friend.

The plan of the work may be set forth in six considerations. The first deals with the general idea of the priest; the second with his hidden life, a preparation for the office of the priesthood; the third with his public life, exercises of the sacred ministry; the fourth with his suffering life, the trials of the sacred ministry and conditions of success; the fifth with his Eucharistic life, the Eucharist being the great means of achieving success in the labors of the ministry; and the sixth with his glorious life, the rewards of the labors of the holy ministry.

It can be seen at a glance that the whole life of a priest is summed up under these headings, clearly and completely. In the development of these general divisions the author is still more luminous, as the sunlight first shows us the general outlines of a room and its contents, and then more perfectly describes colors and shapes. He develops his subject so gradually, so clearly, so convincingly that he draws the reader after him irresistably, and illuminates his mind and moves his will. It is this combined power that is most remarkable. It is not so rare to meet with authors who provoke thought, but the author who compels action is the master.

At the beginning of each section there is a prologue or synopsis of the matter which follows; at the close there is an epilogue, or summing up of what has gone before; between these the subject is developed and illustrated.

Here is an example of how forcibly the truth is stated:

"Zeal is revealed in its effects. There is no fire without heat. Now, tell me, is the fire within us felt by those about us? Is the purpose and scope of our labors and whatever we do to carefully cultivate the field entrusted to us; to instruct the ignorant, to bring back the erring and to strengthen and support the righteous?

"You tell me that in your parish faith is gradually becoming extinct, that the sacraments are not frequented, that the laws of the Church are spurned and despised; that vice has usurped the place of

virtue, and that everything is languishing, decaying and going to the bad. But if the wolf is ravaging the flock, whose fault is it? Is it not the fault of the pastor who instead of watching is droning and slumbering?" Then follows a warning against mistaking the effect of a restless temperament and an impetuous character for zeal. Here is the test of true zeal: "Does your charity take on every form? Does it go out to all your erring brethren? Do you labor in season and out of season for their salvation? Do you promptly welcome them, no matter whence they come, even though they differ from you in all things not essentially of faith?" Is not this thought provoking?

The chapter on preaching is particularly strong. "The curse of the age is that the Saviour of the world is not known. There is no notion of life higher than that of the senses and superior to reason; the principle of grace is simply ignored. The educated are rationalists and the ignorant do not think at all, while both are in their lives practically Pelagians with the exception of a few who realize the necessity of supernatural aid for the practice of virtue, and earnestly and continually seek it in prayer. This is the reason why souls have neither strength nor energy; why they faint and lie helpless by the wayside.

"The sum of Christianity is this: Human nature fallen in Adam and rehabilitated in Jesus Christ.

"Rationalism, which is an epitome of all errors, is nothing more nor less than a protest against the dogma of the fall of man and his rehabilitation by Jesus Christ. If in our instructions we succeed in firmly establishing these two palmary truths, in bringing them home to the people, and in making them dominant throughout the world, we shall have utterly overthrown, to the very foundation, the master heresy of modern times, and furnished the only efficient remedy against anarchy in the intellect and corruption in the will.

"The first form of instruction, and the most important, is the catechism, provided the catechism is a good one and the catechist knows how to use it. Catechism is the milk of childhood. The explanation of the Gospels and sermons are the bread which is broken to the strong."

How nicely the defects of preaching are summed up under three heads. "The first defect is to say good things, but to say them wretchedly: *bona sed non bene*. The second defect is that of those who talk well, in fact too well, but who say nothing worth listening to: *bene sed non bona*. While avoiding the second defect be on your guard against falling into a third, the worst of all, namely, the defect of saying worthless things, and saying them wretchedly: *nec bona nec bene*

"This is frequently what happens in the case of those speakers who boast of being able to preach on the spur of the moment, and who go up into the pulpit without any preparation whatever, either proximate or remote. These men overwhelm their audiences with a deluge of words which have neither sense nor application to the matter in hand; they throw out statements at random and utter propositions that are inexact if not erroneous; they weary their hearers by their endless prolixity. Once they get into the pulpit they seem determined to stay there; they cast themselves upon the bosom of the stream of their own eloquence, and are borne along by its current; in their journey onward they describe the woods and the meadows, the cities and the mountains, without knowing when or where to cast anchor or to come ashore. They so overload and confuse the memory of their hearers that these are incapable of retaining anything of what has been said. It is like putting out a lighted lamp by flooding it with oil."

We could go on quoting indefinitely from every page in the book, but sufficient has been produced to give a hint of its excellence. It should be in the hands of every priest in the country. Its value cannot be overestimated. No one can read it without being benefitted by it, and it can be read with profit continuously. It is a great book.

FENELON: HIS FRIENDS AND HIS ENEMIES, 1651-1715. By *E. K. Sanders*. 8vo., pp. 426, with portrait. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The book is divided into two parts; the first treats of "Fenelon and the Controversies of the Church;" the second treats of "Fenelon in Exile." There are seven chapters in the first part entitled: "The Early Years of Fenelon," "Louis, Duke of Burgundy," "Madame de Maintenon," "Madame Guyon," "The Quietism Controversy," "Bossuet and Telemaque," "Fenelon and the Jansenists." There are six chapters in the second part, headed: "The Familiar Friends of Fenelon," "Fenelon the Politician," "From Cambrai to Versailles," "Fenelon the Archbishop," "The Spiritual Letters" and "The Last Years of Exile." There is also an appendix containing a few notes and a very short index.

It is always best to let an author speak for himself, for it is always fairest. He says on the first page:

"In this endeavor to portray the figure of Francois de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai, it has been my desire to discover and set forth the truth, and not to shroud or overwhelm him with the glories of a perfection to which he did not attain. There is no dimness or uncertainty to obscure his reputation. His name occurs in less or

greater prominence in most of the innumerable memoirs and correspondence of the period ; but he attained to that unenviable pitch of eminence which makes a character a party question, and the testimonies regarding it are therefore curiously conflicting. It is certain that he was ambitious, but he lacked the cool and wary temper that secures fulfilment of ambition. He was headstrong, and his self-confidence lured him to inconsistency. He could be jealous also, and, even when the passage of the years had purified and tempered many weaknesses, a little spark of malice, lying far below the surface, broke into flame. But though these stains, and others such as these, lie marked and defined upon the pages of his record, it does not cease to be a fair one, and every stage in the advance to closer knowledge of him establishes the conviction of his abiding purity of faith and conduct with greater clearness."

This is a fair beginning, and it makes us wish that the author had clung more faithfully to his text. If his theme throughout the book had been Fenelon, and other had been introduced only so far as they threw light or shadow on him, we should have had a much more pleasing and profitable book. But, unfortunately, Mr. Sanders decided to write a history instead of a biography, and that is, we imagine, the more difficult task. The title of the book indicates the spirit in which it is written. If an author starts out with the thought in his mind that those who agree with his hero are the hero's friends, while those who disagree with him are his enemies, he will almost certainly produce a distorted picture. He espouses the cause of the person about whom he writes, and he is no longer able to understand that there may be an honest difference of opinion about the topic under discussion. He also loses sight of the truth that good men sometimes do imprudent things, or hurt others through mistaken or misguided zeal. It is hardly fair to call such persons enemies of their neighbors. The word has an ugly sound, and should be used seldom. It is certainly a very serious matter to fasten it to a man of unblemished reputation who does not agree with another on questions of policy, or expediency, or the application of principles to particular cases. Such a treatment of a subject is due in most cases to prejudice, or ignorance, or inability to understand, because of lack of sympathy.

The first and most important thing in a work of this kind is to get the right view point. Artists tell us that in order to judge a picture rightly we must get the artist's point of view. We must know the objects which he wished to reproduce, their relations to one another, their color, shape, size, not only absolutely, but under the light in which they are painted. Only then can we pass judgment on the picture.

This is true also of real life. To judge men and their actions we must see them as they lived; study their relations to one another; consider the light which shone on them, the difficulties which lay in their path and take into consideration all the circumstances that surrounded them. If we do not act in this way we shall surely get distorted views of men and things.

Probably there are few writers who intend to be unfair, and yet there are many unfair writers. The wrong view point is very often responsible. We fear that Mr. Sanders got the wrong view point, and hence a tone of bitterness runs through the book, and especially in reference to churchmen. For instance, on page 7 he tells us that Fenelon's time was "a period of perpetual intrigue and treachery, in which there were no adepts equal to the priests." Now that is one of those general statements so easily made and just as easily denied. Here is an example of the mean general insinuation even more unpardonable than the general assertion. "But the Jesuit confessors had methods of their own for justifying conduct. The Abbé Gobelin retained the direction of Mme. Scarron's conscience in spite of her questionable office; and later Bossuet joined him in the task of persuading her that she was the chosen instrument for the conversion of the King." Mr. Sanders ought to know that Jesuit theology is Catholic theology, and that to accuse them of being guided by a particular code of morals different from that which is used by other priests is very childish, to put it mildly.

There are many other things to which we object, but to which we cannot refer in particular. If one is sufficiently well read to take them at their true worth, he will find Mr. Sanders' book very interesting and very instructive. Others had better leave it alone.

A MANUAL OF ASCETICAL THEOLOGY; or, the Supernatural Life of the Soul on Earth and in Heaven. By *Rev. Arthur Devine*, Passionist, Author of "Convent Life," "The Creed Explained," etc. 8vo., pp. xxii., 616. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"Ascetical Theology may be defined: A science which from truths divinely revealed explains the doctrine by which souls are directed in the acquisition and perfection of the supernatural life, according to the ordinary providence of God. It is a branch of moral theology, and must of necessity have the ordinary science of theology as its foundation. Although with mystical theology it forms a sub-division of moral theology, it is distinct from both of these sciences. While moral theology prescribes the rules of action, ascetical theology teaches the means by which sanctity of life may be acquired, increased and perfected.

"On the other hand, mystical theology seems to indicate a higher and sublimer degree of asceticism. This science does not teach the ordinary and well beaten paths of perfection, but shows a *more excellent way*, and deals with a more hidden intercourse between man and God, always aspiring as it does to the higher and the better things, according to the words: *Whither the impulse of the spirit was to go, thither they went, and they turned not when they went.*"

Scaramelli thus explains Christian asceticism. After the soul, assisted by Divine Grace, has overcome the sensitive part of our being, and withdrawn it from unlawful indulgence in the use and fruition of creatures, and after it has been established in justice according to the rules of moral theology, then, strengthened and attracted by God, it begins to ascend higher in the scale of perfection, and causes the inferior part of our nature to ascend with it, and thus to become more spiritual. The spiritual or supernatural life is the true life of man.

Before a man reaches the perfection of the spiritual or supernatural life it behooves him to labor much, to fight hard, because the sensitive part is entirely inclined to creatures, and it does not freely and easily follow the spirit ascending to God, but does so only by force and pressure.

The ascetical man—the man desirous of Christian perfection—not only does not wish to transgress the limits placed by God on earthly enjoyment, but wishes not to exercise his whole liberty with regard to such enjoyment. The moral man maintains a *necessary* course between God and the creature; the ascetical man elects a *free* course, not according to the liberty of the senses, which does not wish to be restrained by any law, but according to the liberty of the spirit, which does not wish to be impeded by any cupidity. The supernatural or spiritual man, when he goes beyond the way of the Commandments and enters upon the way of the counsels, has no longer the beaten and well-known path indicated by the Tables of the Law, written with the finger of God, to tell him distinctly what to do and what to avoid.

There are two ways of the counsels by which man, whether in the active, or in the contemplative, or in the mixed state, may arrive at Christian perfection. The first consists in the *perfect* observance of the Commandments. The other way of the counsels exceeds the way of the Commandments as to its object in so far as it involves new duties and adds them to the Commandments.

In the first way—namely, that of the Commandments—all who desire perfection can and ought to walk, because it is a false devotion to observe counsels and to neglect the Commandments.

In respect to human beings and God's dealing with them, there are

three forms of the supernatural which are manifested: miracles, revelations and the operation of grace. The present work deals with the last. It treats of the supernatural life of our souls as effected by grace and the virtues here, and perfected by the Beatific Vision on obtaining our last end in the possession of God in heaven.

For the sake of order and of greater clearness the work is divided into three parts, and these parts are again sub-divided into chapters. Part I. treats of the supernatural life of the soul on earth, considered in its nature and as to its gifts, and contains nineteen chapters. Part II. explains in fourteen chapters the growth and increase of the supernatural life and the means of that increase. Part III. is occupied with the consideration and exposition of the final perfection of the supernatural life in heaven, and consists of nine chapters.

The importance and excellence of the work may be gathered from this outline of its scope and plan. It has an added value at the present time, when on the one hand there is such a frightful tendency in popular educational institutions to infidelity, and on the other an inclination on the part of earnest non-Catholics to enter the true Church.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By *L. York Powell, M. A.*, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and *T. F. Tout, M. A.*, Professor of History at the Owens College, Victoria University. 8vo., pp. XLII.—1115. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. New Edition in One Volume, revised throughout, and with additional matter and Index. With 38 Maps and Plans.

This is a new edition of a work which formerly appeared in three parts. It was already known and highly commended. In its revised form it is certainly up to date, for it contains an account of the English-Boer war in South Africa, and closes with the fall of Pretoria and the flight of President Kruger.

This history was planned and has been written with an especial view to its use in schools and among younger students who read on the subject. It contains, first, a connected relation of the main facts of the political and constitutional history in due chronological order; secondly, a sketch, as thorough as space would allow, of the course and progress of the language, literature and social life of the English people, in a series of chapters at the ends of the various periods into which the history naturally falls. The authors tell us that they have tried to make the book a history not merely of England or England and Wales, in the narrower sense, but of the whole British Empire, and have given as much space as they could command to the history of Scotland and Ireland, the old and new Colonial Empires and the British domination in India. For the full understanding of many of the institutions and events noticed the beginner will require oral help from the teacher.

it many valuable works are almost useless, because the busy reader has not time to search for the information which he needs; with it whole libraries are brought within his reach, and lay quickly before him their hidden truths. The indexing of books in general is a comparatively modern art. We have had indexes or concordances to more important works a long while ago, the first index to the Bible dating back to 1247, but now every work of importance has its index. In 1877 an Index Society was formed in England for the purpose of making and printing indexes of particular subjects, and of gradually preparing a universal index for reference.

It must be very gratifying to all students of history to know that the splendid reprint of the Jesuit Relations which the Burrows Brothers Company has been producing since the autumn of 1896 has been provided with an admirable index. The work itself is invaluable. There is no printed collection of original historical documents to be compared with it. There is no other historical work extant in which all the conditions for the production of historical truth are more perfectly present. The historians are holy, simple minded, learned men, writing for the eye of their superior only, as they would write for the eye of God, for they see in the superior God's representative. They set down exactly what occurred, as they saw it, without fear or favor, and not knowing that the narrative would ever appear before the world. This is history in the truest sense of the word, and yet it is the rarest kind of history. It would be a pity indeed if any one should tamper with these precious documents. To change them in any way would seem almost a sacrilege. The great value of this reprint is in its faithful reproduction of the original. The editor performed his work in the right spirit. He says:

"Approaching the task with no conscious prejudices of either race or religion, it has been the sole desire of the editor impartially to collect, preserve and annotate this great body of documents having so important a bearing upon the foundations of American history. An editor of historical sources cannot with propriety comment upon the character or the motives of the actors in the drama outlined upon his pages; sufficient that, without fear, favor or bias of any sort, he presents materials from which philosophical historians may construct their edifices."

The Index is up to the standard of excellence shown throughout the rest of the work. It is well arranged and very comprehensive. It is really a key. We have fitted it to the lock several times, and it always opened the door. Those who have this monumental work are to be congratulated. It will grow more valuable year by year, and scarcer, for it is not likely that owners will part with it.

THE ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT. By *Rev. A. Ténière*, Priest of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament. Translated by Mrs. Anne R. Bennett-Gladstone. 12mo., pp. 288. New York: Benziger Brothers.

What a consolation it is to every true Christian to see so many books on the Blessed Sacrament coming from the press. Surely it indicates an increasing faith in the real presence, and a growing love for the Eucharistic Saviour. If every good word is like a fruitful seed which, dropped on ready soil, brings forth good fruit, who can measure the great harvest which follows the publication of a good book. Sometimes one is tempted to think that too many books are written, and that more good might follow if the attention of readers were given to fewer. This might be so if truth could be stated in such a manner as to suit all capacities in one form and to attract them. But because the human mind is capable of so many changes, and such various degrees of development, truth must needs be presented to it in many forms and various costumes. The need for this variety and multiplication is increased when we consider that the purveyors of falsehood, taking the word in its wide sense, never tire of inventing new means to disseminate it.

Let us welcome, then, every grain of truth, no matter how humble, and do what we can to help it to fall on good ground, painfully conscious that much of it will be lost. It is most becoming that following the introduction of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament into this country, we should have introduced into our language so charming a work on the Blessed Sacrament by one of its members, as the book before us. It is divided into five parts treating of: The reasons of the Eucharist, The divine titles of the Eucharist, The human titles of the Eucharist, The motives of the Eucharistic adoration, and The Exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Under each of these heads there are several chapters, each subdivided into Adoration, Thanksgiving, Reparation, Prayer and Practice. It is truly a work of devotion. Its pages speak to the heart and kindle the fire of love in it. When reading it we thought of the words of the disciples after Jesus had left them at Emmaus: "Was not our heart burning within us whilst He spoke in the way."

MADAME ROSÉLY. By *Mlle. V. Monnot*. Translated by Elvira Quintero and Jean Mack. 12mo., pp. 356. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey.

A letter which the Bishop of Agen wrote to the author of this book is the best introduction that it could have: "I cannot thank you sufficiently for having sent me a copy of 'Madame Rosély.' It is a most interesting book, and certainly no one could read it and not be encouraged to imitate the examples of the noble characters it describes. In these days, when so many frivolous and useless books

are thrust upon the public, every thoughtful person will welcome with delight a work whose every page not only charms the reader, but also contains such sound moral lessons. I congratulate the author of 'Madame Rosély.' She thoroughly understands the dangers to be encountered in the world, and faithfully portrays the ultimate success of a generous soul, who served God as faithfully in adversity as in prosperity. 'Madame Rosély' will undoubtedly do much good, and may even serve as a book of meditation."

The book is a collection of letters, very beautifully written and very skilfully arranged so as to make a connected story and teach excellent lessons without wearying the reader. Madame Rosély marries a widower, who lives with his mother and his two children, a boy and a girl, aged respectively 8 and 11. She goes to live in the same house with this family. Her husband's mother resents her coming, for she is opposed to her son's second marriage. She wished to continue head of his house. She tries to teach the children to hate their stepmother, and she finds an apt pupil in the girl. The boy, who is younger and has a better disposition, is pulled in several directions by his divided affections. When Madame Rosély becomes a mother her own child becomes a new cause of discord. Her husband suffers serious financial losses, and this makes her lot still harder.

It is easy to understand that such a situation offers a splendid field for the exercise of all virtues, natural and supernatural. Madame Rosély possesses them, and when she fails, her good Christian mother comes to her rescue. Most of the letters in the collection are written by mother to daughter, and daughter to mother, but other characters are introduced to complete the picture.

The book is particularly suitable for young girls, and it might be placed in the hands of all pupils at convent schools with great profit. The good mother, daughter, wife and Christian woman meets the reader in a manner so attractive as to claim imitation.

KINKEAD'S BALTIMORE SERIES OF CATECHISMS. Nos. 00, 0, 1, 2, 3. 16mo., paper. New York: Meany Printing Company, 110 West Eleventh street.

What catechism shall we use? is a question that is often asked, and seldom answered in the same way by many persons. Nearly every one has his favorite, which is generally the book that he used in childhood, and it is hard to get him away from his prejudice and induce him to consider the volume strictly on its merits. Hence we hear of new editions of old catechisms brought out from time to time by admiring friends, who believe that they are the best, because they never consider the merits of any other. Thinking men, and

especially educators, knowing that catechism is the most important of all studies, and realizing at the same time that it is the most difficult from the teacher's point of view, are always looking for the author who can make it easier. He is a hard man to find. It may seem an easy task to write a catechism, but those who have tried it know that it is most difficult. The best proof of this assertion is the number of failures that confront us. Indeed the number of successful learned works of philosophy and theology far exceed, making due allowance for the public demand, the number of successful catechisms.

There is a mysterious quality which distinguishes the good catechism from the bad one that is hard to define, but which is unmistakably present in one and absent from the other. It is easy for us to say that we should have uniformity in our catechisms, so that all children at all times and in all places may learn the same answers to the same questions. We may also assert truthfully that a catechism should be comprehensive, clear and simple. But all this does not fully explain why one is accepted and the other rejected, or one approved and the other disapproved. There seems to be something in the author's personality, in addition to his learning, training and other virtues natural and acquired, that completes the equipment of the successful author. The combination is rare. The author whose books are under notice on this page has it.

Father Kinkead has taken the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore and rearranged it, and added to it, and explained it, until he has constructed a series that we believe will be found to answer all requirements. It has already received the most flattering commendations, and it is being adopted as it is becoming known. It has the quality of uniformity, because it is founded on the Baltimore Catechism, and it is unexcelled for comprehensiveness, clearness and simplicity.

THE LIFE OF BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS and the first leaves of American Ecclesiastical history. By *Rev. L. A. Dutton*. B. Herder: St. Louis, 1902. Price, \$1.50 net.

In this volume of 592 pages the story of the first priest ordained in the Western Hemisphere is told by an American priest who possesses all the qualifications necessary for the task, except a perfect command of the English language. If his proof-sheets had been overhauled by some friendly hand, many ludicrous mistakes would have been corrected. However, since those of us to whom English is the vernacular are notoriously reluctant to submit to the drudgery of book-making, we have but little right to find fault with the

courageous efforts of our foreign-born colleagues to make good our deficiencies. "I have told in English," says Father Dutto, "*as well as I knew how* the story of the first American priest, that the ten thousand English-speaking American priests might have a mirror in which to reflect their own lives and a prototype to copy."

Our verdict, after reading the book, is that the author has done the main work very satisfactorily. Without endeavoring to canonize his hero, or descending to the level of a blind panegyric, he has set the amiable figure of the immortal Protector of the Indians before us just as he moved and acted. The total absence of any straining after rhetorical effect in the telling of the tale serves to enhance the interest of the story. The eminently successful efforts of Las Casas to preserve the aborigines from annihilation have been the subject of reiterated laudation on the part of writers of all classes, and they ought to be known and studied in detail by the American priests to whom they form an inheritance of glory.

A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY ON HOLY SCRIPTURE for the use of those who teach Bible History. By *Frederick Justus Knecht, D. D.*, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Freiburg. Translated and adapted from the sixteenth German edition. Preface by Rev. Michael F. Glancey, Chancellor of the Diocese of Birmingham. Second English edition revised. Vol. I., The Old Testament; Vol. II., The New Testament. Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder, 1901. Price of both volumes, \$4.00 net.

In the year 1894 we extended a warm welcome to the valuable addition made to our meagre catechetical literature by Father Glancey's translation of Dr. Knecht's Commentary on Holy Scripture, a work highly prized by Catholic teachers in Germany, as was proved by the demand for twelve successive editions in the space of ten years. That the work continues to keep its place as the mainstay of German Catholic catechetical instruction is shown by the fact that it still maintains its glorious record of a new edition each year. No words of ours could add weight to the impressive eloquence of figures like these. In view of the limited demand for truly scientific works in English-speaking Catholic circles, there is some slight reason for congratulating Father Glancey upon the exhaustion of a single edition in six years. If our clerical readers will take our advice they will place a copy of this admirable work in the hands of each teacher of Bible history in their respective schools, and we pledge our word that they will be extremely gratified with the results obtained.

CATHOLIC STORIES. By Anna T. Sadlier, Clara Mulholland, Mary E. Waggaman, Emma H. Wight, Mary E. Mannix, Mary G. Bonesteel and Catharine Tynan Hynkson. 16mos., with frontispiece. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This series of short stories by well-known and approved Catholic authors will be welcomed with acclamations of delight by the little

ones for whom they are intended. It is a reading age, and children catch the fever very early. It is most important that the food for their minds should be carefully chosen. And yet in practice this is too often neglected. Newspapers with their scandals, magazines with their startling and sometimes shocking pictures, novels with their slurs at religion and good morals, and their approval of disobedience, disrespect for authority, parental, civil and ecclesiastical, and at least tacit approval of marital infidelity, are spread upon the family table and permitted to fall into the child's hands. Very often the poison is drunk with avidity and the harm done continues for years. If some parents were as careless about their children's stomachs as they are about their intellects, the little ones would die in a night of indigestion. If they must read, and the less they do of it in early years, the better, because of the difficulty of finding books suited to their capacity, at least furnish them with the best material at hand. The books before us can be recommended as bright, interesting, wholesome, and in every way safe. The attention of parents, guardians and teachers should be called to them.

CASUS CONSCIENTIAE PROPOSITI AC SOLUTI a *R. P. Eduardo Genicot, S. J.*
Opus Postumum accomodatum ad Theologiae Moralis Institutiones Eiusdem Auctoris. Duo volumina, 8vo., pp. 428, 605. Lovanii: Typis et Sumptibus Polleunis et Ceuterick.

Theologians who have made the acquaintance of Father Genicot's excellent work on Moral Theology will welcome the present work, in which those principles which were stated so clearly, and explained so fully, receive their practical application. Coming from the press so soon after its elder sister makes it doubly welcome, because each calls attention to the excellence of the other, and the student can make the acquaintance of both at the same time.

Father Genicot's former work has already been reviewed in these pages, and it would be superfluous to say more now than that it wears well, and improves on acquaintance. We are sure that we can promise as much for the work before us.

"ORATE FRATRES:" collegit, disposuit, edidit *P. Gaudentius*, Ex-Definitor Generalis O. F. M. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder, 1901. Price, \$1.10 net.

This is a model prayer book for priests and seminarians. The arrangement is simple and easily understood. Every need of the soul has been considered and attended to. We specially laud the spirit of self-restraint which has kept the pious author from substituting new prayers of his own devising for the time-honored words of the saints. We strongly recommend the book to the devout clergy and to the superiors of seminaries.

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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DANTE'S CONCEPTION OF THE BEATIFIC VISION.¹

"I rejoiced at the things that were said to me: We shall go into the house of the Lord."—Ps. 121.

H^E must be a bolder man than Carlyle who would to-day assert that "the many volumes by way of commentary on Dante and his Book have, on the whole, been written with no great result." The enthusiasm with which the cult of the poet has been revived in recent years has surely been productive of high scholarship, and dispelled many obscurities. Much concerning his life and teaching is intelligible to us that to our fathers was enveloped in mystery and conjecture. The poetry, the history and the autobiography of the *Commedia* are so well explored that "he who runs may read." The theology of Dante is perhaps the one province in which happier results might have been reasonably expected. We must not be understood to imply that this study has been altogether neglected. On the other hand, it has certainly not received the attention it deserves. Non-Catholic writers have seldom the heart or patience to sound the depths of Dante's religion; nor is it perhaps unnatural that they should be out of touch with notions to them absurd and antiquated. Be this as it may, lack of sympathy is evident in the critiques of such eminent scholars as Dr. Moore and Mr. A. J. Butler—a *fortiori*, in pages containing a tithe of their erudition. Under these circumstances we need not be surprised if Catholic commen-

¹ The translations of extracts are taken either from Longfellow (L), or Carey (C), or Hazelfoot (H).

tators—unfortunately too few—lay unusual stress on the dogmatic element of the *Commedia*.

Mr. Gardner has set an example which it is to be hoped will find numerous imitators.² He has succeeded admirably, as the secular press attests, in explaining Dante's religious convictions by means of illustrations derived from the writings of theologians anterior to the fourteenth century. In the following pages, even were it possible, I shall attempt no such exhaustive comparison. My aim is rather to single out one point—and that the central idea of the *Paradiso*—and show with what skilful and almost imperceptible touches the reader is prepared for the grand climax of the final canto. Further, since the *Commedia* is before all "the *Summa* in verse" I shall endeavor to note how faithfully, even in details, this conception of the Beatific Vision reproduces in popular form the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The *Paradiso* is admittedly the highest of all Dante's flights of imagination, and on that account most difficult of understanding. Following the example of Holy Scripture he does not hesitate to employ that chaste realism without which the invisible world is to the concrete mind a sealed book. Yet he insists that all materialistic notions of God and the angels are strictly speaking false, and due to the feebleness of the human mind and language. The defect is entirely on our side, since, to quote the words of Dionysius, "It is impossible for the divine ray to illumine us unless it be shrouded by sacred veils." The closing lines of the *Purgatorio* were a record of the final purification of the pilgrim-poet. The long and searching trial needed to make him fit for the company of angels was at an end, every sin and every affection to sin being purged from his soul in his passage through the despair and anguish of hell and the penitent tears of Purgatory. Fresh from the saving waters of Lethe and Eunoe, no unworthy ties remain to bind him to earth. Joyfully he follows Beatrice, his celestial guide, and with her swiftly soars heavenwards—to God, who is the goal as well as the source of all creation.

Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move
Ciò ch'ella crea e che natura face.—*P'ar.* iii., 86-87.³

But for the action of the poem it is imperative that the pilgrim be not ushered straightway into the awful Presence-chamber, before which the attendant army would pale into insignificance. He must first pass through the outer courts and gather as he goes glimpses of increasing glory beyond. As the grandeur of an Oriental mon-

² "Dante's Ten Heavens," by Edmund G. Gardner, M. A. Second Edition Revised. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

³ This is the sea
To which is moving onward whatsoever
It doth create, and all that nature makes (L).

arch is shown forth in the gorgeous apparel of his slaves, so the magnificence of the King of Kings will be reflected in His servants. From their countenances and demeanor much can be inferred of the happiness which is their portion. The various heavens through which Dante has to pass—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Stellar Heaven and Primum Mobile—are therefore only symbolical of the grades of bliss and the intensity of vision enjoyed by the blessed in the supreme Empyrean. The poet expressly warns his readers that the spirits appeared to him at these different stages of his upward journey to illustrate more forcibly “the many mansions” actually existing in the Father’s home and also to strengthen his feeble sight against the overwhelming brilliancy of higher spheres.

Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,
E differentemente han dolce vita,
Per sentir piu men l’sterno spiro.
Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita
Sia questa spera lor; ma per far segno
Della celestial ch’ ha men salita.—*Par. iv.*, 34-39.⁴

Though in reality none of the nine lower heavens is its true abode the appearance of each spirit is always in strict keeping with the recognized symbolism of this or that planet. In the Sun, for instance, are gathered the great lights of the Church—doctors and teachers such as Sts. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and Chrysostom. Mars, the symbol of war, controlled by the Angelic Order of Virtues, holds many of the famous warriors of history; while in Jupiter, the Heaven of Justice, rulers of renown—David, Trajan and Constantine—are met.

Beatrice alone—his “gentle guide and dear”—is a sufficient reminder of his constant progress through realms of greater happiness, were he blind to all else. Passing from one heaven to another her smile brightens and her loveliness increases apace.

E vidi le sue luci tanto mere
Tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza
Vinceva gli altri e l’ultimo solere.—*Par. xviii.*, 55-57.⁵

and again :

La bellezza mia, che per le scale
Dell’ eterno palazzo piu s’accende,
Com’ hai veduto, guanto piu si sale.—*Par. xxi.*, 7-9.⁶

⁴ But all make beautiful the primal circle
And have sweet life in different degrees,
By feeling more or less the eternal breath.
They showed themselves here, not because allotted
This sphere has been to them, but to give sign
Of the celestial which is least exalted (L).

⁵ And so translucent I beheld her eyes,
So full of pleasure that her countenance
Surpassed its other and its latest wont (L).

⁶ My beauty, that along the stairs
Of the eternal palace more enkindles
As thou hast seen, the farther we ascend (L).

Arrived within Saturn she abstains from smiling for this very reason that Dante's mortal sight could not endure the test. He would be turned into ashes as Semele of old by Jove's unveiled beauty. Until he is made stronger to tolerate her excessive beauty, he does not dare to gaze on that countenance in which God seemed to rejoice.

E se natura od arte fe' pasture
Da pigliar occhi, per aver la mente,
In carne umana o nelle sue pinture,
Tutte adunate parrebbe niente
Ver lo piacer divin che mi rifiuse.
Quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.—*Par.* xxvii., 91-96.⁷

On reaching the Empyrean Beatrice's loveliness exceeds all powers of description. Whatever has been said before can give no true notion of the reality, and reluctantly Dante confesses his inability to praise her further in song.

La bellezza ch'io vidi sì trasmoda
Non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo
Che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.—*Par.* xxx., 19-21.⁸

This divinization of Beatrice forces on our notice the double part she is designed to play. Not only is she Dante's first love who was severed from him in the flower of her youth, but she is a striking personification of the Science of Theology which could lead men so near to God. It is the divine science, *par excellence*, because its aim is to know God and through Him His creatures, rather than to know Him through His creatures.

In Christian art and poetry the favorite, doubtless because the least difficult and most effective, way of portraying the spiritual world has always been to represent its people under the guise of human forms. Dante's scholastic temperament seems to have recoiled from this unphilosophic handling of the subject. Not even the saints will he represent in the bodies which were once theirs and which they are to resume at the last day. Much less will he concede to angels a form, be it ever so etherialized. St. John, once piously believed to have been assumed into heaven soul and body, is Dante's authority that "with two robes (of body and spirit) in the blessed cloister are two lights alone (*i. e.*, Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary)." For the rest, the saints, even such as Piccarda, who are lowest in glory, are conceived to be the faintest outline of their former selves, just sufficient to enable the poet to identify them.

⁷ And if or art or nature has made bait
To catch the eyes and so possess the mind,
In human flesh or in its portraiture,
All joined together would appear as naught
To the divine delight which shone upon me
When to her smiling face I turned me round (L).

⁸ Not only does the beauty I beheld
Transcend ourselves, but truly I believe
Its maker only may enjoy it all (L).

Small wonder that he falls into the opposite error to that which Narcissus made, mistaking a substance for a shadow. Beatrice has to correct and assure him they are "true substances" eager for converse. Even this semblance of corporeal existence is quickly discarded. Once the two lowest planets are left behind, there is no further allusion to the features of the Beatified. Henceforth their presence and movements are known only indirectly. Kindled in the light divine they are discernible one from the other by the effulgence which is measured out to each and corresponds to their height in glory. By the advent of these bright luminaries the pilgrim knows that a soul is nigh, though the veil be never drawn aside. It is left for Charles Martel to explain the strange phenomenon:

La mia letizia mi ti tien celato
Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.—*Par.* viii., 52-54⁹

Some signify pleasure at Dante's answers by their increased radiance; others, like Cunizza, indicate their wish to speak with him "by brightening outwardly." So brilliant was the glory of St. John that the apparition dazzled the eyes much as the beams of a tropical sun. While St. Peter is denouncing the usurpers who occupy his vacant throne on earth, the rays proceeding from him and the company of spirits suddenly change from white to red in token of displeasure. Not only is the happiness and glory of each saint commensurate with the brightness of its rays, it is also proportionate to the speed with which each light is seen to revolve. Accordingly, greater speed of gyration is at one time the gauge of individual joy, at another of preëminence among compeers. Similarly in the *Primum Mobile*, the abode of the angels, brightness and swiftness are sure signs of excellence. This accounts for the seeming paradox that the flame nearest the Divinity, and the innermost of the nine circling choirs, corresponds contrariwise to the outermost moving heaven. In material substances "extension," in immaterial "intension" connotes perfection. From the moment these angels were confirmed in grace they have never ceased circling round their Maker in such fashion as Dante now witnesses—"each differing in effulgence and in kind." It is one of St. Thomas' peculiar theories that they, unlike the saints, constitute each a distinct species, and thus every one is endowed with not merely an individual but also specific insight and resultant love.

It will not be out of place to consider why the poet so frequently employs Light as the symbol of eternal life. Later on we shall see that his sole expressions for the Divine Essence, visible in ecstasy, are *lume, luce eterna*. Dean Church has justly remarked the fidelity,

⁹My gladness keepeth me concealed from thee,
Which rageth round about me, and doth hide me
Like as a creature swathed in its own silk (L).

born of a loving study of nature, with which he describes every effect of light and shade, every color and hue. This is indisputable, but its employment in the *Paradiso* has, if we mistake not, a distinctly theological significance. Dante could not but be mindful of the traditional analogy between incorporeal existence and the phenomenon of light—an analogy, moreover, which had the sanction of Holy Scripture. God Himself dwelt “in light inaccessible.” Of the same nature is the Son, and therefore St. Paul does not hesitate to apply to Him the words of the Book of Wisdom and call Him “the brightness of everlasting light.” Nay, more, Christ had declared He was “the Light of the world”—the *lumen de lumine* of the Nicene Creed. In the *de Divinis Nominitus*, Dionysius diligently explains why God should so be called—“because He fills every mind with the light of knowledge; ignorance and error He dispels from the souls in which He dwells, and to them all dispenses His holy light . . . ‘intellectual light’ is that Good called which is above every light . . . flooding the celestial mind and out of Its fulness illuminating the earthly, and all their powers of intelligence renewing.”¹⁰ By a natural accommodation of meaning, the blessed, who partake of the divine wisdom, were also conceived to be founts of spiritual light and knowledge. The fact that light was believed to be truly incorporeal was an additional reason why Dante should consider the metaphor as particularly apt. A philosophy, which guarded him against the danger of anthropomorphic notions of the invisible world, recommended the use of an illustration at once forcible and least misleading. Besides, he had St. Thomas’ warrant for it—“Since all intellectual knowledge comes to us through the senses, we transfer even the terminology of ‘sensible cognition’ to that of the intellect, and especially those names which pertain to ‘vision,’ which is the most noble and most spiritual of the senses, and on that account more akin to the intellect; hence it is that ‘intellectual cognition’ itself is termed ‘vision.’”¹¹

“My instruction found entrance through the hearing and the sight.” While the pilgrim’s eyes are delighted by ever-changing scenes, his ears are charmed with the music that ever and anon issues from the rays of light. Now strains of some ravishing hymn, audible from afar, float nearer as a happy band approaches, and now with one accord all is hushed to listen to a client’s prayer; now again, his wish gratified, they return whence they came, taking up the while their former melody. Osannas and Glorias to the Blessed Trinity, intermingled with Aves in honor of the Queen-Mother, fill the heavens, and the happy listener surrenders himself to the intoxica-

¹⁰ C. 4, sec. 5.

¹¹ C. Gent., Bk. 3, c. 53.

tion. Many of the lights he declares to be "more sweet in voice than luminous in aspect." So exquisite was the harmony of the two garlands of saints in the sun, that there only where joy is eternal can it be appreciated—earthly music is not its faintest echo.

So full to overflowing seems their cup of gladness that it would appear impossible for them to receive any additional pleasure. And yet, on Beatrice's approach, the spirits of Mercury are heard to exult, "Lo! this is she who shall increase our love." Still more surprising is it, at first sight, that Dante's speech should add new joy to their lives. By unmistakable signs, however, they show that the gain is mutual and that they are "happier made at each new ministering." The underlying truth is perfectly intelligible in the light of certain scholastic distinctions which are here insinuated. The happiness of angel and saint with regard to its Last End—the Beatific Vision—can suffer no change or diminution. That will never be more or less than was once meted out according to individual deserts. But what is called their "accidental glory" is always capable of increase. Discussing the question as to whether angels can instruct one another, St. Thomas comes to the conclusion that since more truths are seen in God according to the perfection of one's powers, the higher orders can illumine the lower by discovering to them truths of which they were hitherto ignorant.¹² Dante follows in the footsteps of his Master and describes with marvellous exactness the relations of the saints to each other, and to their friends on earth. Their mutual charity, their evident desire to give of their store of knowledge and to obtain blessings for others are amongst the most effective touches in the book. In the restricted sense just referred to must be interpreted all similar passages, where, for instance, angels are likened to a swarm of bees flitting to and fro between the Blessed Trinity and the Saints of the Mystic Rose, carrying to each leaf and flower an increase of ardor and peace.

Even should exception be taken to these modes of expression, on the score of exaggeration, it could never be objected that we are left for a moment in doubt as to what constitutes the "essential happiness" of the blessed host. Many times and in many ways Dante is assured that the souls now before him are actually bathed in the light divine. High and low are gazing uninterruptedly in the mirror where all creation is visible. Therein they have seen Dante's question long before his lips have moved to utterance.

Queste sustanzie, poichè fur gioconde
Della faccia di Dio, non volser viso
Da essa, da cui nulla si nasconde.—*Par.* xxix., 76-78.¹³

¹² *Summa*, Ia p., qu. 106, a. 1.

¹³ From the first, these substances
Rejoicing in the countenance of God
¹³ Rejoicing in the countenance of God
Have held unceasingly their view, intent
Upon the glorious vision, from the which

The whole realm "secure and full of gladness, thronged with ancient folk and new, had look and love turned to one mark from which dependent is the heaven and nature all!" Saint and angel are absorbed in contemplation. It must be evident to a superficial reader that the temper of Dante's age was very different from the present. The pages of the *Divina Commedia* bear the impress of its psychological climate to a marked degree. Written in the golden days of Monasticism, when the great mendicant orders were flooding Europe with new spiritual life and vigor, when the example of Sts. Francis and Dominic was still fresh in the memory of men, when every Italian family sent its quota to swell the ranks of clergy or religious, it was natural that Dante should assume as axiomatic that the contemplative life was to be preferred to the life of action. We shall search the *Paradiso* in vain for any argument or demonstration to that effect. They were superfluous until the principle was called in question. For the presuppositions with which a layman started out, we must consult the tomes of those whose professed object it was to provide a sound basis for the Faith of the people. And what do we find? That they anticipated the objections of a Utilitarian generation which is ever asking, "Of what use are contemplative orders?" These doctors clearly show that of the two endowments of man, sufficiently generalized under the terms of knowledge and action, the former bespeaks our affinity to the angelic nature, the latter to the brute beast. "The highest achievement of man is that which is wrought by his highest power on the most worthy object: the intellect is his highest power and its most worthy object is the divine Good, which again is not the object of the practical judgment but of the speculative; hence his greatest happiness consists in the contemplation of divine things."¹⁴ In another book, St. Thomas subjoins seven additional reasons from Aristotle to convince skeptics that it was really "the better part" which Mary chose.¹⁵ True, this side the grave, contemplative life will always remain inchoative, but since it contains the germ of future bliss it excels and should not be stunted by bodily accomplishments. Imagination may play us false and incline us to irreverently wonder how we can possibly spend an eternity in contemplation without a sense of weariness, but reason, apart from Faith, tells us that the joy of heaven is founded in unceasing meditation and acts of love. To Dante our modern difficulty did not present itself, so that unless we admit his assumption we shall miss the point of many illustrations.

The saints are unanimous in confirming the Catholic teaching that the intensity of their vision is directly proportionate to the merits and gold of good works accumulated below.

¹⁴ *Summa*, 1a, 2æ, qu. 3, a. 5.

¹⁵ *Summa*, 1a, 2æ, qu. 182, a. 1.

E dei saper che tutti hanno diletto,
 Quanto la sua veduta si profonda
 Nel vero, in che si queta ogn' intelletto
 Quinci si può veder come si fonda
 L'esser beato nell' atto che vede,
 Non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda;
 E del vedere è misura mercede.—*Par.* xxviii., 106-112.¹⁶

Beatrice's words sound like a subdued echo of Tertullian's vehement rhetoric: "How are there many mansions in the Father's home, except through diversity of merits? And how can star differ from star except through diversity of rays?" (*Adv. Gnost. Scorp.* c. 6.) Dante found it to be the rule alike in the angelic choirs of the *Primum Mobile* as in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, where St. Peter stood forth preëminent among the saintly host.

A further truth conveyed in Beatrice's last utterance is repeated shortly afterwards in this wise:

. Però che all' atto che concepe
 Seque l'affetto, d'amor la dolcezza
 Diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.—*Par.* xxix., 139-141.¹⁷

The vision of the Good, the True, the Beautiful must move the beholder to corresponding delight and enkindle his desire to possess it. On this point the poet lays some stress. It is the capacity of the intellect, the power of penetrating the Infinite abyss that sets the limit to the creature's love, for as St. Augustine says, "No one can love what is unknown." The contrary opinion, that vision will be measured by the ardor of affection with which each spirit approaches the Eternal Banquet, he by implication rejects. "It is obviously false that the will is superior to the intellect as a motive power; for, primarily, the intellect moves the will . . . the intellect by its act understands, and in so doing anticipates the will; never would the will desire knowledge unless the intellect had first decided that knowledge was beneficial."¹⁸ This characteristic touch of the Angelic Doctor pervades the whole poem and gives us a clue to otherwise meaningless passages. The seraphim is the circle revolving nearest to God Himself precisely because profounder knowledge impels them, more rapidly than others, to union with the divinity. Thus is generated in them a love far surpassing that of the lower choirs.

Consistently with this pious imagery, the Blessed Virgin, who

¹⁶ And thou shouldst know that they all have delight
 As much as their own vision penetrates
 The Truth, in which all intellect finds rest.
 From this it may be seen how blessedness
 Is founded on the faculty which sees,
 And not in that which loves, and follows next;
 And of this seeing merit is the measure (L).

¹⁷ Inasmuch as on the act conceptive
 The affection followeth, of love the sweetness
 Therein diversely fervid is or tepid (L).

¹⁸ C. Gent., Bk. 3, c. 26.

eclipses angels and saints by the intensity of vision and love of God, shines upon Dante—not in the lower heavens, not even in the Primum Mobile, but above and beyond in the Empyrean itself. In the Heaven of the Fixed Stars she had indeed deigned to appear as the Regina Sanctorum Omnium, in the fair garden of the Apostles of which she was the Rose and they the Lilies. A momentary apparition was this and shown in the sequel to be an unusual condescension. Even while Dante gazed entranced on those flowers of Christ's Redemption, the central and largest, "which there excelled as on earth it excelled," was crowned by the Angel Gabriel, who had descended from the upper heaven to attend Her. Straightway she ascended from their midst, her praises chanted on all sides, swiftly through the angels' home to Her Son's side, "making diviner the sphere supreme." A glimpse was all that was vouchsafed to Dante of this ravishing scene, illustrative no doubt of her actual assumption and moral superiority over other creatures. Not until his sight had been inured to more brilliant objects and had been purified in the River of Life is her full glory unveiled to him. By that time, Beatrice had already bidden him adieu and entrusted to St. Bernard her lover's guidance through higher wonders, as if Theology were unequal to the task. As is fitting, the faithful Bernard first presents his charge to the enthroned Queen "to whom this realm (*i. e.*, the Empyrean) is subject and devoted"—his loving Mother Mary. It was insufficient, though necessary, that the pilgrim's eyes had grown accustomed to the pageantry of the lower heavens with their ranks of happy men and women, saints and angels, all raying out the light divine; it was insufficient that the beauty of his beloved had provided an ever growing foretaste of God; his final preparation can be no other than the contemplation of the least feeble reflection of the divine attributes. Seated in the midst of her jubilant court, she outshines them all as does the east the west on a summer morn.

Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a Christo
 Più si somiglia, ch'è la sua chiarezza
 Sola ti può disporre a veder Christo.

. Quantunque io avea visto davante,
 Di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
 Nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiante.—*Par.* xxxii., 85-93.¹⁹

There is another and more potent reason for turning to Mary on the very threshold of the Infinite. Most like to God and most loved of Him, she can obtain for her clients favors otherwise impossible.

¹⁹ Look now into the face that unto Christ
 Hath most resemblance; for its brightness only
 Is able to prepare thee to see Christ.

. Whatsoever I had seen before
 Did not suspend me in such admiration,
 Nor show me such similitude of God (L).

The crowning grace of gazing for one short moment on God must be sought at her hands alone. St. Bernard, in that beautiful prayer which has rendered the closing canto famous, begs the Virgin Mother to grant Dante his heart's desire.

Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi
Piu ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi
Ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi,
Perchè tu ogni nube gli dislegli
Di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.—*Par. xxxiii., 28-33.*²⁰

Once she has signified her gracious acquiescence, the issue does not long remain doubtful. Instantly Dante felt the stilling of desire within his breast, a sure sign of his near approach to "the end of all desires." The whole journey had been a severe yet invigorating discipline for this long-wished-for moment. By slow degrees he had learnt what the Beatific Vision is in its effect and had thus been enabled to form some faint concept of its magnificence. Hitherto he had been taught how wonderful is God in His saints, and how supremely happy are the myriads who possess the pearl of great price—but the source remained hid from view. Already he had been dowered with that supernatural strength without which no creature can hope to see God face to face, to wit, the Light of Glory:

La cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta,
Mi leva sopra me tanto, ch' io veggio
La somma essenza della quale è munta.—*Par. xxi., 85-88.*²¹

This was St. Peter Damien's description down in the Heaven of Saturn, since verified in the poet's own person on entering the Empyrean. St. Thomas gives us the reason of our necessity—"No created intellect can see the Divine Essence except in so far as God by His grace discovers Himself to the intelligence. . . . Yet intelligence, whether angelic or human, rises superior to the material world, and *can* therefore be raised beyond its natural powers to something higher."²² Commentators are not agreed as to the precise moment Dante would have us believe this sublime power was bestowed on him. The whole passage (*Canto xxx., l. 50 ad fin.*) certainly describes the uplifting of a blessed soul from the darkness of the outer world into the full light of glory. Perhaps we may go further and say that the poet has portrayed two phases of the one

²⁰ I who never burned for my own seeing
More than I do for his, all of my prayers
Proffer to thee, and pray they come not short,
That thou wouldst scatter from him every cloud
Of his mortality so with thy prayers,
That the chief Pleasure be to him displayed (L).

²¹ Of which the virtue with my sight conjoined
Lifts me above myself so far, I see
The supreme essence from which this is drawn (L).

²² *Summa* 1a, qu. 12, a. 4.

grace—first, the etherializing of the hidden powers of intellectual vision to a degree hitherto unsuspected, and secondly, the panorama of inconceivable delights that flashes into view of the new-born spirit. His eyes were opened to see the River of Life out of which angels are continually issuing to sink into the flowers (*i. e.*, the saints) that bedeck either bank. One mask remained to be torn away. Dante was commanded to slake the thirst of his eyes in those miraculous waters if he would see symbols transformed into realities. The whole army of the Church Triumphant broke in upon his sight in fashion of the sempiternal Rose, to whose every petal and leaf angelic bands were ministering. The *Lumen Gloriæ* floods his soul. This time he is in nowise confounded by new wonders—"My vision lost itself not in the vastness and height but the extent and nature of that bliss it all embraced." At last this newly acquired virtue is to be tested to its utmost, though it is clearly understood beforehand that it will fall infinitely short of its mark. Dante is well aware that no mortal eye can exhaust the mystery, any more than one can hope to fathom the ocean's depth. On this point he is as pronounced an agnostic as his master, who had laid it down that "only in so far does the creature penetrate the Divine Essence as he is suffused with a greater or lesser share of the Light of Glory. But since no creature can receive an infinite share, it is not possible for any one to know God perfectly."²³ In another pregnant passage Aquinas replies to a possible objection—that the blessed see everything in God—with this significant distinction: "If by 'everything' be understood whatever pertains to the perfection of the universe, manifestly *they can* who see the Divine substance. . . . If, however, whatever God sees in His own Essence be implied, then no creature can see 'everything.'"²⁴ The mysteries of Grace and Predestination, the secrets of hearts are hidden from the blessed, because they depend on the free will either of God or of man. There is no real discrepancy between this doctrine and the express declarations of Dante's interlocutors that they read his every question and wish where "ere thou thinkest, thy thought is revealed." Theologians agree that God satisfies every just and legitimate desire of the saints, and therefore reveals of His secrets whichever is of especial interest to them.

The ineffable vision has been vouchsafed to Dante himself, and together with the whole court of heaven he, too, is beholding the perfect mirror "where depicted everything is seen." The goal of his toilsome journey is reached! He stands face to face with his Maker and looks into the ocean of Light, whence flow the rivulets that till then have sated him. Words fail him, not as they had failed

²³ *Summa* Ia, qu. 12, a. 7.

²⁴ *C. Gent.*, Bk. 3, c. 50.

him before in the course of his narrative when he had only momentarily faltered, but because "our intellect, as it draws near to its desire, so far engulfs itself that memory cannot follow."

. . . . La mia vista, venendo sincera,
E piu e piu entrava per lo raggio
Dell' alta luce, che, da sè è vero
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio
Che il parlar nostro ch' a tal vista cede,
E cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.—*Par.* xxxiii., 52-57.²⁵

Deeper insight shows him how utterly misleading is human speech, cast in its iron moulds of time and space. He is seized with dismay at the hopelessness of any attempt to recall the stupendous scene.

O quanto è corto il dire, e come, fuoco
Al mio concetto! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi
E tanto che non basta a dicer poco.—*Par.* xxxiii., 121-123.²⁶

Nevertheless, for the sake of posterity, he essays the task, protesting its impossibility the while. There in the First Truth at once become self-evident all that mortals hold by Faith or feebly demonstrate. Contingency and contingent beings in their changing aspects stand revealed in the one supreme Necessity. In that Eternity outside time—outside all other limits—the past and future are wonderfully present. Every "when" and every "where" are focussed thereto, for is it not the centre and prime mover of the world—the alpha and omega of all.

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna,
Legato con amore in un volume,
Ciò che per l'universo si squaderna;
Sustanzia ed accidenti, e lor costume,
Quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,
Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.—*Par.* xxxiii., 85-90.²⁷

And yet in spite of these deep draughts of wisdom there remained ever an Infinite excess. Vision upon vision in the lower spheres had after all but ill prepared the pilgrim for the final one—and of necessity. "Broken lights" of the divine attributes, flashed from diverse points in the universe, wonderful on earth, in hell and in Purgatory, overpowering in heaven, are luminous indeed, yet

²⁵ My sight becoming purified
Was entering more and more into the ray
Of the High Light which of itself is true.
From that time forward what I saw was greater
Than our discourse, that to such vision yields,
And yields the memory unto such excess (L).

²⁶ O how all speech is feeble and falls short
Of my conceit, and this to what I saw
Is such, 'tis not enough to call it little! (L)

²⁷ I saw that in its depth far down is lying
Bound up with love together in one volume,
What through the universe in leaves is scattered;
Substance, and accident, and their operations,
All interfused together in such wise
That what I speak of is one simple light. (L)

compared with their source are as the twilight. Still they *are* something, and the more valuable to mortal man as they are better suited to his capacity. Infinite Justice, Infinite Knowledge and Infinite Mercy are easiest to describe in finite terms—in the personifications of Justinian, of Beatrice, of Our Lady. So, too, the sublime truths of the Blessed Trinity and the Hypostatic Union had been ever present to Dante on his upward way, foreshadowed by many a simple device. The hymns and movements of the saints, for instance, had been specially reminiscent of the Three in One. Again he finds by experience that the reality surpasses all conception. For an instant he is permitted to contemplate, in mute adoration, the most inscrutable of all mysteries:

Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
Dell' alto lume parosmi tre giri
Di tre colori e d'una continenza;
E d'un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,
Parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco
Che quinci e quin di egualmente si spiri

Quella circolazion, che al concetto
rareva in te come lume riflesso,
Dagli da sè del suo colore stesso
Dentra da sè del suo colore stesso
Mi parve pinta della nostra effige.—*Par.* xxxiii., 115-120; 127-31²⁸

Observe, there is no question in Dante's mind as to the absolute simplicity and immutability of the Godhead. He is most careful to warn his readers that there only appeared to be circles, etc.—*parvemi, parea*. Omnipotence remaining one and undivided seems to the onlooker to be full of never-ending changes. The Beatific Vision is a mass of apparent contradictions, until a final illumination reconciles the mystery of the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation, when of a sudden the rapture ends.

It is not the least hopeful sign of the times that the burden of the *Paradiso* is daily becoming better known and loved. In some cases the interest may indeed be purely æsthetic, but in others it is a stepping-stone to unknown lands. Enamored of Dante's exalted Idealism, many to whom Scholasticism was a byword and a reproach are led to regard with less disdain the intellectual giants of the Dark Ages. Closer acquaintance may discover to them what a priceless treasure bigotry has thrown away. The gain to the Catholic Church

²⁸ In the profound and bright fused elements
Of the high light, three circles on me beamed,
Triple in hues, and single in contents;
And one reflected by another seemed,
As rainbow is by rainbow, and the third
Seemed fire which equally from either streamed.

That circle which seemed so conceived to be
Within Thee, as to be a light reflected,
Of its own very hue appeared to me
Within, when somewhat by my eyes inspected,
To have our image painted thereupon. (H)

is obvious. Random criticism of her methods and aims must be gradually disarmed. Her doctrines, as set forth by her saintly sons, will have renewed power to compel the submission of the thoughtful. Surely this is an issue to be prayed for, to-day, when dogma is fast fading from men's minds, and when, as a recent writer has told us, "the art and mystery of religion, whether as a profession or a creed, have come into such peril as never perhaps was since Europe accepted the Christian teaching."²⁹

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THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.

THERE are not wanting reasons of a modern and immediate nature which make it henceforth useful and consoling to reflect on the earliest history of the Church, and in a special manner on the period of her foundation by the Apostles and their successors. The nineteenth century saw the almost complete loss of every external advantage that Catholicism had acquired through popular affection and public policy since the days of Constantine. The French Revolution was like a hurricane, after which only the hulk of the "Navicella" floated on the troubled waters of human life. Within one generation the mysteries of several ancient Oriental civilizations have been unveiled with a detail and an accuracy almost beyond belief. Egypt, Babylon, Assyria and remote India have yielded up with their languages an extensive knowledge of their history and their institutions. The remotest pre-history of the people of Europe has been laid bare, and in the process have arisen noble sciences like philology, anthropology and ethnology. Scholarly travel has chosen for its special object the rudest embryonic beginnings of human culture in every zone and clime. Thus we find ourselves in presence of an historical temper of mind that is very general, and whose first query is the natural and salutary one concerning the origin of things. Epochs of humanity, like the stages of the earth's growth, have each their own "cachet." In a critical and creative age, with so little left of the simple unquestioning habit of faith, it was impossible that the origin of so vast an institution as Christianity should not engage the attention of a multitude of students. It was impossible, too, that there should not follow a great diversity of views and opinions according as bias, heredity,

²⁹ q. v. Dr. Barry's article on *The Prospects of Catholicism* in the *National Review* for October, 1901.

prejudice, human weakness or insufficient knowledge affected the mind of the historical critic.

The soil of Rome, long neglected, has given up a multitude of monuments of a primitive Christian society that goes back without question to the years that immediately followed Christ's death. And the interpretation of these wonderful remnants of an early Christian community has again called the attention of scholars and travelers to the first days of that same society when it was spreading, silently but rapidly, through every ward of the Mediterranean Cosmopolis, and even beyond, into lands where the speech and the writ of Rome did not run.

Then, too, the steady consistent disintegration of the original bases of Protestantism, and the infinite discussion which that process has called up regarding the books of the New Testament and the primitive elements of Christian faith, have not failed to bring into evidence the teachings, the works and the writings of many apostolic men, and to place before the eye of the imagination the fields in which they labored. No doubt, the application to the science of history of the methods of the study of the natural sciences has largely furthered this remarkable movement. But many will believe that the incredible resurrection of the Catholic Church within this century, and especially her growth in North America, are to be counted appreciable motives in the awakening of curiosity as to the first establishment of Christianity in the Old World. Nor must we omit the far-reaching influence of certain sociological teachings that contravene Christianity, plainly deny or eliminate its essential principles, criticize its economico-social history, and thereby lay the axe at the root of our modern society, which still presupposes as basic and organic no few Christian principles, beliefs, institutions and habits of thought.

Neither the sixteenth nor the eighteenth century fulfilled the brilliant academic promises of "felicitas" that each made to mankind. What they offered as final theology and final philosophy has fallen into the same moral bankruptcy that Mr. Mallock and M. Brunetière are now predicating of dogmatic Protestantism and the self-sufficiency of the natural sciences. The result is a certain not unnatural reaction in favor of that aged and universal institution which has been the mother and the nurse of all modern societies, and which still goes on its beneficent way, with the same sure power, the same generous bestowal of peace and joy, of rest and consolation, of private and public weal, in every society where it is left free to display its mandate as the representative of Jesus Christ. Hence the cries of disappointment which so multiply on all sides, disappointment with the preposterous claims of mere knowledge as the power of salvation, with the transient victories of false and misleading philoso-

phies, with the earth as a sufficient abiding place for man. The very absolutism and arrogance of such contentions have led to the quick demonstration of their emptiness or insufficiency—they were like leaky cisterns or broken reeds, useless in the hour of need, or like those desert apparitions that promise water and shade and cool breezes, but in reality offer to the parched traveler only the same flaming horizon, the same dreary waste of sand as before. And in proportion as this temper of disappointment spreads and finds expression, so must increase respect and admiration for the Catholic Church, which, alone of human institutions, has never been blown about by every gust of doctrine, since she possesses in herself the needed ballast of conviction, a sure criterion of what is true, useful, permanent, adaptable and assimilable in the general experience of mankind.

For such and similar reasons the story of her foundation and first growth will always have a profound human interest and value. There can be nothing more worthy of attention than the little band of Apostles as they confront the *orbis terrarum*—the Greco-Roman world. Nor can there be anything more instructive and consoling than to learn by what means and against what odds their immediate successors planted the Christian society in every corner of that ancient world; by what a combination of public and private force this purely spiritual society was opposed; how it flourished in itself and developed organically its constitution, despite all obstacles from within and without; finally, how it shattered or survived every opposition, sat co-equal upon the throne of the Cæsars and divided with them the allegiance of mankind.

I.

When the Apostles went forth to teach all nations the doctrine of the Crucified Jesus, nearly all earthly power was possessed by the City of Rome. In the course of eight hundred years she had grown from a little stone fort on the Palatine to the most powerful and perfect state the world has yet seen. From the Atlantic to the Euphrates, from the Rhine and the Danube to the Cataracts of the Nile, her will was supreme; and if she recognized these limits, it was because beyond them there was little worth fighting for. Step by step, piecemeal, she had put together this “*massa imperii*,” subduing first the little towns in the surrounding plains and hills, and then breaking in turn the power of Macedonia and Carthage, of Mediterranean Asia and Parthia, of Northern Africa and Egypt, until there remained but one symbol of universal dominion—the Eagles of Rome, one supreme owner of the habitable earth and arbiter of

civilized mankind—the Roman People. By centuries of self-sacrifice and endurance, by prodigies of patience and wisdom, by a rock-like confidence in their City, by a kind of kenosis of self in favor of the common weal, by frugality and foresight, these shepherds, herders, vintners and kitchen-gardeners made themselves heirs of the vast immemorial Oriental despotisms of Egypt, Assyria and Parthia, with a hundred minor kingdoms. The same virtues made them the masters of Gaul, Spain and Britain, *i. e.*, of the most fertile soil of Europe and of the two great rivers that almost bind the Black Sea to the Atlantic, the Rhine and the Danube. All the golden streams of the world's commerce flowed now to one political centre, bearing Romeward with equal thoroughness all the confluent of art, literature and luxury. The glorious dreams of Alexander the Great were translated into realities when Roman "Conquistadori" sat at Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, Saragossa, Lyons and York. In the eventful struggle for the Mediterranean that began with the "Great Persian War" the first epoch was fittingly closed by the defeat of the Orient and the creation of a self-conscious Occident. But scarcely had the City of Rome enslaved the universal earth when the chains of her own slavery were forged at her own hearth. The noise of falling kingdoms alternates with the uproar of civil discord during the century that precedes the birth of Christ, and when these ever memorable conflicts are over, the power of Cæsar is securely anchored. All the reins of empire are in the hands of the young Octavius. For a while Cæsar will call himself only *princeps*, the foremost citizen of the city; for a while the Senate holds a formal but unsubstantial equality. All the great magistracies of the City are centred now in Cæsar and his heirs. The scarred legions of a hundred battle-fields are his; his the richest provinces, uncontrolled revenues and fleets; his, too, the legislative power, since the servile Senate no longer dares to refuse registration of every desire or suggestion of Cæsar. Wearied of self-government, with every enemy prostrate, at the acme of her glory and power, Rome abandoned all to the hands of one man, made perpetual and irrevocable that dictatorship to which in the past she had occasionally, but only occasionally, entrusted her supreme interests. The world, governed directly and immediately by Rome, reacted in turn upon the proud City, and where once a race of sturdy Italian freemen administered an humble commonwealth upon ancestral soil, there arose a new cosmopolitan government in which all the passions, vices and interests of the captive world had a growing share.

"*Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit.*"

Flattery and corruption, ambition and hatred and envy, stood guard around the imperial throne. The polished and conscienceless

Greek, the frivolous and boastful Gaul, the debauched Syrian, an almost nameless body of ex-slaves, were the true rulers of the world. The original Roman people had in great part made way for them, being cut off in long foreign wars, greatly decimated in the civil struggles that brought about the fall of the Republic, or hopelessly confounded with the descendants of those captives and foreigners that Rome had been absorbing during more than a century of universal conquest.

But the City in turn fascinated all who came in contact with her. She lifted men to her own high level. Those born to hate her became her humble slaves, ready to die for one whom the world now called the Golden City, the City Eternal, the Royal Queen, to whose "Genius" all the deities of all the races had done homage, and whose astounding "Fortune" dominated the imagination of all. Indeed, well might they call her the Golden City, the City Eternal! The stranger who entered her gates walked entranced through long rows of marble palaces, the happy homes of victorious generals, powerful lawyers, merchant-princes, when they were not hired out to a mob of Oriental kings and potentates. Splendid porticos, temples and baths dotted the city, and her public squares or "fora" were filled with forests of statues. Masterpieces of art and the curios of all past or conquered civilizations were to be seen at every turn—the fruits of foreign skill or rather of a long robbery of the world carried on with iron persistency for centuries. If this Rome was the abode of an army of spies and informers, she was also the home of literature and art and general human culture, such an abode as no city has ever been; for the relations of London to England, or Paris to France, express but feebly the intellectual supremacy of the City in the palmy days of her greatness. Within her walls she sheltered perhaps a million and a half of people, but her empire was over two thousand miles long and over three thousand miles broad, with a calculated population of one hundred to one hundred and twenty millions, and a subdued and docile territory in extent somewhat more than one-half that of the United States before 1870.

One may well wonder how this huge mass of empire, made up so late, by force, out of so much wreckage of nations, states and races, could be governed with success. Rome was not a victorious nation but a victorious City, and where she could she introduced her own municipal institutions, admirably fitted, as a rule, to the local circumstances of antique life. Then, she was no doctrinaire, and where the native fierceness or raw simplicity of the vanquished forbade her usual policy, she governed them in a way suited to their temper and her real power. Her provinces were usually complexus of cities, each responsible for its own "suburbium," and in each province the

chief Roman magistrate, whatever his title, wielded the entire power of Rome, civil and military. He governed immediately and directly in the interests of the City, which looked on the whole world as the "farm of the Roman people," precisely as any subject city of hers looked on its suburban territory. These interests demanded peace and prudent administration of the sources of revenue—hence the increase of population and of the general welfare of the great provinces in the century or two that followed the birth of Christ. From the "Golden Milestone" in the very heart of Rome there branched out to the ends of her empire a huge network of communication, great roads paved with basaltic or lava blocks, some remnants of which yet remain and show the deep ruts of the chariot wheels or the heavy trucks that for centuries rattled over them, bearing countless thousands on purposes of state or commerce or curiosity, or transferring war material and the rare products of the far Orient. The government post and a system of inns completed the means of transit, which was so perfect that only in our own day has it been surpassed by the discovery of the uses of steam. All this, however, was subservient to one paramount influence for unity—the Greek tongue. While the Roman kept the Latin for the use of camp and law, of administration and commerce, he adopted the Greek as the vehicle of polite intercourse. For three or four centuries it had been the language of authority in the Orient and of refinement everywhere. Even the Jews had submitted to its charm, and outside of Judaea, in Greek lands at least, preached the Law of Moses in the accents of Homer.

The final result of such conditions could only be the gradual extinction of all national peculiarities—the chief object of Rome or rather of the Cæsars—who aimed henceforth at a general world-citizenship, an organization of humanity under the benign direction of that City, which the gods, or fate, or her own fortune and power, had made supremely responsible for the welfare of men. Velleities of national independence were crushed out, as at Jerusalem, and anomalies of national religions, like the Druids, were sternly and thoroughly suppressed. The worship of the imperial "Genius" and the general acceptance of the Roman jurisprudence, with its uniform and almost mathematical equity, helped on this process of assimilation. And when we remember the colonization en masse of abandoned or ruined cities, the generous extension of the Roman citizenship, the cementing action of commerce, and the leveling influence of the legions, we cease to wonder that before Jesus Christ was born politically the low places were filled up, the high mountains laid low, and the social ground made ready for a new City—the City of Man or the City of God, that was the problem of the future. The

Peloponnesian War had wiped out all difference between Dorian and Ionian. The campaigns of Alexander had opened the Orient to Greek culture, and hellenized the enormous basin of the Mediterranean as well as the great pathways to the Orient. The last act in the preparation of that political unity which facilitated the success of the gospel was the one that placed all earthly power in the hands of Rome. It was the end and acme of state-building in antiquity and furnished the needed basis for the sublime social and religious revolution then at hand.

How slow and uncertain might have been the spread of the Christian religion if its apostles had been obliged at every step to deal with new governments, new prejudices, new languages! Hence the Christian Fathers saw in the splendid unity of the empire something providential and divine. The Elder Pliny might imagine that this unity was the work of the gods bestowing polite intercourse and civilization on all mankind, but Christian writers like Origen (*contra Celsum* II., 30) and Prudentius (*contra Symmachum* II., 609) saw in it the removal of the most difficult obstacles to the propagation of Christianity, viz., the diversity of language and the destruction of national barriers. When St. Paul tells us (Rom, x., 18): "Verily their sound hath gone forth into all the earth and their words unto the ends of the whole world," he expresses a fact which the Christian society has always looked upon as an historical marvel, a *prima facie* evidence of the innate truth and charm of the apostolic preaching. In his apology against Celsus the erudite Origen appeals to the character of the apostles and to their circumstances as in itself a strong proof of the divine origin of Christianity.

A few poor fishermen, rustic and unlettered, go forth at the bidding of one of their countrymen to conquer for him, not the temporal authority, but, what is much more difficult, the spiritual mastery of this great Roman world! They are but a handful, and Jews at that, whom the masters of Roman literature delight in depicting as the most contemptible in the Roman State. They are of the lowest in a world where birth and wealth are everything, and they were born and bred in a remote and mountainous region, where those schemes of ambition that are easily nourished in great cities could scarcely suggest themselves to men. Their Master had died a felon's death, and they themselves had abandoned him in the supreme hour, having hoped to the last that he would revive a temporal kingdom of Israel.

Yet suddenly they are filled with a boundless enthusiasm. The apparitions of Jesus have transformed them from rude Galilean fishermen into eloquent apostles of a universal religion. The men who could not watch an hour with their divine Master, much less with-

stand the taunts of the angry mob, are now fearless before the supreme council of their own national priesthood and boldly proclaim the basic principle of the new dispensation: "It is better to obey God than men." Their discourse is strangely effective; hundreds and then thousands are carried away by it, and give up all to follow men whom but a brief while ago they passed without notice in the streets of Jerusalem. Severe persecution only strengthens them in their convictions, and before they are forced to flee the city, they have converted to the Society of Jesus Christ no insignificant number of the national clergy itself. Their speech and their counsel, when obliged to face great problems affecting immediately the future of this Society of Christ, are stamped with a rare wisdom. In the days of transition from the old to the new, while the synagogue, in the words of St. Augustine, was breathing its last, they behaved towards it with piety and with that rare precision of tact and good sense that usually mark men of experience and judgment. The Acts tell us but little of those few years in which the Apostles were founding the Church of Jerusalem, but what they reveal shows us men utterly different from the timid and doubting disciples whom Jesus led about in His lifetime, and whose rusticity and worldliness shine out so plainly in the gospels. But now they are men who have seen the risen Jesus in His glory, conversed with Him, been filled with His grace, and shared in the effusion of His Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost.

The hour comes when they must quit the Holy City and go out into a world they know not and which knows not them. Was it a light or indifferent thing for a Jew to abandon the Temple which held all that he reputed dear and sacred? The oracles of God were there and the pledges of His promises. There, too, were the solemn feasts of the only true religion upon earth ere the fulfillment of the prophecies. Thither came yearly from the ends of the world a multitude of Jews, to adore God after the consoling manner of their fathers. Its white walls and golden roofs shone afar from Moriah and gladdened the eyes of the weary pilgrim, when they did not shine before his imagination. So deep were the roots which this extraordinary edifice had cast in the hearts of the chosen people that since its destruction, in spite of their sad vicissitudes, they have never ceased to weep bitter tears on the Friday of every week over the few remaining stones of its once proud walls. But these men of Galilee, with never a spark of Gentile sympathies or Hellenism in their hearts, with no natural love for the cruel and oppressive eagles of Rome, go out forever from the one corner of earth that is dear to them, the sepulchres of their fathers, the homes of their families, the sites of the Resurrection and the Judgment, out into endless con-

flict and incalculable sufferings, out into a world of odious and repulsive idolatry. It was a sublime act of daring, and whoever reflects that neither before nor since has the like been seen, will not wonder that Christians have been prone from the beginning to surround this step with due veneration. Thereby the religion of Christ was carried beyond the boundaries of the Jewish state, and preached throughout the vast empire of Rome as the complement and perfection of Judaism, the alone-saving truth, the divine balm of doubt and spiritual unrest, and the saving ointment for a corrupting society. Soon wonderful missionaries are joined to the Apostles—Barnabas and John, Marcus the Evangelist and Philip; married couples, too, like Andronicus and Junias, Aquila and Prisca, and in an incredibly brief time the crucified and risen Jesus has been preached on the fertile plains between the Euphrates and the Tigris, throughout the valleys and the tablelands of Syria and Asia Minor. His doctrine is known in the Delta of the Nile and up the great river in Ethiopia, in the African oasis of Cyrene and in the island of Cyprus, in Spain and Gaul, and finally at Rome, where it was probably carried quicker than to any other site on earth. The bitterest enemy of the Christians, Saul, is converted by Jesus Himself, and made a vessel of election, thereby furnishing in one famous and superior person to the first feeble communities an irresistible evidence of the truth and the power of their faith. If not many great and noble according to the world belong to this doctrine that is gainsaid everywhere, still men and women from every class of society are represented—those of Cæsar's household, the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, the noble women of Beroea, the principal women of Thessalonica, Lydia the seller of purple in Thyatira, the physician Luke, the scholar Apollo, Dionysius, a judge of the Athenian Areopagus, as well as the nameless multitude who joined it in all the jewries that stretched from the Tigris to the Tagus.

It is in vain that misguided men question the authority of the Acts of the Apostles, whence we learn the first conquests of the gospel of Jesus Christ. From one extravagant opinion to another they have been obliged to recede until to-day what passes for enlightened criticism recognizes the general trustworthiness of this fascinating narrative. Its absolute reliability has never been doubted by a much greater authority, the Catholic Church, to which we owe the tradition of the text, and which is herself contemporaneous with the work. Even Renan, so ready to diminish or offset the analogies and the germs of the Church's constitution, cannot deny that the hand of St. Luke is visible in the book, that "its view of the yet brief history of the Christian society is that of the official historians of the Court of Rome." It was read in the infant churches, which were not

made up of inexperienced men of one race fixed to the soil, but were rather formed from a hundred nationalities, with a large proportion of Hellenistic Jews. These men were capable by their tongue, their origin, and their personal experience, of detecting any imposture foisted upon them if only by comparison with the numerous texts of this work circulated in the East and the West long before the end of the first century. St. John the Apostle was still alive, and to be consulted in Ephesus, or in any of the original sees of Asia Minor which he founded and nourished with special love.

It will not do to sneer at the Grecized Jews, at their archaic Macedonian dialect, or their uncouth pronunciation. Some remnants of inscriptions do not betray the culture of a numerous class, and long before the time of Christ there were Jews like the one whom Aristotle knew, Hellenes in all but blood. The Asmonaeon and Herodian families were often Greek at heart, and hundreds of such men were among the first disciples of the apostles. Could not the churches that produced St. Clement and the Areopagite, St. Ignatius of Antioch and St. Justin, recognize a literary fraud that must have been attempted on an enormous scale? Or was the age so devoid of criticism, to which we owe those perfect editions of the texts of Homer and Vergil, and so many other Greek and Latin classics, which modern scholarship aims at reproducing? Or were there wanting ripe scholars in the earliest Christian communities, men of standing and influence not unlike the Jew Philo, and that other Jew Josephus? Were not Apollo and Mark men of the rarest eloquence, the true propagandists, according to Renan? Could a confused and misleading story of the origin of the Church and their own share in it, have easily obtained absolute currency during their lifetime and in their own communities, and left behind no trace of the disturbances it necessarily created? Truly, the contradictions that follow the denial of the credibility of the Acts are so much greater than those supposed to arise from the ancient and universal belief, that we may safely wait until we are dispossessed by some arguments known to the law or the equity of unbiased literary criticism.

II.

What could it be that so charged the hearts of the Apostle with unheard-of vigor and energy? What was the source of that calm, unchanging joy which shines from the pages of the genuine history and correspondence of the infant society? It was a colossal faith in the person of Jesus Christ and His works, His life, His doctrine and His promises—no mere admiration of His conduct, no vague undefined velleity of a remote imitation, no simple confidence in His power, sanctity and future coming. It was a *faith with an objective*

content, whose main elements and outlines are clearly set forth in the genuine writings of the Apostles, faith in their mission by Him whom they never tired of preaching, faith in the fidelity of His support and His ultimate victory, faith in the specific purpose of a society they were sent to "found and to establish" in the words of the most ancient Christian writers, *i. e.*, to organize as a self-propagating and self-preserving entity, in order to hand down to remotest times the history, doctrine and authority of Jesus Christ. The Apostles were no vapid dreamers but men of action—elevated and transfigured, indeed—but with clear and fixed purposes that culminated in the establishment of a universal religious association. Hence in the New Testament one sees them everywhere, traveling, preaching, organizing little knots and bands of believers—an activity so marked that their immediate disciple, Clement of Rome, recalls it as their chief occupation. This stupendous faith found expression in a *personal devotion to Jesus Christ* that ravished all souls and filled heart-weary multitudes with a presentiment of spiritual peace and refreshment to be had at the same source. The Temple of Janus was shut, indeed, but the external peace of Rome covered much mental commotion. "O Cæsar, in thy peace what things I suffer," cries Epictetus. The minor political arenas of the world were closed, that mankind might for once watch the splendid game of world-government as conducted on a suitable scale upon the few acres of marly soil that spread on either side of the Tiber. The gods of the nations were without prestige, for they had not been able to hold their own against the fortunes of Rome. The great philosophies offered consolation, as philosophy always does, but to a chosen few only, and in an insufficient way. The superb art of Greece had taken the road of exile. Henceforth it can only imitate—it will create no more. The sources of its inspiration are dried up; there is no longer in it any power of consecration. It is no longer a spiritual strength or a religious consolation, for the popular faith on which it stood has universally collapsed. The feeling of the powerful and opulent can be guessed from the bitter words of their chief writer, Tacitus, that man is the wretched toy of an insolent fate. The outlook of the statesman was so disheartening that Tiberius congratulated the Senate on the disruption of the Germanic Confederation of Maroboduus as an event of greater import than the Athenian defeat of Philip, or the Roman victories over Pyrrhus or Antiochus. On this sated and wearied world the preaching of the Apostles and their disciples made a vivid impression, with its assertion of a new kingdom and a new ruler in the yet unconquered province of the human heart. The eloquent universal praise and the steadfast adoration of this new personality, the great deeds done in

His name, the assertion of His eternal kingship, the adhesion in every city of miscellaneous multitudes, convinced new multitudes that the person of Jesus was divine and worthy of all the devotion bestowed upon it. It was the intensity and eloquence of this devotion in St. Paul that nearly persuaded King Agrippa to become a Christian. In many a later persecution it was the personal devotion of the martyrs to Jesus Christ that moved the on-looking pagans to consider what manner of person He might be for whom men so joyfully laid down their lives. Who can read the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, especially that to the Romans, without being moved by the fine exalted mysticism of his speech, without feeling that a new and irresistible passion, the *personal love of God for man and man for God*, has been introduced among men and that, like an atmosphere or a perfume, it must soon transform the hearts of all who admit it, and eventually renew from within every society where its believers multiply?

The *personal memories of Jesus* worked marvels in the hearts of the Apostles. To believe this we do not need to recall the old tradition that the cheeks of Peter were furrowed by the tears that he shed when he recalled that divinely sad glance of Jesus. We do not need to recollect that Christ vouchsafed a personal apparition to St. Paul, as though this grace were needed to make him an equal Apostle with the others. How could they ever forget the incomparable Master and Teacher with whom they had so long dwelt in sweet intimacy? They knew now that it was God Himself with whom they had crossed the hills of Galilee, who had walked with them through its valleys and its villages, who had sailed with poor fishing folk in their humble boats on Genesareth. With the compelling magic of affection they recalled surely His mien, His gestures, His gait, His sweet gravity, the liquid eyes, twin homes of love and sorrow, and that familiar speech that was wont to light in the heart of every listener a flame of faith and love. He went about doing good, He spoke as one having power, grace was about Him as an atmosphere—how could the Apostles fail to renew in those divinely efficient memories their hearts sore-tried in the multitudinous conflict that they were directing? What is like unto memory? It is like the sword that reaches the innermost divisions of the soul, and pierces us in the remotest of our spiritual fortresses. Or again it is like the wings of the morning on which we may fly from all that is little and vile and hemming, and rest in the bosom of God Himself. The true sphere of man is himself, not the world about him, and his true wealth or poverty is the memories of the past, with their sweetness or their horror. Jesus knew that the memory of Himself would be for all time the most potent confirmation of faith. So He established on

the last night of His earthly life a simple rite, a frugal meal or banquet, fixing Himself its essentials. This He left, not only to His Apostles, but especially to all those who in future ages would heed their call and join themselves to His Kingdom. Thus He focussed upon His person forever the attention of all mankind in that mystic moment when divine love emptied itself for love of man, and human hate outdid itself in the death of the God-man. We can see from the earliest documents of Christianity that this mystic banquet was the great driving heart of the society, its vivifying sun, the secret of its inexhaustible strength. The little house-churches of Jerusalem, the upper chambers where the brethren met to break bread, the descriptions of such banquets in St. Paul, the confession of the Christian deaconesses to the Younger Pliny, the pages of the earliest Christian writers, the numerous old frescoes of the Christian catacombs at Rome, and a long series of other indications, show that here was the chief source of the Apostolic energy, here Jesus dwelt forever among them. The momentary transfiguration on Thabor, seen by a few only, was now the daily joy of all, replete with infinite personal revelations, illuminations and suggestions, to them who had known Him in the flesh.

While the effusion of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost confirmed in an extraordinary degree the faith of the infant Church, it brought to the Apostles and disciples a number of *charismatic gifts*, special graces given to them as public teachers, for the more rapid attainment of a certain external growth, efficiency and organic consistency in the new religion. God withdrew before their discourse the barrier of differing tongues and idioms. They enjoy the gifts of prophecy and miracles, especially of healing and of exorcism of evil spirits, and in their exercise of these high gifts we see a prudence and a practical beneficence which resembles the conduct of Jesus.

Another element of the Apostolic success is their *incomparable enthusiasm*. There is a natural contagion in the mere expression of over-powering conviction, and the annals of eloquence teem with examples of multitudes, even nations, yielding obedience to the flaming words of some Demosthenes or Hortensius, some St. Bernard or Peter the Hermit. But the Apostolic enthusiasm was no mere trick of human eloquence, for they tell us themselves that they spoke not in the persuasive words of human speech. In an age of finical perfection of language their discourse was doubtless rude and unadorned. Their tongues betrayed their origin as Peter's did his, and their Jewish profiles would not tempt many to expect from them a philosophy of salvation. The enthusiasm of the Apostles was something different; it was the steady flame of pure faith and love running out in absolute uncalculating devotion. We all know the mental

habit of men who have devoted themselves to one purpose and who pursue it without ceasing or wavering. They may walk in the shadow forever, but an interior light illumines their souls and transfigures and sanctifies the object of their endeavors, be it some mystery of philosophy, or art, or human science, some wrong to avenge, some justice to be obtained. Leonardo da Vinci walking the streets of Milan for his head of Christ, Bernard Palissy casting to the flames the furniture of his poor work-shop as a last holocaust to his fleeting dream of beauty, Columbus following his glorious ideal from one rebuff to another, are familiar examples of this highest and most efficient state of the heart, in which it overleaps the poor barriers of space and time, lays hold by anticipation of the cherished object, lives with it and for it, and compels the astonished body, like a sturdy slave, to outdo itself in endurance and sacrifice. Such was the mental temper of the Apostles, only immeasurably higher in degree, as much as divine faith surpasses human confidence. They knew whom they were serving, and through what an unspeakable tragedy they were missionaries on the great highways of the East and the West. They walked forever in the shadow of Calvary, and their ears were forever haunted by the parting accents of their Master: "Going therefore, teach all nations."

Henceforth no scorn shall chill their resolution, no apathy or dullness dim their courage. The world lay before them, its first great spiritual conquerors, sunk in the shadows of idolatry, with only here and there a point of light, the little jewries scattered over the Roman Empire and beyond, and those few chosen Gentile souls who were true to the law of nature and the impulses of the Holy Spirit. Before their generation was over, this world had recognized the Kingship of Jesus Christ, and a peaceful revolution had been accomplished, the immensity of whose import no one could yet fathom, but which rightly forms the division-line between the Old World and the New, between an imperfect and stumbling humanity in which the animal element was supreme and a humanity awakened, self-conscious, transmuted, in which the spirit was henceforth dominant, and which had henceforth its universal ideal, realized, living, eternal, tangible, attainable, enjoyable, in the person of its Mediator and its Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Indeed, the world was ready for their message of salvation. It was no savage or semi-cultured epoch into which Christianity was born, but one of elegant civilization, perfect in all the appointments of speech, literature, art, communication and administration. It was an enlightened age and the most progressive materially that has preceded our own. It was curious, critical, skeptical, with a view over the world of man and nature such as had not yet been reached.

And having touched the summit of external power this age began to turn inward upon itself, and to ask itself the meaning of life and death, of man and things, of the real uses of victory and defeat, of truth and goodness and beauty. The writers of the time show that many looked to the Orient and especially to Judaea for a Saviour, so powerful had been the Old Testament propaganda in the basin of the Mediterranean. The Sibyls, those strange intermediaries between Jew and Gentile, sang of an approaching age of gold, of an immortal reign of justice, of a Virgin and a celestial Child who were to be the authors of all future happiness. The popular philosophy, Stoicism, was of Oriental origin and borrowed much of its practical value from Semitic ethics. The eyes of the world were fixed on Judaea, if only because its mountains were the last refuge of ancient national liberty, and men were selling dearly on those sacred hills the great jewel of personal and religious freedom. The theology and the ethics of Israel were making proselytes among heart-weary men and women in every city and in every class of society. A general spirit of unrest pervaded mankind, the result of excessive public materialism unbalanced by any extra-mundane tendencies, and of a shattered faith in national and municipal gods. An undefined but aching sense of sin, a wild inarticulate cry for personal redemption, the individual need of expiation and internal purification, were borne in on every breath from the Orient. There is a deep significance in the old legend that at the hour of Christ's agony certain mariners on the Mediterranean heard, borne on the blast, the cry: "Great Pan is dead." The ancient travesties of religion typified by the Greek nature-god called Pan, had, indeed, finished their long career of failure and despair, and we may well repeat the fine lines of the modern poet:

"Earth outgrows the mystic fancies
Sung beside her in her youth,
And those debonair romances
Sound but dull beside the truth.
Phoebus' chariot course is run;
Look up, poets, to the sun:
Pan, Pan, is dead.

"Christ hath sent us down the angels,
And the whole earth and the skies
Are illumed by altar-candles
Lit for blessed mysteries;
And a priest's hand through creation
Waveth calm and consecration;
And Pan is dead."

But if the victory of the Apostles was rapid, it was not therefore entirely natural. It was far from being an easy evolution of a cosmopolitan tendency. The final establishment of the Christian society met with superhuman obstacles, so great and varied that they more than offset the circumstances that favored it. The Christian

Church has always taught that its original victories constituted a moral miracle sufficient to compel the attention of every seeker after truth, and to force them to look into her claims.

III.

Within a hundred years after the death of Christ His religion might rightly be called a universal one. It had spread widely toward the Orient, crossed the Jordan, was flourishing in the great commercial cities of Syria and out on the great Syrian steppe. It had penetrated into Persia and away beyond, into remotest India. Trustworthy evidence shows that there were few Jewish communities into which the name and history of Christ had not gone and the Jews since the last captivity were settled throughout the entire Orient. It was strong enough in Alexandria to draw the attention of the Emperor Hadrian on his visit to that city, in the early part of the second century, and it was quickly carried over the entire Delta and along the great river, not only among the Græco-Romans, but also among the Old-Coptic villagers who intermingled with their masters. From golden Antioch it radiated throughout Northern Syria, followed all the roads of commerce that branched from there to the Caspian, up into the mountainous tablelands of Armenia, across the mighty snow-crowned ridges of the Taurus into Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and along the northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor. Peter and Paul, Barnabas and Mark, Timothy and John, had gone over all these great highways and sowed the good seed in their day. Every Christian community sent out in turn its swarms of nameless missionaries, who penetrated the remotest valleys and climbed into the most inaccessible regions.

Throughout the first and second centuries of Christianity there is observable a universal propaganda that transports Christian men and women in all directions and makes use of the political unity to organize and secure the unity of faith. Who can read unmoved the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch to the Christian communities of Asia Minor and Rome? What a picture they show of widespread Christianity, with identical government and faith. And the pages of the Church historian, Eusebius, show us the same conditions throughout all Asia Minor in the following century, *i. e.*, before the year 200 A. D.—bishops preaching, traveling, holding synods, discussing with pagans, Jews and heretics. Within the last decade we have found the curious tombstone of one of these old missionary bishops, Abercius of Hieropolis, a city of Phrygia. Its inscription, prepared by himself, shows a man who had traveled the world from the Tiber to the Tigris in the interests of Christianity and who rejoiced that he had found among all these brethren no other faith

than that of St. Paul. This army of missionaries was yet needed and we know that they possessed for long decades no small share of the charismatic gifts of the apostolic period.

In the West the churches of Southern Italy received the faith of Christ at a very early date—being really a portion of the Greek world by language, institutions and traditions. Its progress was slower in Northern Italy, but within the apostolic times it had surely made some headway in Gaul, or what is known as Southern France, in Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Long before the end of the second century it was firmly established in Northern Africa, and by the year 200 A. D. there was scarcely a prominent city in the Mediterranean world that did not have its Christian bishop with a clergy and a flourishing community. This was done without any human aid, in spite of every human hindrance, by the purely peaceful means of preaching and example. They had few writers and they depended little on the written page. One of the greatest of the first Christian missionaries, St. Irenæus of Lyons, tells us that the barbarian Kelts and Britons had the law of Jesus written on their hearts without paper or ink. They had the Christian Scriptures, no doubt, and venerated them, but they knew that the true guarantor of faith was the apostolic office and succession, that there alone could be found the criterion that enables men easily to distinguish among the claims of a hundred sects the original doctrine of Jesus. For that reason they kept with care the list of the apostolic churches, and consulted them in cases of need or doubt, and especially the Church of Rome, whose episcopal succession is the oldest and surest that we have, and was made out with great care, before SS. Peter and Paul were a hundred years dead, by St. Irenæus of Lyons and by Hegesippus, a Palestinian traveler. In other words, the first list of the bishops of Rome was not made out by Roman Christians who knew it too well, but by a Greek Asiatic and a Jew, who felt its need as the sure and sufficient pledge of the maintenance of the Catholic doctrine.

If the Christian missionaries could move easily from one place to another, and could find men and women speaking a common tongue—the Greek—they had not therefore converted them. In the great cities, as in the rural districts, among the most refined populations as well as among the semi-barbarians of the Empire, they found two great sources of almost insuperable obstacles—the social order and the religious condition. These obstacles they overcame before their death, and it is this victory which Christians call a moral miracle of the highest order. The conduct of the greatest intellectual adversaries of Christianity is in itself an indirect proof that its first propagation throughout the world was, morally speaking, an event that

transcended all human experience and analogy. These exacting critics leave nothing undone to transform the great victory of Jesus Christ over the Græco-Roman world into the stages of a natural and easy evolution in which every circumstance favors the Christian cause and operates equally to the detriment of the pagan religion and society.

Foremost among them is Edward Gibbon, the mirror of the philosophic irreligion of the eighteenth century, an arrogant and splenetic man who spurned the saving gift of faith, and consumed talent of the very highest order in the service of a shallow skepticism. For him Christianity is a phenomenon to be explained by a brief catalogue of natural situations and contemporary advantages. He ignores habitually or minimizes the true issue. With a constant uncharity he attributes or suggests motives that really exist only in his own imagination or heart. He lifts by the potent magic of words the secondary to the plane of the principal, and gives to the transitory or local or accidental in Christianity the supreme responsible rôle of a principle or an efficient cause. He emphasizes with the delicate patient care of a miniaturist every detail favorable to his own contentions, and cloaks in rhetorical silence whatever would reduce their value. By this long unbroken process of caricature he has given to the world an account of the first Christian ages that is a compound of rhetorical minimism, exaggeration and distortion. In it every paragraph is charged with infinite injustice. These literary wrongs are often, of course, very delicate and elusive. The whole picture of primitive Christianity as drawn by Gibbon is about as like the original facts as the misshapen Caliban was like the fairy nymph Ariel. There is in this extraordinary man something of Milton's graceful and humane Belial,

"He seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropped manna and could make the worse appear
The better reason."

He is the most expert special pleader known at the bar of history, owing to his enormous reading and maliciously retentive memory, his fine rare skill in summarizing, his unequaled architectonic talent in disposing his materials, and the supreme gift of a rhetoric at once solemnly and finically gorgeous. He climbs the cathedra of history and thunders therefrom like an Egyptian priest reciting the good and evil deeds of some dead Pharaoh. He is a compound of Rhadamanthus and Momus, foremost master of that dread art of satire, which is often only the expression of pride and hate, rather than of justice or equity. He "sapp'd a solemn creed with solemn sneer" at an unfortunate psychological moment when it lay humbled in the

dust by an astounding series of causes. But he is frequently inexact and careless in statements, as every new edition of his work shows. He is incurably afflicted with a cheap and flippant rationalism that runs always, animal-like, *terre-à-terre*, and can see nothing noble, divine, providential in the world's history. He has outlived Voltaire because he was graver and deeper than that protagonist; but he belongs to the same school that stubbornly weaves the web of facts on a fixed pattern and takes the harmony and brilliancy of its own coloring for the real face of history. Gibbon may well assign as causes of the rapid spread of Christianity the zeal of the early Christians, their belief in a future life of rewards and punishments, the power they claimed of working miracles, their pure and austere morality, their unity and discipline. But he leaves out the very soul of the Christian religion, *the love of Jesus Christ Crucified*, which was in every martyr's heart and mouth, and who so often appeared to them in their noisome prisons in ravishing visions like that of St. Perpetua. He has studied in vain the documents and monuments of those days who does not see that it was by the divine alchemy of love that Jesus transmuted the stony pagan heart into the living breathing Christian heart, and stamped it forever with His name, and sent it forth among mankind, the seat and source of infinite divine ardors and fancies—a weak and fleshly vessel, indeed, but interpenetrated with celestial virtue, and capable of shedding forever a healing spiritual aroma through a fainting and decaying world. Why should the belief in future punishments attract the Greeks and Romans, who according to Gibbon himself were abandoning their immemorial Styx and Tartarus? How could the Christian morality be attractive to the immoral masses whose lives it stigmatized and to its impenitent rulers? The causes that Gibbon assigns are as much effects as causes. Their own origin needs first to be explained, above all their combination in Christianity and at that time. As Cardinal Newman has well put it (*Grammar of Assent*, pp. 445 and 446): "If these causes are ever so available for his purpose, still that availableness arises out of their coincidence and out of what does that coincidence arise? Until this is explained, nothing is explained, and the question had better be let alone. These presumed causes are quite distinct from each other, and I say the wonder is, how they came together? How came a multitude of Gentiles to be imbued with Jewish zeal? How came zealots to submit to a strict ecclesiastical régime? What connection has such a régime with the immortality of the soul? Why should immortality, a philosophical doctrine, lead to belief in miracles, which is called a superstition of the vulgar? What tendency have miracles and magic to make men austere virtuous? Lastly, what power has a code of virtue as calm

and enlightened as that of Antoninus to generate a zeal as fierce as that of Maccabeus? Wonderful events before now have apparently been nothing but coincidences, certainly, but they do not become less wonderful by cataloguing their constituent causes, unless we show how they come to be constituent."

There is no parallel to this in the spread of Mohammedanism. The doctrine of Islam was spread by the sword. The idolaters, the heathen were exterminated, the Jews and Christians allowed to live, but in the most humiliating subjection and surrounded with odious restrictions. The lot of the Oriental Churches under Islam was the saddest imaginable. There have been wars innumerable among Christians in the name of religion, but they are clearly against the law of Jesus, while according to Mohammed the sacred war ought to be chronic. Islam is a national travesty of some of the best elements of Judaism and Christianity, elevated to the dignity of a universal religion. It is a poor, weak, grotesque worship, such as might arise in the brain of a visionary cataleptic and among a half savage people. It identifies Church and State. It is a wretched replica of Byzantine Cæsaropapism, and in all essential points is only a low-grade, universalized Arabism. It was the sense of political greatness, of national destiny that made its first followers fanatically brave. They fell upon peoples long unaccustomed to any resistance, in a moment when the military strength and system of the Empire were weakened by long wars, at a crisis when its own provinces turned traitor and admitted the enemy for the sake of revenge, because of the religious oppression and the civil despotism of Constantinople. How different is all this from the spiritual victory of Christianity with all its elevating influences and the embellishment and perfection of all human life with which it comes in contact!

In the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul puts his finger on the chief source of opposition to the preaching of Christianity, the frightful immorality of the Roman world. That is the usual source of hatred for the preacher of the gospel, whether it comes from the Iroquois or the Chinese or some mediæval barbarian chief. Renan will not admit that it was as bad as St. Paul depicts it. But the rare examples of virtue that he cites are scattered over a long time, and only serve to intensify the moral horror of the reality. The imperfect but less immoral religions of Greece and Rome had become corrupted by their contact with the vile worships of Syria and Egypt, which made even the army of the empire their channel of propagation to the remotest West. These orgiastic religions of debauch drove out even the mysteries of Greece, and enthroned their horrid symbols in every community of the Roman world. Words fail to express, the tongue refuses to utter, the wretched

depths of moral degradation which human society had reached in the days of the first propagation of Christianity. The very worst vices were sheltered in the temples dedicated to the worship of the gods. Unnatural vice and general infanticide, profligacy and licentiousness in every shape, went unchecked, nay, were become laudable customs of society. The popular amusements, the stage, the circus, the arena, were one wild orgy of immorality; unfeeling cruelty to the weak and the helpless was the order of the day. Not only did the gladiators die by thousands in single combats to make a Roman holiday, but whole armies of men were compelled to bloody combat, for the pleasure of the populace. It has been said by a great scholar that "if the inner life were presented to us of that period which in political greatness and art is the most brilliant epoch of humanity, we should turn away from the sight with loathing and detestation. The greatest admirer of heathen writers, the man endowed with the finest sensibilities for beauty and form, would feel at once that there was a great gulf fixed between us and them which no willingness to make allowance for the difference of ages and countries would enable us to pass."

A hundred human interests were opposed to the spread of the new doctrine. The owners of the pythonical girl and the silversmiths of Ephesus were only types of a great multitude whose local and temporal interests were affected by Christianity, and who pursued its missionaries with the fiercest hatred. All the ministers of luxury and extravagance, all the multitudes who lived by the temples and the abominable superstitions of the age, all the traffickers in human flesh, were its sworn enemies. Though the offspring of Judaea, for several reasons it was the object of Jewish hate and opposition, and the Jews of the time were still a world-wide power with which the Empire itself deigned to reckon. Apostate brethren, angry excommunicated members, jealous public teachers or so-called philosophers, the pagan priesthood, professional spies and informers, the very members of his own family, were the daily cross of the primitive Christian. He walked as with a charmed life amid a world of enemies.

Withal, the little communities grew with incredible rapidity. Whole provinces like Bithynia were Christian before Christ was one hundred years dead. Before the end of the second century the most peaceful of religions had filled every city with its adherents, and one of its writers could threaten Roman society with desolation if the Christian multitude abandoned it. With its doctrines of equality, humility, charity, a future life, one understands with ease how it appealed to the world of slaves and lowly people. To these it brought a priceless balm, the assurance of another and a happier life, where

the iniquitous conditions of the present should be abolished or reversed. And yet with almost equal strength it attracted the hearts of many among the wealthy and the powerful. Among the first converts were Pharisee priests, a Roman pro-consul, a scholarly physician, a Greek judge, noble Jewish matrons, women of refinement. A fourth-century legend tells how at the birth of Christ a fountain of oil burst forth from the soil of Rome. A cistern of sweet waters had, indeed, broken out in the social desert of the Græco-Roman life, and already the renown of its virtues was noised abroad to the ends of the earth. In spite of the external splendor and grandeur of their conditions a multitude of the better classes were suffering profoundly from the emptiness, the insufficiency, the growing horror of life. Only too often they went out of it by the dark but open door of suicide, and there is a profound truth in the picture of their mental sadness and despair that Matthew Arnold offers us:

"On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell,
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

"In his cool hall, with haggard eyes
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad in furious guise
Along the Appian way.

"He made a feast, drank deep and fast,
And crowned his brow with flowers,
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours."

Unwittingly, the aristocratic writer Tacitus is the first to reveal the names of Roman nobles who took refuge in the teachings of Jesus. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the Roman conqueror of Britain, Flavius Clemens, the Roman consul, with his wife and niece, the two Flaviæ Domitillæ, whose Christianized family cemetery may yet be seen at Rome. Before the year 100 A. D. the family of the Acilii Glabriones, the proudest in Rome, was Christian. Henceforth the epitaphs of the Catacombs show us the descendants of Cicero and Atticus and Seneca among the humble adorers of Jesus, often themselves blessed martyrs—like Cæcilia and Agnes. In the oldest parts of the oldest Catacombs we come across the broken epitaphs of Christian Æmilii, Corneli, Maximi, Attici, Pomponii, Bassi, and many others of the foremost families of republican Rome. The pagan priests, the philosophers, the magistrates, might sneer at the rustic, uncultured and gross mob of Christians; the latter knew that before the altar of many a little Christian church there knelt with them the near relatives of the rulers of the world. The rulers of the world themselves were more than once attracted by the doctrine and the society of Jesus. Long before Constantine, the Christians could claim the Emperor Philip the Arabian as one of their

body, while the Abgars and the Tigranes, kings of Edessa and of Armenia, were Christians before the end of the third century, as was also the Greek king of the Crimean Bosphorus. It is an old Christian tradition that Tiberius desired to place Christ among the gods, but was prevented by the Senate. So, too, the Emperor Hadrian is said to have built many temples to Christ, in which no statue was placed. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius was attracted by the healing powers of the Christian bishops, as was his near successor Septimius Severus. Caracalla was brought up by a Christian nurse, with Christian playmates. Commodus had a Christian wife. Although his prime minister, Ulpian, was so anti-Christian that he is said to have codified the legislation hostile to the Church, Alexander Severus placed the portrait of Christ in his private chapel, and commended the concord and prudence of the Christian bishops to his generals and magistrates as models for their administration. An early legend made Christians of the wife and daughter of Decius, perverting no doubt the real fact of the Christianity of the wife and daughter of Diocletian. A hundred years before Constantine, the Christians had become *the* problem of the Empire. As they multiplied the state wavered again and again in its treatment of them. Pagan Cæsars and Christian bishops were indeed mutually exclusive of one another, as Decius very clearly saw. The former could never break away from the antique view of state supremacy and all-sufficiency. On the other hand, learned Christians were forecasting little by little the dawn of a reconciliation that to some, however, seemed the last word of folly and spiritual blindness.

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A STUDY IN THE FLORA OF HOLY CHURCH.

THE sympathy that especially exists between the human mind and the lilies and grass of the field is shown by the fact that in every form of faith that has exercised any living influence in the world, man has turned to them to aid him in expressing the object of his regard, and sought to find in them emblems or symbols of the controlling emotion of his heart. It is not so much in the formal and outward dress of a religion that we should look for evidence of its real effect upon people's minds, but in the piety of thought that it has engendered and produced in its votaries; the one is greatly the historic clothing of the creed, governed by rule and often maintained when the creed itself has lost its power, while the resultant of the creed's teaching is more justly estimated by the feel-

ings of the heart shown by the natural expression of them in the habits and customs of its professors; these spring spontaneously from an earnest community, finding their manifestation in things always simple and easily understood since they are the result of the bursting forth of emotions too vivid and genuine to be nice or fantastic, and too overpowering and vast to be studious of form. It makes us realize how barrenly ugly and unimaginative modern life has become, if we visit some country or town once devotedly Catholic and now Protestant; there we see not only architectural remains that abundantly testify to how the piety of the old days found its vent in wayside chapel and nobly adored churches, but if we investigate more below the surface we shall discover in the customs and homely folklore of the peasant a great store of traditional habit and nomenclature that may now have lost all meaning to them, but which tells to the Catholic of religious observances long forgotten. These will show us how graciously the devotion of the children of Holy Church was wont to play about herb and bird, insect and star, in days when the sympathy between the kingdoms of nature and of grace was apprehended by a childlike objectivity of faith and affection. The piety of thought that is produced even now wherever a Catholic mission is really working earnestly is quite stupendous in its intensity if we did but consider it, and when this permeates a great community at unity in one faith it forms for itself a symbolic language, taking, most frequently, some flower to express its emotion, since the symbol will speak when words are silent, say more than words can ever utter. It is in this way that the folklore that tells of the sacramentalism of common things arose in centuries long gone. In Protestant lands and by Protestant writers it has often been the habit to label most tokens of this spirit as superstition, but the ignorance is with those who so style it. It would take us too far away from our immediate object to illustrate this in several departments of the world of nature; it is sufficient to say that most of the sacred dedications of flowers have borne the taunt.

We are proposing to trace among the "herbs of the field" evidences of this piety of thought which have lingered on in various parts of Europe from mediæval days, and we shall find that just as they set up the sign of man's Redemption amid the chaffering of their market-places and along their roadsides so, too, amid the herbage of their meadows or the trees of their forests they found ready emblems to take their thoughts away from earth's cares and allurements, if only for the moment, to the life of self-sacrifice completed upon Calvary; and thus they consecrated the world as God's earth and made their life thereon a pilgrimage with Nature a very handmaid of grace.

It must not be expected that the illustrations of this spirit will be

gathered from the rare exotics of our conservatories, although it is the wild flowers of other countries that are often those we treasure there; but the choice was made by simple, earnest folk among the ordinary plants of their land, and it was to their fields and hedgerows that they turned for their types and emblems. Like as the republic of art acknowledges no aristocracy of condition and kind, but only the credentials of beauty, so amongst the *Flora pia*, it is virtue or significance that rank higher than rarity and attractiveness.

We will begin by tracing some references in this folklore nomenclature to certain of the prominent actors in the Passion of Our Divine Lord, and take first the "Jews of the Crucifixion" as they are styled. Their poor souls have had many habitats assigned to them in popular tradition, and just as legend tells of the bodily wanderings of Kartophilos, Pilate's porter, so the souls of those immediately concerned in the demand "Crucifige Eum" are said to be doomed to wander restlessly in the air until the Day of Doom. In Lancashire they call Plovers, "Wandering Jews," and the moorsman hearing the cry of "The Seven Whistlers," as a covey of them is named, considered it a sign of impending misfortune; strangely enough in Morocco they have the name Yahudi or Jew for the same bird. The Toledo Jews, in Spain, alone claim to be free from the curse brought upon their race by their invocation "Sanguis Ejus super nos et super filios nostros," for they say that their ancestors refused to vote for the death of Our Lord. The potent petition of the dying Saviour for the forgiveness of those who knew not what they were doing could only be made effective, like every grace, by the assent of the human will of man, and it is this obduracy to the divine offer which made Christian peoples regard the penalty of blood as due at their hands. The law of many countries ordained that they should be clothed in muddy yellow garments, the color of Judas, and in France their doors once were daubed with that hue, like those of traitors, and hence in the language of color it became the symbolic dye of unfaithfulness, envy, deceit and jealousy. The Yellow Wild Woad or Dyers' Rocket (*Reseda luteola*) and others of like hue are *Herbes des Juifs* for this, among other reasons, but many of the plants bearing their name were so called from their poisonous nature, while others again from being employed in Jewish ritual or in their pharmacy. The poisonous Spurge (*Euphorbia Tithymaloides*) is Jews' Milk in Germany and Switzerland; that most dangerous of British plants, the Deadly Nightshade (*Atropa belladonna*), called by our forefathers "Death's herb," is in Austria, Jews' Cherry. "Naughty Man's Cherry" was another of our country names for it, and it is often spoken of in old herbals as "a wicked weed," foetid in its leaves and repulsive in its flower, which is a chocolate colored

bell, dull and pale, with lurid yellow markings at the bottom. They who eat its sweet, tempting, black, cherry-like fruit become maniacs in a few hours, and hence Shakespeare calls it the "insane root;" even half of a berry has been known to prove mortal. Its attractive title of Belladonna comes from its use as a cosmetic by ladies anxious to remove from the face stains or freckles which were called the Brand of Cain or the Marks of Judas. The Green Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), great in charms of love as well as in medicine, and the Yellow Solidago or Golden Rod, were both Jews' Worts in France, Germany and Italy; they were powerful as astringents in external and internal hemorrhages and probably only connected with the Jew in his leechcraft. The same remark possibly applies to other wound-worts, such as the *Stachys annua* or *Judenkraut*; *Staphylea pinnata* or Jews' Nuts; the Biting Stonecrop (*Sedum*) or *Judenräubel*; and the White Swallow herb (*Vincetoxicum*) or Jews' Wort. There is a sedge-like plant, the Common Cotton-grass (*Eriophorum polystachion*) with head of white fluffy seed, which has in Silesia the name of Jews' Feather, for what reason we cannot discover, while the Saxifrage which we know as Aaron's Beard is *Judenbart* in Germany.

It would almost seem as if the scene of the Jews crowding into Gethsemani with lanterns and staves had been recalled in the name of the plants so popularly known as Jews' or Winter Cherry (*Physalis Alkekengi*). Those commonly sold are so transformed by cultivation that the striking feature of its reference is lost. Naturally as it grows in cottage gardens it has a bright orange-red bladder formed by a persistently accrescent calyx, as the botanists would say, and this encloses a small cherry, making it resemble a miniature Chinese lantern with a red wax candle within. In France they call it *La lanterne*, and this, in alliance with Jews' Cherry, might permit us to think that it may have once been connected in thought with the Jews' lanterns at the Betrayal. So, too, the Spotted Arum, which is called Gethsemani in Cheshire, and in every land bears some name in reference to the Passion, has a wick-like spadix or spike shielded by a broad spathe, suggesting its name in Italy of *Lantenaria* or *Erba saetta*. But it is very hazardous to guess at these similarities and unwise to make strained analogies.

As our Saviour was being betrayed by the kiss of Judas, a servant of the High Priest Caiaphas "laid hands" upon Our Lord, whereupon the ardent St. Peter struck off the assailant's ear. A beautiful lesson was taught in mediæval representations of this scene—as in the Hours of Anne of Bretagne—by making the Saviour half turning His Face away as He receives the traitor's salute, while He touches the ear of Malchus and restores it again. There is a fungus (*Boletus*

juglandis) which is known in France as *L'oreille de Malchus*, and there are also several called Jews' Ears, but these latter need not be connected with this miracle or with Jews generally, unless this feature was formerly an object of comment like another is popularly nowadays, and as a Jew's eye once was.

It would appear from St. Matthew that it was not until Judas saw the result of his treason that he realized the depth of his crime and was seized with that awful remorse. In the valley of the Kedron, about a hundred yards away from a rock-hewn tomb called that of Zacharias, they still point to where the tree stood upon which the traitor ended his life. Guides are wont to show visitors a solitary and distorted trunk that remains near a ruin upon the Hill of Evil Counsel, but they probably have confounded the site of the suburban residence of Caiaphas, where Judas is said to have gone to propose his fell deed. There are many species of trees to each of which has been assigned the evil notoriety of being that upon which the apostate hung himself. The most popular opinion in early days was that it was a Fig, and certainly among the primitive Fathers this tree had a bad reputation. The shape of its fruit resembling that of a burse or bag, hanging amidst the leaves, may have aided to confirm the tradition. In the fourth century (A. D. 329) Juvencus says of Judas: "Informem rapuit Ficus de vertice mortem" (*Migne Pat. Lat.* xix., p. 331), and Barradius gives the query and reply: "Quaeret aliquis qua ex arbore Judas se suspenderit? Arbor Ficus fuisse dicitur." In Sicily and elsewhere in Southern Europe it is the Fig which is popularly held to be the Tree of Judas. There are, however, others to which the name has been given figuratively perhaps more than in actual identification. It is an exceedingly early Celtic tradition that makes the Elder tree so called. Its hollowness, untrustworthiness, and its many direful qualities were all attributed to its having been polluted by the weight of the "son of perdition;" so hateful was it that even the evil spirits themselves were thought to flee from its neighborhood, a fact very wisely turned to account apparently by those who believed in the story, for in the Isle of Man, Train remarks, scarcely an old cottage was to be seen without its Trammon or Elder; and this not through any love of the tree itself, but from its potency being so great that it homœopathically neutralized all baleful influences that sorcery and witchcraft could employ, and between the contending powers of evil man went his way in peace. "He who goes to sleep under an Elder tree will never wake" is an old saying, the narcotic effect of its flower being so powerful. Its leaves scattered about are reputed to drive away rats, mice and moles and a decoction made from them to destroy insect life; its root produces a dye of deadly black, its pith is said to have electric affinities,

and Elder-flower water is still used as a cosmetic to remove freckles and heat rash, known in France as *Le bran de Judas*. Piers Plowman in his Vision (l. 593-596) says:

Judas he japed
With Jewish siller,
And sithen on an Elder Tree
Hanged himself,

and the early pilgrim Sir John Mandeville, speaking of the Pool of Siloe in 1364, says: "Faste by is zit the tree of Eldre that Judas hange himself upon for despeyr that he hadde, whanne he solde and betrayed Our Lorde." Ben Jonson, in "Every Man out of Humour" (iv. 4) says: "He shall be your Judas, and you shall be his Elder Tree to hang on;" while Shakespeare repeats the same tradition in "Love's Labour Lost" (v. 2). A piece of the tree is said to be preserved in the private chapel at Ambras, near Innsbruck, a scarcely desirable relic!

There is a fungus that grows upon the Elder resembling the human ear, and to this has been given the name of *Excidia Auricula Judae, Fries.*; in France it is known as *Oreille de Judas*, in Germany as *Judas-schwamm*, and in most other lands by similar designations; in England it has become corrupted into Jews' Ear. Curiously enough it was deemed to be salutary in all throat complaints, including strangulation, as if Mother Nature had endeavored to redeem by its virtue the foul deed which had blackened the fair fame of one of her children. An old rustic doggrel verse says:

For coughs take Judas' Eare
With the parynge of a Peare,
And drink them without feare,
If ye will have remedy.

The Wild Locust or Carob Tree (*Cercis Siliquastrum*) which is often confounded with the True Carob of Palestine (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) is known throughout Europe as a Judas Tree. Its purple papilionaceous blossoms appear in large clusters about Passion-tide in advance of the pale green foliage, its branches hang like an umbrella, and some say that it gets its name from it having been beneath its shade that

Judas kissed his Master
And cried "All Hail!" when he meant *all harm*.
(Shaks. 3 Henry VI., 7.)

Once, legend says, it was an upright, noble tree, but since then it has shrunk into a large straggling bush, while the pods containing its seeds resemble the long, old-fashioned purses which recall the source of the traitor's fall. No insect will touch its leaves and no use can be made of its wood.

The quivering Aspen is another tree that has been connected in legend with Judas, the ceaseless tremor of its leaves, even when all

around is still, has always afforded a favorite source of interest. But more popularly this type of shivering fear is attributed either to its having formed the wood of the Cross, or as being the one tree in the woods that refused to bow in adoration to the Creator when He passed through their midst. In Scotland, however, Napier says, they liked to fancy that this habit came from its horror at having borne the traitor's body, a belief still current also in Russia, while in parts of Germany it is known as *Judenmai*, a probable corruption of Judas' May.

There are yet others found with a like association, as the Weeping Willow in Spain, the Ironwood (*Cossignia pinnata*) in Mauritius; while in Sicily they say of the African Tamarisk that once it was a handsome and useful forest tree, but now is ugly, misshapen, dwarfed and useless, incapable of lighting even the smallest fire, since it was withered by the touch of Judas. One of their proverbs to indicate entire worthlessness may be often heard: "You are like the *vrUCA* wood, which yields neither fire nor ashes."

In France the small vicious Nettle (*Urtica urens*) has been very aptly styled *L'herbe de Judas*, from pouring its little sac of poison into the dagger-like puncture that it makes in the hand that would caress it. It is said that the Patience or Passion Dock grows always near to heal the wound it has inflicted.

The Burse of Judas is usually represented in old paintings or carving as hanging about his neck, and it is no doubt alluded to in the fruit of the Fig and the long pod of the Wild Carob. The Field Cress (*Lepidium campestre*) and the Shepherd's Cress (*Capsella Bursa Pastoris*), two very humble little weeds, have both spires of small seed vessels resembling purses, and hence in France they are known as *La bourse de Judas*. The contents of that purse have also their memory preserved in the floral world, for the pretty silver seed vessels of the herb Honesty (*Lunaria*) or Moonwort are known in various countries as *Les médailles de Judas*, *Judaspenge*, or *Judassilberling*. It was a pious thought of Denis the Carthusian that each piece of silver paid for the Saviour was equal to ten pence *ordinarii*, the whole therefore equivalent to the three hundred pence spent by St. Mary Magdalene upon the spikenard for anointing the Saviour, which Judas termed "a waste." It was also a pious custom to recite thirty verses of Psalm cviii. as the soul's exchange for this price of Blood, and for all who betray their Lord in intention, as did Judas and the Jews. Beneath the overhanging walls of Zion, where gray olives and fig trees shoot from the fissures in those ancient stones, lies the traditional Aceldama or Field of Blood, overhung by one precipice and with another striking down from its limits to the valley beneath, and it was from this *Ager figuli*, purchased by the money given for the

life of the Son of God, that St. Helena sent the shiploads of soil to Rome for the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

The name of Jews' Ears, Jews' Lugs given in various parts of the British Isles to the *Peziza coccinea* and other species of the Blood-cup Fungus are no doubt corruptions of Judas' Ears; we have already alluded to another bearing the same name and growing upon the roots of the Elder. The Navelwort or Wall-pennywort (*Cotyledon umbilicus*) is known in Sicily as *Oricchi di Judea*, and its thick, flat, peltate leaves abound upon the mud and stone walls of the West of England and of Ireland; but why the ears of Judas should call for special attention we cannot imagine. There is a shell also known as *Voluta auris Judae*, so that it is evident that this was a singularly distinct feature. Perhaps the Passion plays made it very prominent as indicative of his seeking occasion by listening to catch the Master, just as Spy Wednesday has given a name to one of the days in Holy Week. One might have expected that the performance of Ober-Ammergau would have helped one in this matter, but that has been so elaborated that there is little left of mediæval peculiarities in the character of Judas. The folklore that gathered about him must be very great; for instance, there is amongst every class in Ireland, and it is to be found very generally in England and possibly throughout Europe, a feeling that it is very unlucky to upset salt at table, because Judas is said to have done so at the Last Supper, and at Ammergau they have retained this tradition. To sit down thirteen to table is also deemed unfortunate, since the first to rise of the thirteen in the Upper Chamber was Judas, and hence in France that number is styled *Le point de Judas*. To be Judas' haired, *i.e.*, of a dull red, was thought to be deceitful, and numerous other sayings and observances centre upon this lost Apostle, whose very name is a brand of infamy.

It is rather a relief to turn away from these miserable actors in the great drama of the Passion, although the gathering of the folklore connected with them in the botanical world is necessary if we wish to form a complete Flora of the closing portion of the Life of Our Lord on earth. We will now endeavor to trace in the Way of the Cross two memorials we find recalled by the sacred dedications of herbs and trees.

The way to Calvary taken by Our Blessed Lord "was almost the same," Didon says, "as that which Christians of Jerusalem know by the name of the 'Way of Sorrow.' It passes through the lower town or Acra, crosses the lower street, called by Josephus the valley of Tyropaeon, separating Acra from Gareb, and then rises in a rather steep slope up to the Gate of Ephraim. At this spot the city enclosure formed an angle, one of the sides of which was a straight line

drawn from the Tower of Hippicus on the west to the Gate of Gennath on the east, the other side starting from the Gate of Gennath and going due north. It was within this triangular space, only twenty yards outside the walls, that the place of execution was situated." At the foot of the Sancta Scala Our Blessed Lord would receive His Cross, and at its site the second Station of the Via Crucis is kept. A broken pillar or some casual mark is all that is now possible whereby to distinguish the different stations; they do not pretend to be more than helps to the palmer so that he may not lose the precious moments; the whole distance from the Praetorium to Calvary is scarcely a thousand paces and was traversed in less than an hour; if the events did not occur at the identical spots indicated they must have done so within a few yards of them, only it was wisely arranged to form a sequence for meditation so that there should be no need for distracting study at a moment when all must wish to pray. The first nine Stations are along this Via Dolorosa, the last five within the great Basilica which now covers Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.

Our task is not to follow these stations in rotation, but only to take those of which remembrance is apparently to be found in the sympathetic flora, and which may remind us perhaps in other lands of this pilgrimage as we daily make our own along earth's fields.

The Meeting of Mother and Son is the IV. Station and one of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin. The crushing weight of agony to the tender Mother on beholding the physical change caused by that night of torment upon Him once the "fairest of the children of men," with a visage now marred more than any man's, and the corresponding affliction to the perfect Son are thoughts equally moving. The concluding contemplation of the devotion of The Seven Dolours is that on the Tears of the Maria desolata, and the Tears of Jesus and Mary have been recalled to pious hearts by many an humble plant.

The pretty grass *Coix lacryma*, whose "every graine resembleth the drop or teare that falleth from the eye," as the old herbalist Gerarde says, is more popularly known now as Job's Tears, perhaps in reverent shrinking from its sacred names. Yet in all parts of Germany, France, Holland, Italy and Portugal, it may still be found to be spoken of as Christusthränen, Lacrime de Gesù, Corai della Madonna, Larmes de Nôtre Dame, Marienthränen, Lagrymas de Nostra Senhora, and the like, while in Brazil the same dedications prevail for it. A similar alliance of names is found in the Red and White Campions (*Lychnis diurna*) called Christ's Eyes and Mary's Tears in Germany and France, as though wherever that sacred grief had fallen earth had blossomed with these pretty buds that yield such fragrance in the night. So, too, the pure, enamelled white flower

which we in England are familiar with as The Star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum*), is better known in France and Spain as The Tears of Christ and the Madonna; perhaps, however, like its kinsman, the *Allium Triquetrum*, which is the Lagrimas de la Virgen in Spain, etc., the reference is more to the scene in Bethlehem's poor stable than to this closing event in the Saviour's life.

The Common Gromwell (*Lithospermum*) was called in England in the days of Parkinson, the Herbarist of Elizabeth and James I., Christ's Tears, and it is still in Italy, France and Germany those of the Ladye Marye. Its seeds suggested the names perhaps, even more than its little floweret, for the former are gray, or yellowish of hue, very hard, brittle and exquisitely polished, so that they look like the pearls of sorrow fossilized, and in Spanish they have the pretty title of *Granos de amor*. The dark spots upon the leaves of those herbs so closely associated by popular reference to the Passion, such as the *Arum maculatum*, *Orchis latifolia*, *maculata* and *mascula*—have been attributed to having first arisen from Mary's Tears falling upon them; the *Briza media* or Trembling Grass, known in East Anglia as Our Lady's Hair, is in parts of the German Fatherland *Muttergottesthränen* or the Tears of the Mother of God, while the *Drosera* or Gideon's Fleece, that type of the Mother's Virginity, retains the same title in Scandinavia for the sparkling dewdrops that cover it.

There is in Spain the name for the Brookweed *Samole* (*Samolus Valerandi*) of "Ansiamet de la Mare de Deu," as it appears in the Catalanian dialect, and which they seem to associate in some way with the Dolours of the Mother of God, but why we cannot tell. Another humble little plant is that known to the English peasantry as Our Lady's Traces (*Spiranthes*), which springs up, they say, in a night about the meadows as if marking the passage of her feet in the grass. The Germans call it Mary's Tears, and we might unite them both by thinking that it registered her steps along this Highway of Grief, where the traces of her going must have been watered with her tears.

The name of "Wandering Jew" given to many wayward, straggling creepers is probably entirely a modern one, otherwise we might include this reference to a popular, although not ecclesiastical legend, connected with the progress towards Calvary. The Sixth Station, however, commemorates an event not recorded in the Gospels, but handed down from the very earliest ages, when one of the "Daughters of Jerusalem" performed that act of womanly thought and tenderness of wiping the Saviour's Brow. Gathering up her long Eastern veil and folding it in three she sought to remove the trickling Blood and moisture from Our Lord's Face, and there is nothing improbable in the story or necessarily miraculous in the

result. The stains made sufficient impression to recall the Divine Face to the beholders, and the Sacred Sudarium, as it is called, is one of the most valued possessions of St. Peter's at Rome. Engravings of this are now easily obtainable and are found in most churches, but once they were exceedingly rare, and the town of Halifax is said to have been so christened from the possession of one of these. The real name of the good woman is unknown, it is usually thought to have been Berenice, Veronice or Veronica, and it is under this name that the Church honors her. The pretty little flower known as Veronica, or by that title which sounds like a benediction, Speedwell—an exact correspondent to Farewell—is undoubtedly named in connection with this scene on the Way of the Cross; as Hooker and Arnott say in their "British Flora," "it is obviously derived from *τερά εἰκον* the sacred picture, the flower (like St. Veronica's handkerchief) being imagined to have a representation of the countenance of Our Saviour." Personally I do not feel so sure of this having been the reason, but have no doubt that it was a wayside memorial of the gracious act of the holy woman. In Languedoc it is still known as Berounico; in parts of Germany as Schweitz-Cristi or Christ's Sweat, and in Devon and Lancashire as God's Eyes. It was introduced into Europe in the middle ages, and it bore another title which was doubtless a prayer made to the Holy Face when its beautiful azure blossom was seen, viz., "Remember me and Forget me not." It is not fanciful to surmise that in days when all civil and domestic life was permeated by an affectionate familiarity between men and God and His saints that this little flower conveyed a language of love between friends of a more elevated character than we usually associate with a flower such as the Forget-me-not or Myosotis, and that in giving the Veronica there was implied the petition May God's Face go with you:

Not for thy azure tint, though bright,
Nor form so elegant and light,
I single thee, thou lovely flower,
From others of the sylvan bower—
Thy name alone is like a spell,
And whispers Love, in "Speed thee well!"

The Sacred Sudarium or Vernicle was said to be possessed of many wondrous virtues, and so with this humble little herb; Francus wrote a book upon its usefulness and especially that of the species *Veronica orientalis* which is said to have cured a King of France of leprosy, and to have proved a source of thankfulness to many an unhappy wife by making her a joyful mother of children.

The *Linaria spuria*, Mill., of the same family as the above, is known as "Herbo de Santo Verounico" in the dialect of Southern France, and the *Arum maculatum*, among its many associations with the Passion, has the name in Silesia of Veronikenwurz, from the

stains upon its leaves suggesting the veil spotted and stained with Blood.

The number of trees and herbs connected with the Cross, either by way of identification or of figure, is far too extensive to permit of our dealing with now. We turn to a series of plants than which few can be more interesting to the Christian botanist, since they have been allied to the Passion from either bearing marks upon their foliage or by the shape or color of their blossom suggesting the Sacred Blood of the Redeemer. When once we recognize the symbolism that the piety of our Catholic forefathers saw, these flowers will take quite a new place in our regard and affections, and it is incumbent upon us to preserve their reverent imaginative spirit not only in domestic life, but also in the applied arts in our churches.

Perhaps one of the most striking emblems of the Precious Blood is that afforded by the Fuchsia, whose thick bush bears quantities of pendant, graceful, crimson blossoms, often with red sepals and dark purple petals that add to its arrestive symbolism. In Denmark and Scandinavia it has been christened Christ's Blood Drops (*Kristi Blodsdrave*), and it is an instance of the same spirit in comparatively recent times of religious association in floral nomenclature to that which prevailed in mediæval ones. Certainly to see this shrubby tree in its natural state, bedewed with its crimson goutts, immediately satisfies the eye with the appropriateness of the dedication and should be a vivid source of sacred thought. There is also another modern dedication of a *Medicago*, now known as Calvary Clover, whose delicate seed vessel unrolls and forms a miniature Crown of Thorns; the leaves of one species bear dark stains which remind those who prize these memorials in nature of the stains beneath the Cross, while within the seed-ball are grains of a dark red color all bearing a similar reference.

The Scarlet Anemone (*A. coronaria*), whose ruby red flower carpets the roadsides about Jerusalem at Passiontide, is always an object of attraction to pilgrims thither. Dean Stanley remarked upon it in his "Sinai and Palestine" tour with the present King Edward VII. (pp. 99n. and 139.) "Of all the ordinary aspects of the country," he says, "this blaze of scarlet color is perhaps the most peculiar; and to those who first enter the Holy Land it is no wonder that it has suggested the touching and significant name of 'The Saviour's Blood-drops.'" No flower is more common in Palestine during the early spring, crowding the valleys, adorning the highways and climbing the hilltops. Mr. Harvey Greene says: "It is gorgeous in color and at the same time graceful in all its proportions. Its usual hue is a bright scarlet, but in parts of Galilee and the Plains of Sharon it is sometimes white, while about Jaffa I have seen fields

blue with its delicate petals." It is interesting to note that in France and Belgium the Wood Anemone, although that is white, bears the name of Fleur de Vendredi Saint, but that is perhaps only in reference to the time at which it appears.

Thorpe in his "Northern Mythology" speaks of a plant, the *Rood-selken*, that grows in Flemish fields, bearing *red* spots upon its bright green leaves betokening "the Blood which fell from the Cross and which neither rain nor snow has been able to wash off." It is difficult to identify from this description what it really is, but perhaps it is the Spotted Persicary he meant, although its lanceolate leaf bears a *dark* stain, not a red one; for long ages this has had a similar tradition attached to it, and we find the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland naming it as "Lus chrann ceusaidh," i. e., the herb of the Tree of Crucifixion, or "Am boinnefola," the Blood Spot. Toxites in the sixteenth century speaks of it as "*Persicaria cum sigillo Sanguinis Christi*"—the Persicary with the Sigil of Christ's Blood—while in parts of Germany and Provence it is yet known as Christ's wort. There are several of this same family of plants of somewhat similar appearance and dedication. The *Polygonum Bistorta* and *Rumex Patientia* have the name in the northern part of England of the Patience or Passion's Doks, in Italy of Erba della Pazienza, and in Spain, Yerba de la Paciencia; the *Rumex acetosella* is called Le Sang de Jesu Crist in the Balearic Isles, the *Polygonum lapathifolium*, Christkrut in parts of Germany, all no doubt from the crimson or red of their flower heads. The *Rumex sanguineus*, whose transparent leaves showing their red veining, is a singularly remarkable and beautifully curious plant and one which we would have anticipated to find noticed, but at present the only sacred dedication we have met with is that in Brittany of Louzaouen-ann-Itroun-Varia, or Herb of Our Lady Mary.

The delicate annual, the Common Fumitory, with its much-divided leaves and small rosy-colored flowers, has been termed Sangre de Cristo in Spain, a dedication found for both the *Fumaria officinalis* and *spicata*, but the alliance of these and other species of the same plant to the infancy of the Saviour leads us to imagine that the reference is more to that first shedding of the Sacred Blood at the Circumcision than to that upon the Cross. They have in the same land a similar name for a species of Safflower (*Kentrophyllum lanatum*, D. C.) the red dye of whose blossom probably suggested its title, and in the South of France they call it in their Provençal patois, "Trounc de nostre Segné," in Aragon Azota Cristos, and in Granada Espino de Cristo. Rouge for use as a cosmetic is made from the dried corollas of those species of this plant known as *Carthamus tinctorius* by treating them with carbonate of lime and lemon juice.

Several of the British and European Orchidaceæ have spotted leaves, which have long been attributed to their having been bedewed with the Blood of the Crucified Saviour :

Those deep unwrought marks
The villager will tell thee
Are the flower's portion from the Atoning Blood
On Calvary shed. Beneath the Cross it grew.—Mrs. Hemans.

These dark stains are especially noticeable on the *Orchis maculata*, *latifolia* and *mascula*, known in German-speaking lands as *Herrgotts Fleisch und Blout* and by similar sacred titles.

In the St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*), which is dedicated to the Baptist, we have names that seem to bring him, like that other St. John, very close to the Cross, for we find it catalogued in old German herbals as *Christi Wundenkraut*, *Herrgottsblud*, *Unsers Herrgotts Wundenkraut* and the like, for the tiny dark purple spots and lines upon its petals, calyx and leaves, and the red essential oil which the plant possesses, recalled both the Forerunner's Death and the Saviour's redeeming Blood. To many an old crusading Knight of St. John the *Hypericum* was a sovran balm for "Warrior's Wounds," equalled only by the "Oil of Charity" afforded by the *Lancea Christi* or *Ophioglossum*. The potency of St. John's or Our Lord's, Woundwort was deemed so great that its presence upon the person was thought to be a preservative against all harm, and in days of chivalry before two knights engaged in contest each was obliged to give his pledge that he had not this herb about him, so that no unfair advantage might be taken. Like as in the words of the Hymn to the Precious Blood,

Oft as It is sprinkled on our guilty hearts
Satan in confusion terror-struck departs,

so this plant bore the name of *Fuga Daemonum* from its typical character, or, as the Swedes call it, "Satansflyght;" it was thus a favorite to hang up in every home about their beds; as we read of an old warrior :

St. John's wort and fresh Cyclamen, he in his chamber kept
From the power of evil Angels to guard him while he slept.

There was another powerful root much valued in the days when the Physic garden with its Apothecary beds was the Druggist's Store, and this was the Common Vervain or Simpler's Joy (*Verbena*), a plant held in sacred reverence long before the Christian era dawned; it continued to be a *herba sacra* in Christian eyes, although *Herba Crucis* had succeeded *Herba Isidis* or *Herba Druidica*. Manifold medicinal virtues led to the name of the Simpler's Joy being bestowed upon it, but mediæval leechcraft appears to have thought that it needed a sort of exorcism to be pronounced over it before

plucking in order to purge it of the old taint of paganism. Thus we find the following :

Hallowed be thou, Vervain, as thou growest on the ground,
On the Mount of Calvary there thou once wast found.
Thou healedst Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and staunchedst His bleeding Wound,
In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I take thee from the ground.

Or another form :

Hail to thee, Holy Herb! growing on the ground,
On the Mount of Olivet first wert thou found.
Thou art good for many an ill, and healedst many a wound.
In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I lift thee from the ground.

The same spirit that led men in earlier days to associate all good with the Cross, or to dedicate a herb of marked medicinal efficacy either to God or to the holy patron of the particular complaint to which it afforded an alleviation, was shown as late as the sixteenth century in the names given by still Catholic peoples to the newly discovered Tobacco plant. It was not placed, as some would now wish it were, among the Devil's weeds any more than Hops and Vines have been, but grateful to God for having revealed to them not only a vulnerary in pharmacy, but a source of soothing in daily life, they named it the *Herva sancta*, *Erba Sancta Croce*, *Kraut des Heiligenkreuzes*, *Heilig-Wundkraut*, *L'herbe sacrée propre à tous maux*, and the like: titles which must sound almost profanities to the Anti-tobacco leagues and other believers in King James' "Counterblast."

There is a species of *Silene* or Catchfly, known in the Balearic Isles as the "Sinc Llagas" or Five Wounds, from which also it obtains its botanic name of *Silene quinquevulnera*; in Spain they speak of it as the *Carmelitilla* or the Little Carmelites, perhaps in relation to St. Theresa, whose devotion to the Sacred Wounds was so profound; in the Philippine Islands the Spanish settlers named the *Eranthemum (bicolor)* *Cinco Llagas de Cristo Nuestro Señor*, and they have the pretty saying about it that God created the plant as the poor man's gold dust. In the same islands the *Gendarusa (vulgaris)* is called *Yerba de las Cinco Llagas*, and perhaps this is identical with the delicate, pure, white-petalled *Justicia gendarusa*, which resembles our white *Anemone*, only that it is a more striking flower and has one of its five petals splashed with a crimson stain. The name no doubt is also applied to other species of *Justicia*, especially those with scarlet flowers and variegated leaves, for these are known as the *Stigmata* of St. Francis, and the missionary fathers of that order might well have so named them, taking the thoughts of their converts away from their Pacific islands to the *Anemone* fields of Palestine trodden by the King of Saints and Martyrs, as well as to the Seraphic disciple whom He inspired. The flower we call the Garden

Nasturtium (*Tropaeolum majus*), whose rich bold masses of color are to be found in most gardens, is another Franciscan bloom; in form the blossom of most species reminded men of the hood worn by Capuchin monks, so that the name of Capuchin Cress is most usual for it upon the Continent of Europe. Its great clots of purple red or scarlet seemed like earth giving back in blossom the Blood that fell from the wounded Saviour, and thus we find such titles for it as "Xiuri delle Passioni," or Flowers of the Passion, in Sicily, Llagas de Cristo in Spain, or the memory of them reproduced on the person of St. Francis.

Not only did men thus make their gardens to speak to them by their fair blossoms as they went about their daily toil, but they united with this leaf or that root some sacred association by reason of its medicinal virtue, and in this and other ways they gave vent to the deep sincerity of their contemplation of the Passion, and in their overflowing fervor lavished upon things around them the extreme unction of their affection and devotion to Our Lord. There are many plants in which they found memorials of the Nail-pierced Hands, those well-springs of mercy and grace. It must have been in the curative qualities of the Yarrow (*Achillea*) that they recognized the touch of the Great Physician naming it, as they do in Austria, Gotteshand, since neither root nor feathery leaf serve as an emblem. There are also more that speak of the Feet of Our Blessed Lord, which had, as it were, their traces marked along the highways and across the meadows of this earth of ours. As the prayer in the Devotion to the Five Wounds says, "Thou wast wearied in overtaking me on the way to ruin, and didst bleed among the thorns and brambles of my sins," so men seem to have piously united with Creeping Cinquefoil (*Potentilla*), Birds-foot Trefoil (*Lotus corniculata*) or fragrant Ground Ivy (*Nepeta*) the memory of those wellsprings of Pity and Comfort.

The Heart of Our Blessed Lord is the Fifth and Central emblem to be seen on all representations in ecclesiastical art of the Sacred Wounds, and of this, too, we may discover memorials among the flowers. A most striking reminder is that in a plant to be found in most old gardens in England, viz., the *Dicentra spectabilis*. It is of the Fumitory family, and suspended upon its slender stalk hang in succession a series of lovely flowers like pendant hearts, either red or white. The white ones are known in Italy as Cuore di Maria, the red ones in England as "the Bleeding Heart." This English name is also given to the reddish-brown Wallflower, and a study of ancient folk-names usually proves that what seem to be trivial titles have really been seriously chosen. We find the Wallflower also known as Care-flower in the North of England, which has usually been

deemed to be a corruption of its Latin name *Cheiranthus*, but since Care-week and Carling Sunday are also names existing for Passion Week and Sunday, derived from the same source as the German *Char-freytag* for Good Friday, there can be little doubt that it refers to the time of year when the plant appears. The French title for the Wallflower of *Quarantaine* or Lent adds confirmation to this. "The Bleeding Heart" was perpetuated long after its meaning was forgotten by its use as an inn-sign, continuing on from days when these were sacred emblems, just as we still have The Salutation Tavern, The Seven Stars, The Three Crowns or Kings, etc. Larwood, in his "History of Signboards," speaking of this says: "From that period [viz., pre-Reformation times] also dates the sign of the 'Bleeding Heart,' the emblematical representation of the five sorrowful mysteries of the Rosary—viz., the heart of the Holy Virgin pierced with five swords. There is still an ale-house of this name in Charles street, Hatton Garden, and Bleeding-Heart-Yard, adjoining the public house, is immortalized in *Little Dorrit*. The 'Wounded Heart,' one of the signs in Norwich in 1750, had the same meaning. The Heart was a constant emblem of the Holy Virgin in the Middle Ages. Thus on the Clog almanacs all the feasts of St. Mary were indicated by a heart. It was not an uncommon sign in former times." Thus a name which at first sight seemed carelessly bestowed proves to have once had a singularly tender and serious meaning for Catholic lips.

Another pretty floral emblem is the slender twining perennial known as German Ivy (*Mikania*), which in parts of Germany is known as The Heart of Jesus—*Herz-Jesu-pflanzé*—while in far off Brazil it bears the name of *Coraçoa de Jesu*. It is, we believe, a native of Northern America, but its foliage-form and its small flesh-colored flowers have led to its being enlisted by Catholic eyes among the sacred flora. The lowly weed known popularly as the Shepherd's Burse (*Thlaspi*) has not been too humble or insignificant to serve as a monitor of such thought as the Saviour's riven Side should evoke. We find traces of this in a name still remaining in vogue for it in Denmark, where they speak of it as *Vor Herres lovet-yerter*, or Our Lord's loving Heart; its small heart-shaped seed-vessels must have attracted every one who has lived in the country side, and if the little shells be bursting they have entirely an appearance as if rent asunder by a lance or spear.

There is one flower that contains within itself so complete a compendium of the Story of the Cross that it has taken to itself, since it became popularly known, the almost exclusive title of The Passion flower. There are now more than a hundred different kinds, the original one introduced into Europe being no doubt the *Passi-*

flora incarnata, and although this species is seldom met with in our gardens, yet it is that in which the semblance of parts of the flower to the instruments of Our Blessed Lord's Passion was first observed. Monardes (1593) was the first to call attention to this peculiarity. Parkinson called it the "surpassing delight of all flowers," but is very severe upon the "superstitious Jesuits" who ventured to suggest the symbolism; this, however, was worthy of the Herbalist to Queen Elizabeth! The poet Rapin, like many another poet, found this flower "too suggestive a theme to pass unmoved."

Flos alte incisus, crispato margine frondes,
 Caule in sublimi vallo praetendit acuto;
 Spinarum in morem patiens, O Christe Tuarum;
 Inscriptus foliis summa instrumenta dolorum
 Nam surgens flore e medio capita alta tricuspis,
 Sursum tollit apex clavos imitatus aduncos.

The unknown author of the Portuguese poem entitled "Caramaru" (Canto vii., 39) is even more precise in his indications, for in some lines (the translation of which we owe to Dr. Welwitsch) he not only points out the similitudes of the other parts of the flower, but also sees in the red spots with which the "Column" is marked the analogue of the Saviour's Blood.

All Christendom seems to have endorsed the views of Monardes and they have now become a recognized portion of the folklore of the Christian world. It might well be regarded as a precious gift to Europe, for it was looked upon as the pride of South and Central America and the West Indies; there the woods are filled with varying species of the delightful climber, which reaches from tree to tree, at one time abounding in blossoms of the most striking beauty and at others with fruit tempting to the eye and refreshing to the palate. For upon some, such as the *Passiflora edulis*, *laurifolia*, *quadrangularis* or *Granadilla*, a most delectable fruit is to be found, the succulent pulp surrounding the seeds being fragrant, cooling and pleasant, with an agreeable acidity which is most grateful in a hot climate for the allaying of thirst. Its emblematic teaching can, therefore, scarcely be considered to be exhausted when we record the memorials of the Passion which have been seen in the various parts of its flower and stem. A writer in the *Gardener's Chronicle* for 1870 (p. 1409) speaking of these says: It may well puzzle us to find all the emblems enumerated, but as the flower hangs down and we look up to it "the three stigmas at the top of the column form three arms of the Cross, and the supporting column, when seen under the centre one, certainly gives the Cross. The rays of glory in this plant have nothing like them in the world of flowers with which we are acquainted. I counted the filaments of a purple Passion flower

and it had more than a hundred spear points, and each filament was parti-colored of at least three different hues. . . . The five stamens have a conspicuous place in the flower, and as there are said to have been only four nails and five wounds, the stamens would stand for the wounds and not for the nails. In one of the Passion flowers now before me the Column, stamens and stigmas are all spotted with irregular red blotches, those at the base of the Column being on a white ground are most conspicuous. There are only five petals to the corolla, and only five segments to the calyx, so that the number ten, so deftly put in by an enemy to make the ten Apostles, is nowhere to be seen." But this writer is evidently ill-informed in several respects, for the figure of the Cross is not usually read in this flower, and in the species *caerulea* and others there are ten petals, which are said to number the Apostolic band without Judas who betrayed and Peter who denied the Saviour. The central column has been associated with the Pillar of Scourging, which in one variety at least (*elata*) is sprinkled with stains as described by the writer above. The filamentous appendages upon the plant's stem readily suggest the Cords that bound the Sacred Hands and the thongs of the Whip of Flagellation; the five stamens with their curious anthers at the end are easily recognizable as hammers, but others see in them the more touching memorial of the Five Wounds, which the shape of the anthers recalls with singular vividness; the three stigmas are even more easily identified with the three nails; the gloriously rainbow-hued radiance is the Nimbus about the Sacred Head, or else a glorified Crown of Thorns, while others saw the lance-head in the shape of each leaflet, the sponge upon the top of the column, and as if pointing to the three years' ministry and three days in the grave, they say the flower only remains open for three days and then begins to die.

Even to us in this hard, unpoetical age, the Passion-flower always excites an interest, and it is not difficult to imagine the rapture with which the early missionaries to Mexico must have regarded it when they saw the meaning of these lovely flowers. Laboring in that beautiful land among races steeped in cruel and degrading idolatry they doubtless often had felt a craving of heart for some of those soothing and affectionate signs of the religion of the Cross which they had left behind them in their native land of Spain; their bare adobe stations had scarcely the needful furniture and vesture for their sacred ministry at the Altar, and were without any of the refinements of Christian art or music to give solace in hours of depression and weariness. Yet all the time in the woods and forests about them the God of Nature had not left Himself without a witness, and through the long centuries this flower had been waiting the coming

of His ambassadors to unfold its symbolism. Far surpassing all human art, the product of no human brain, inimitable to mortal skill, this Heaven-sent gift came to those first missionaries bearing within it the Story of the Cross and revealing as they gazed into its delicate structure signs which piety interpreted as typical of all they loved most. Taking this blossom in their hand they could make their meditations from its teaching as well as if they were aided by picture or sculpture in one of their glorious cathedrals of Spain, while here was an ever ready sermon for their converts whereby to rivet in their minds the Atoning Sacrifice of Calvary.

The Passion-flower has won for itself a position in modern ecclesiastical art to which it is entirely entitled; indeed so exclusively does it seem to have absorbed the narrow imagination of modern craftsmen that it not only has excluded from their use many an old floral symbol, but also has stayed their search for any fresh ones suitable for sculpture, the graphic arts or textile embroidery. We would like to have seen what such men as designed the glorious Rose windows of Chartres or Rheims would have made of the Passion-flower. If the mediæval artist could leave us embodied in stone such marvelously exquisite examples of tracery as he did in these Rose and Marygold windows, what beauty he would have bequeathed us from the Passion-flower. The common parrot-cry against modern ecclesiastical Gothic work is only true in one sense, and that not the one its employers mean or can possibly understand. It is not true in the sense of either its inferiority of construction in the hands of our best men, or its unsuitability to this or any other time, but it is true in its being without the permeating Faith that prompted the imagination and suggested the utility of each and every part, and also in its dependence upon geometrical exactitude instead of upon the trained hand and eye for proportion and relief.

It has often been said that a great Cathedral of ancient days was a national epic in stone, and that is true, but not only the great churches, but every village church, was full of local history and legend. And it should be so again. The sacred flora that is found in its fields, the birds of pious story that flit about its rooftops, references to local tradition or absorbing national event, all these should be sought out by the architect who is an artist to bring a human interest and relief into his capitals, bosses and decoration. The old architects were like Fairies going about this old world of ours, raising their fascinating embodiments of dreams, and bringing with them much quaint imagery and lively fancy into the lives of the people. Like the Fairies they seem to have departed, as a race, with the old Faith of Christendom, for as the Protestant Bishop Corbet (1648) says:

The Fairies
Were of the old profession;
Their songs were Ave Marias,
Their dances were procession.
But now, alas! they all are dead,
Or gone beyond the seas,
Or, further, for religion fled,
Or else they take their ease.

Let us hope that the Church Architects are only taking their ease, and will yet come back to us, perhaps from oversea!

The Church has a Flora of her own, just as she has a language of her own, and in the same way as she has set apart and stamped with her approval certain of her children as exemplary models of piety for us to study, so may we say in a certain sense she has selected in every land types and emblems of her doctrine and teaching among the "grass of the field." In early days popular acclaim beatified many a saint, and this consensus of opinion has usually been authoritatively accepted. "There is a foundation, not arbitrary, for all the different languages in which different nations and kinds of men express the common thoughts of a common humanity, so there is a foundation, not arbitrary, for the sacred meanings and associations primitive and religious minds have found in flowers and herbs; consequently sacred art should use the symbolism of flowers, not ignorantly, but with reverent attention to the real tradition of the subject." If the dedications be only those of a writer's pretty fancy then they can have no claim upon the minds of Catholics as a body, but when they are those that are found to exist in the folklore of a country, often of an antiquity so great that it is impossible to say when they originated, then they come to us with an authority equal to every other recognized type or emblem whether it be in language or art. It is strangely true that if, like the Passion-flower in Europe, the sacred flora were composed of rare and pampered foreign plants that then artists of all kinds would be far more ready to employ its significance. They want exotics and fine garden and greenhouse flowers to evoke their admiration. It is because we are blind that we see no beauty in the creeping Crowfoot, the farmer's pest, but whose leaf and flower and dedication should be the artist's joy. Only common and vulgar weeds! Why hasn't the wayside Plantain inspired the artist who sculptured the capitals of the choir of Vézelay, those of the gallery of the choir of Nôtre Dame in Paris, those of Montreale, as well as countless other examples to be seen strewn throughout England as well? It is not to a book of designs that the Church artist should go for his decoration, but to Nature, and gather from her daintily dight and joyous fields those herbs that christened eyes have for ages held especially to speak of God and His blissful Maiden Mother Mary. "All art, pictorial, sculptural, decorative or what not, is only noble and worthy of the name so far as it affords

food for thought to the spectator and testifies to the thought of the artist, and the nobility of the work is in direct proportion to such evidence of inner life." There is in every department of natural history plenty of material ready at hand to suggest motives of design, material that would not only be congruous to the place or subject, but prove of lively interest to the beholder. When once we realize that an artist has a purpose and meaning in all his work we immediately find our intelligence awakened to discover what it may be. If in the sculptured capitals, bosses and string courses we saw more than the wearily reiterated vine and corn, lily and rose, our curiosity would be aroused to fathom the artist's intention; and if we then learn that there be an authoritative reason for the use of this plant or that bird, and not the private fancy of the designer, our minds feel a sincere delight so that the work affords us an entirely fresh source of mental pleasure. Of course not all the plants to be found in the Sacred Flora are suitable for sculpture, while probably all would be for painting or the arts akin thereto, but there are plenty that are, especially with regard to events in the Life of Our Blessed Lord and His Holy Mother; the writer of this paper published last year "*The Flora of the Sacred Nativity*,"* extending to the Flight into Egypt, and found sufficient material to necessitate his confining this period alone to one volume. It is a Flora far less known than that of the Passion, of which many dedications continue to be familiar in every land, and the great number of exquisite motives that the flowers therein suggest to the religious designer or gardener excited the surprise of most people.

It is not only for the worker in religious art that we commend a study of the Christian Flora, but also to all who care to make their gardens what the old herbalist Parkinson calls his "*Paradisus*," viz., a "*speaking garden*," one wherein each tree, shrub and flower is connected with Christian legend and tradition. It is certainly fitting and appropriate that at least such a system should be adopted in the forming the gardens of religious houses, and in the planting of churchyards. Convent gardens should be the prompters of meditation; and if there be a school connected then there is nothing so helpful to enlist young minds and attract young eyes as a flower that possesses a history attaching to it. The Aspen's quivering leaf, the dark stains upon the Arum or Persicary, the pure white or crimson hearts of the Dicentra, even the sting of the Nettle will they not speak a new language to us all? We have strangely neglected the use of natural history in education, and we little appreciate how easily we might illustrate from the herb of the field the deepest mysteries of our religion. The Book of Nature is one of God's

*Published by Kegan Paul & Co., London.

Bibles, His Green Book, not to be read alone but in order of witness; one not to be read in the turmoil of city life, but in that peaceful calm out of which imagination may wing its flight. "Although we cannot attain to God by sense," St. Thomas has said, "yet by sensible signs our mind is roused to tend to God."

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ATTITUDE OF THE JESUITS IN THE TRIALS FOR WITCHCRAFT.

I. BEGINNINGS OF WITCH PERSECUTION.

IN the whole history of the human race there is scarcely anything more gloomy and more saddening than the trials for witchcraft and the wholesale execution of supposed witches. It is indeed humiliating to think that the so-called civilized world for centuries was enslaved by a fatal belief which surrendered thousands of innocent victims to frightful tortures and a horrible death. We find instances of trials for witchcraft during the Middle Ages, but they are relatively rare until the end of the fourteenth century. Then they became more and more numerous; and about 1450 the *systematic* persecution of witches was in full swing, particularly in the Alps, whence it spread like a fierce epidemic over France and Germany.¹ Unfortunately, these sad proceedings were at first carried on chiefly by the Inquisitors. They accepted the most absurd popular beliefs as a reality. Especially two Dominicans, the Inquisitors Institoris and Sprenger, became notorious for their credulity and blind zeal in extending the trials for witchcraft over Germany. When several bishops opposed them, they appealed to Rome. Pope Innocent VIII., acting on their uncritical and misleading informations, issued in 1484 the Bull *Summis desiderantes*, commonly styled the "Witchcraft Bull." It proved most disastrous, as it furnished the Inquisitors and other persecutors of the witches with a Papal document with which they could justify their cruel measures.² A

¹ See especially Hansen: "Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexen-Prozess im Mittelalter." Munich and Leipsic, 1900. This book is based on a false supposition in denying the existence of evil spirits, and consequently leads to wrong conclusions. However, as a distinguished Catholic scholar writes: "It proves that in the matter of witchcraft the one-sided *a priori* treatment of the scholastics was fatal; and it would be well if the book were studied by Professors of Philosophy and Theology." Based on Hansen's work and of a similar character is the article of Dr. Joseph Kaufmann, "Die Vorgeschichte der Zauber-und Hexenprozesse," in the "Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Litteratur," 1901, Heft 4, pp. 283-306; Heft 5, pp. 335-352.

² It is evident that this Bull is in no way an *ex-cathedra* decision. Döllinger contended that it was such, but even the Protestant Professor Hinschius, of Berlin ("System des Katholischen Kirchenrechtes VI.," Berlin, 1897, p. 402), says that Döllinger "goes too far when he designates this Bull as an *ex-cathedra* utterance of the Pope; for neither the contents nor the occasion on which it was issued warrant such an assumption."

few years after the publication of this Bull, the two aforesaid Inquisitors wrote conjointly the *Malleus maleficarum*, or "Witch-hammer," a book full of startling and horrible stories. In this work most rigorous measures against the witches are advocated, and later zealots for the persecution of witches based their arguments chiefly on this publication.

However, it was not until after the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation that the persecution reached its full height. The religious and social disturbances that followed this movement, and above all the teaching of some of the Reformers, contributed much to the increase of the belief in witchcraft, and this belief added fuel to the persecution. In the catechism of Luther the power ascribed to the devil over man's body and soul, life and property, amounts almost to omnipotence. Luther sees devils everywhere and in everything; "man is the devil's slave and wills and does only what his master bids him." The friends and followers of Luther shared these views fully, and it was soon noticed, according to the testimony of Protestant contemporaries, "that the preachers spoke more of the devil than of Christ, and that old and young believed more in the devil than in God and His holy Gospel."³

We cannot be surprised, therefore, to learn that soon after the Reformation the trials for witchcraft were carried on with renewed vigor. In many countries and districts persecutions of witches are heard of only after the introduction of the new doctrine. Even after the excitement had abated in Europe, Puritan New England saw the hanging of witches at Salem.⁴ On the whole it is impossible to decide whether more victims suffered in Catholic or Protestant countries.

Since 1520 the secular power took the persecution of witches into its hands.⁵ The excitement reached its highest pitch between 1570 and 1640. During this period the human mind seemed to have lost its balance. Diseases, fire, famine, storms and hail, wars, great wealth and losses, disappointment in love, striking beauty and remarkable ugliness, extraordinary knowledge and excessive stupidity, melancholy and mirth, all were ascribed to the influence of the devil. If a person was negligent in his religious duties, it was a sure sign that he had bartered his soul to the devil; if he was very pious, he was suspected of hypocrisy, in order to conceal his dealings with the evil one. Under the frightful pains of the torture the names of ever

³ Diefenbach, "Der Zauberglaube des 16. Jahrhunderts," pp. 12-24; further details in Janssen-Pastor, "History of the German People," Vols. 7 and 8. Luther wrote: "With witches I would have no mercy; I would rather burn them myself." "Many devils are around us that might kill us any hour." Kaufmann in "Neue Jahrbücher," pp. 286-292. On Luther's belief in *incubus* and *succubus*, see the same author, p. 304.

⁴ See Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. III., ch. 19.

⁵ Hansen, l. c., p. 524.

new witches were revealed; no one was safe; children of tender age were tortured; they frequently denounced their parents; parents testified against their children. No rank was secure against accusation; Mayors of cities, priests and religious were denounced and executed. But we cannot dwell on these horrible scenes. They may be read in special works on this subject, or in Janssen's "History of the German People" (Vol. VIII.).

II. DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE JESUITS.

During the most violent period of the persecution for witchcraft the Jesuits exerted a powerful influence as professors of philosophy, dogmatic and moral theology, as writers, as confessors and preachers at the courts of Princes. Consequently they had to take attitude towards this persecution, and it is evident that their verdict for or against the trials was of the greatest weight. For the last few years a warm controversy on this very point has been going on in Germany, chiefly between Professor Riezler, of Munich, and the Jesuit Father Duhr. We intend to give the results of the controversy in the present paper. Father Duhr laid down his contentions in a number of articles in the "Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie" (1900 and 1901), the "Historisches Jahrbuch" (Munich, 1900), in the pamphlet "Attitude of the Jesuits in the Trials for Witchcraft in Germany" and "The Biography of Frederick Spe."⁶ In the preface to his first work Father Duhr says that "the attitude of the Jesuits in the trials for witchcraft has sometimes been painted too favorably for one-sided apologetical purposes, sometimes too darkly from a one-sided hostile tendency." Indeed we can find the statement in Catholic works that the Jesuits were a glorious exception in that excited age, and manfully opposed the mad fury of the persecutors of the innocent. On the other hand, they are charged by some historians with having fanned the flame of that disastrous conflagration. One writer went even further. "The ablest of the historians on witchcraft (Soldan-Heppe) has charged their order with using witch persecution as a cloak for the punishment of heresy, and seeking to burn as witches those whom, under the law of the Empire, they could

⁶ "Stellung der Jesuiten in den deutschen Hexenprozessen," Cologne, 1900. "Frederick Spe," von Johannes Diel, S. J. Zweite, ungearbeitete Auflage Freiburg, Herder, 1901. We have also used several other works: Janssen-Pastor, "History of the German People," Vol. VIII.; Diefenbach, "Der Zauberglaube des 16. Jahrhunderts nach den Katechismen Dr. Martin Luthers und des P. Canisius," Mainz, 1900; "The Fate of Dietrich Flade," Putnam's Sons, New York, 1891. By Professor Burr, of Cornell University; reprinted from the papers of the "American Historical Association," Vol. V., No. 3, July, 1891. Professor Burr is considered one of the first authorities on the subject of witchcraft and is highly spoken of by German scholars. Thus Professor Pastor, in Janssen's "History of the German People," Vol. VIII., p. 583, speaks of "the American George L. Burr, to whom all students of the history of witchcraft are deeply indebted." Professor Burr's publication on Dietrich Flade is a model of accurate historical research.

no longer burn as heretics; and he bases this charge largely on the history of the persecution at Trier." So far Professor Burr, of Cornell University; but he adds: "After a careful study of the documents left us, I find as yet no reason to share his view."⁷ The severest charge is made against several distinguished Jesuit theologians, especially Delrio, Gregory de Valentia and Laymann, and against the preachers at the courts of Princes.⁸ What is the truth concerning the attitude of the Jesuits?

Before we examine the historical evidence bearing on this question it will be well to make a few preliminary remarks. There undoubtedly exists, what the Germans call *Zeitgeist*, a spirit of the age, which affects all, for good or ill, which influences theologians as well as others, and even the supreme rulers of the Church in their private opinions and decisions which do not possess the character of *ex-cathedra* definitions. It is unfair and narrow-minded to look down with superciliousness on those who have gone before us, because they held many opinions which are now rejected by all enlightened minds. We must endeavor to judge men by the circumstances in which they lived. However, this cannot prevent us from deploring the existence of some of their opinions and the disastrous results to which they led. It cannot be denied that the credulity of mediæval chroniclers and the lack of historical criticism on the part of great theologians of former ages was, to say the least, a most unfortunate feature; and in a matter of practical consequences, like that of witchcraft, it has proved extremely disastrous. That many theologians were at fault in these sad proceedings cannot be denied. We know this from a witness whose testimony is unimpeachable: the Jesuit Father Spe, the noble champion of the victims. He asks in his famous *Cautio Criminalis*:⁹ "Who are they who spur the authorities on to new executions?" He divides them into four classes. "First, some theologians and prelates who are devoted to their studies and enjoy peace and tranquility in their study rooms. They have not the slightest idea of what is going on outside, no idea of the filth of the prisons, of the rack, of the cries and sorrows of the poor victims. To visit the prisons, to speak to the poor sufferers and to condescend to listen to their complaints, would be against their dignity and would disturb their studies. To this class I add certain holy and pious men, who, totally ignorant of the reality of things, consider all inquisitors and judges in these trials as saints. These pious men deem it criminal not to venerate all the sentences of these

⁷ "Fate of Dietrich Flade," p. 52.

⁸ See "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, Vol. LXXXIV. There it is said that "the Jesuits are not as guilty of the horrors of witch persecution as the Dominicans, and on the whole not more guilty than the Protestant clergy," p. 249. We do not intend in any way to incriminate the Dominicans, but merely quote the statements of historians, without endorsing every detail.

⁹ "Dubium" 15.

judges as infallible. When such good people read certain stories, no matter how silly, or hear of the confessions forced from the victims by torture, they regard them as gospel truth, and allow themselves to be carried away by zeal, rather than be ruled by discretion. They cry out: such crimes must not be tolerated, the world is full of witches, the authorities must proceed against this pest with all diligence, etc. Oh, these good and holy men! What can you do with them, as they wish only the best? If they knew how much wickedness and imprudence prevail in these trials, they would exclaim with Christ: 'Let both grow until the day of the harvest.' But now these good people are incapable of enlightenment."

"The second class is made up of jurists, who find these trials a profitable business. On a sudden they have become pious and frighten the authorities, who are tardy in proceeding against the witches. To the third class belong those who seek to gratify their jealousy, enmity and vengeance. If the authorities do not listen to the mob, they clamor that the judges are afraid for themselves or their families, or are bribed by the rich, as charges of witchcraft can be made against members of even the wealthiest families. Unfortunately, there are priests and religious who, instead of checking, foster such clamorings. To the fourth class belong malefactors, who, in order to conceal their own crimes, most zealously demand the punishment of witches. Among these malefactors I reckon even those inquisitors who wanted to torture Father Tanner."¹⁰

This candid statement proves that not a few priests, religious and secular, were carried away by the credulity and mad excitement of the age, and actually added fuel to the fire. Now can it reasonably be expected that the Jesuits were so far ahead of their time, so enlightened, so free from the *Zeitgeist*, that none of them should have shared the all-prevailing superstition? It would be a miracle. The Jesuits were children of their age and acted accordingly. Indeed, there were Jesuits who advocated severe measures against the witches; but on the other hand we find among them noble champions of the innocent victims, especially the most strenuous opponent of that atrocious persecution, the brave Father Frederick Spe.

III. ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY JESUITS.

"The order as such never assumed any official attitude towards the persecution. The name of wizard or witch is not to be found either in the constitutions of the order or in the decrees of the Generals; nor is there even mention of possession and exorcism. As regards the Inquisition, the order asked and obtained special

¹⁰ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 15. "Spe," pp. 76-77.

Papal privileges (1584), to the effect that its members should never be forced to accept the offices of the Inquisition. The order thought that the office of Inquisitor was not in accordance with the spirit of its constitutions."¹¹

The first companion of St. Ignatius, Father Peter Faber, acted according to this spirit of the Society. When he heard that a Jesuit in Louvain occupied himself with exorcisms, he wrote in 1545: "I cannot approve of these exorcisms. The Father should know that they are open to many deceptions. He ought to expel the devil from the *souls* of men, as this is the office of priests, and should leave it to the exorcists to perform their work."¹² Father Faber's disciple, Peter Canisius, was not so reserved in this matter. Owing probably to his study of mysticism in early youth, he was inclined to follow the course disapproved by his master, Peter Faber. Father Paul Hoffaeus, vice provincial of the province of the Upper Rhine, writes, in 1569, to the General of the Society, Francis Borgia: "Father Canisius must be warned not to meddle so much in cases of possessed persons, and not to create difficulties for us; much time is wasted, and the proceedings are not according to our mode of acting." Determined as he was in other matters, Father Hoffaeus was also resolute and fearless in this. He told Father Borgia that members of the noble house of the Fuggers had taken two possessed girls to Rome and Loretto, in order to find relief for the girls. The Fuggers wanted Father Wendelin Volk as companion; but the General should not allow it under any condition, for "there is a great deal of credulity in all this. It is said that they learned from a revelation or from an utterance of the evil spirit, that whoever would prevent Father Wendelin from accompanying them, would meet with a severe corporal affliction. I, for my part, am not afraid of anything." In 1570 Canisius was warned by the General: "He should not lose a single hour with the possessed, as such an occupation was alien to the institute of the Society and liable to hinder more useful work."¹³

In another line Peter Canisius showed himself much more prudent; namely, in his catechisms. It has been said, and not without reason, that Luther's catechism did very much to spread the belief in witchcraft. In his Greater Catechism the name of the devil occurs sixty-seven times, that of Christ sixty-three times.¹⁴ But of still greater importance is the *influence* ascribed to the devil. The evil one does great harm to the bodies of men, kills many, is the cause of wars, storms, plagues, etc.¹⁵ As early as 1568 more than

¹¹ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 22.

¹² Ibid, p. 23.

¹³ Documents in Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 24-25.

¹⁴ Diefenbach, l. c., p. 5.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 7.

100,000 copies of this catechism were scattered all over Germany.¹⁶ Even in Catholic districts many agitators, teachers and priests who secretly adhered to Luther's tenets, spread his catechism and his doctrines. In a letter to Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, Peter Canisius deplores the fact that in many Catholic cities the teachers are not Catholics, but adherents of the Reformation, and instruct the young in the heresy of Luther.¹⁷ May not Luther's teaching of the all-powerful devil have caused the spread of the belief in witchcraft, even in Catholic countries? Professor Riezler himself admits that before 1591 scarcely a single witch was burnt in Bavaria, and in the Electorate of Trier and the bishopric of Bamberg the persecution of witches began only after the spread of Protestantism.¹⁸

Widely different are the famous catechisms of Peter Canisius from those of Luther. Professor Riezler renders the smaller catechism, intended for the people, the favorable testimony that it makes no particular mention of witchcraft. He says: "Luther's catechism, in the explanation of the first commandment, mentions the objects and effects of the league with the devil in detail, although not exhaustively, whereas the large Roman catechism, written at the bidding of the Council of Trent, and the smaller catechism of Canisius, intended for the people, do not even mention the word witchcraft."¹⁹ In fact, in the smaller catechism of Canisius the name of Christ occurs six times, that of the devil not once. The middle catechism has the name of Christ thirty-two times, that of "Satan"—for he always uses this word, not the more popular word "devil"—three times; the large catechism contains the name of Christ one hundred and three times, that of Satan only ten times.²⁰ In Luther's large catechism we found the very opposite proportion. But not only in the number of times in which the names are mentioned does the catechism of Canisius favorably differ from that of Luther, but more so in the power ascribed to the evil one. Luther dwells particularly on the devil's power over the body and the property of man. Canisius speaks of Satan only as the tempter to sin.

In 1583 a sensation was caused in Vienna by an exorcism performed on a girl. The Emperor ordered the bishop to have the girl exorcised. The bishop went to the college of the Jesuits and commanded, as far as he could, the rector to perform the task. At last the rector yielded and several fathers began the exorcism which lasted no less than eight weeks. This affair soon became the topic

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20. Braunsberger, S. J., "Epistolae B. P. Canisi," Vol. II., p. 209.

¹⁸ Diefenbach, p. 211.—"There is every internal evidence that the case of Eva of Kenn (1572) was the first witch trial in its (Trier) region." Burr, l. c., p. 10, note: "In the Lutheran county of Sponheim, lying just east of Trier, and cutting the Electorate nearly in two, we hear, in 1573, of several witches imprisoned and tortured at the Wartelstein, near Kirn." Burr, *ib.*, p. 10, note 3.

¹⁹ Riezler, p. 129; quoted by Duhr, "Stellung," p. 75.

²⁰ Diefenbach, l. c., pp. 38-39.

of conversation, and so many misrepresentations were made that Father Scherer thought it necessary to deliver a special sermon "on the recent liberation of a girl who was possessed by 12,652 devils." Sacchini relates the story in his "Historia Societatis Jesu" (Pars. V., lib. 3, p. 125), and emphasizes the fact that the rector was simply forced. He expresses, however, no doubt as to the truth of the confessions made by the girl and her mother. Father Scherer accepts with perfect faith all the silly stories about witches and exhorts the Mayor and the City Council to prosecute witches and wizards, as it was God's will *ut tollatur malum de medio*. Not all the Jesuits approved of this sermon. The provincial of the Upper Rhine, Father Bader, writes to Father General Aquaviva, "that those fathers who at my bidding read the sermon, were of the opinion that it scarcely merited the 'imprimatur' of the Society. . . . I cannot understand how such unripe productions are published."²¹

IV. PROCEEDINGS AT TREVES.

Nowhere in Germany did the frenzy of witch persecution run so high as at Treves (Trier), one of the oldest towns in Germany, and indeed throughout the whole archdiocese. The highest officials, mayors, canons, deans, parish priests, chaplains, fell victims to the persecution. Woe to the priest who dared to raise his voice in defense of the accused; there was no surer sign of his own guilt than such pleading.²² The trials at Treves have been treated with special interest by various historians.²³ The Jesuits were in various ways connected with the trials in Treves. Their Annual Reports for 1585 say: "Often have our priests been summoned to the witches, whose number here is very great, and have attended them even to the place of punishment; and through God's goodness it has been brought about that with great grief for their sins, they have died piously even amid the torments of the flames."²⁴

In the same year, 1585, Father Gibbons, the rector of the Jesuit college at Treves, writes to Father Aquaviva: "Here and in the whole country around none of the witches—who are very numerous—are burnt without some of ours being called to instruct them and lead them back to Christ. The Archbishop sent us a boy of eight years who used to beat the drum at the nightly meetings of the witches. He knows all the arts of sorcery and has revealed many witches—one of whom was burnt five or six days ago. One night,

²¹ Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 25-28.

²² Janssen-Pastor, "Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes," Vol. VIII., p. 637.

²³ In the following we are indebted particularly to Professor Burr's extremely interesting publication. The author has examined the documents in Treves, especially the "Litterae annuae" (annual reports) of the Jesuits. In the Stad-Bibliothek (City Library), which is in the old Jesuit College, there is a precious collection of nearly all the years from 1573 to 1590. See Burr, pp. 16, 17, note 3.

²⁴ Burr, l. c., p. 17.

while sitting as prisoner in the Archbishop's palace, he was visited by the devil, who carried him off through the air to an assembly of witches. There he was accused and scolded for having gone to the Jesuits, to which he answered he could not do otherwise."²⁵ The Archbishop had sent him to the Jesuits that he might be taught his catechism, for he was completely ignorant of Christian doctrine, and did not even know the Lord's Prayer.²⁶

Father Thyraeus, rector of the College of Mentz, wrote to Father Aquaviva, in 1587, that "a boy was kept in the college at Treves who denounced many women. This could easily bring the college into bad repute. I have warned the rector, etc." To this the General replied that the boy should under no condition be left in the college. If he was to be instructed in catechism, this might be done in the Archbishop's palace or elsewhere.²⁷ Other Jesuits also must have written complaints to Rome about the conduct of their brethren in Treves. For in 1589 the General Aquaviva writes to the provincial superior: "We have heard that Ours in Treves seem to meddle too much with the trials of witches and urge the Prince to punish them. Your Reverence must forbid it and give the following instructions: It may be allowed to advise the Prince in general to apply a remedy against sorcery, which is said to be common in that region, and in given cases they may admonish the witches that, when questioned in court, they are bound in conscience to denounce their accomplices. For the rest, Ours should not meddle with the *forum externum*; further they should not urge the authorities to punish any one."²⁸

In 1591 the provincial superior had again to write to the General Aquaviva: "In this college (of Treves), Father John Macherentius delivered some sermons in which he spoke rather sharply about the neglect of justice in regard to witches. The consequence was that the *tribus* (guilds) went to the Most Reverend Lord and asked that justice should be administered. I have warned Ours according to your directions, so that, as I hope, nothing of the kind will be attempted by them." Now it is not quite clear in which sense the "neglect of justice" is to be taken, whether the preacher claimed justice for the poor witches or urged the Archbishop to a more relentless persecution. Father Duhr thinks that the latter is meant, as the Jesuits of Treves had repeatedly been denounced to the General by their own brethren for having encouraged these proceedings.²⁹

²⁵ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 31, from original documents kept in the archives of the German Jesuits.

²⁶ Burr, p. 17, who gives the same story from the "Litterae annuae."

²⁷ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 32.

²⁸ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 32. Latin text in Janesen-Pastor, VIII., p. 654.

²⁹ "Stellung," p. 34.

The trial which has acquired most fame is that of Dr. Dietrich Flade, the sad story of which is admirably told by Professor Burr.³⁰ Who was this Dietrich Flade? He had held the highest positions in Treves, as rector of the University, councillor to the Archbishop-Elector and Acting Governor (*Schultheiss*) of the city. His wealth was proverbial. The Jesuit Brouwer, who lived at the time in Treves, where he was for some time rector of the college and where he died in 1617, writes in his "*Annales Trevirenses*:" "By his civic zeal, and by his proved loyalty to his sovereign, he had earned the position of judge in the city; learned in public and private law, greatly valued for his counsels, he had won favor and fame as well among the Princes of the Empire and had gathered to himself riches."³¹ As City Judge, Flade had himself pronounced sentence against some witches. However, he must not have been overzealous in such work; for Brouwer writes that "Flade heard his sentence from the very court whose severity he himself as judge had for many years restrained."³²

In 1587 it was whispered that an attempt had been made to bewitch the Elector. A boy had confessed the plot. Johann Zandt von Merl, who had succeeded Flade as Governor of Treves, arrested the boy, brought him to Treves, where he was for a time quartered in the electoral palace, and then by order of the Archbishop brought to the Jesuit college. This boy denounced the Judge of the city, Dr. Flade, as a wizard, and said that the Judge had attempted to poison the Elector. The new Governor had a hand in this denunciation. A woman from a village under the jurisdiction of Zandt, and a month later a man from the same district, who had both been arrested for witchcraft, accused Flade of the same crime. Both witches were burnt. Zandt now started formal proceedings against Flade. He collected more evidence, and at last the confessions of a number of witches were laid before the appointed commission. The case of the sickly old man became desperate. He attempted flight, but was overtaken and brought back to Treves. Under the legal maxims of the day this flight went far to prove Flade's guilt. After a second attempt and a despairing appeal to the Elector, the unfortunate man was tortured. At first he remained firm, but by frequently repeated tortures the confession of his own guilt and the

³⁰ "Fate of Dietrich Flade." For a long time it was thought that the original acts of this famous trial were lost. They were discovered by Professor Burr. "Glancing through an old book catalogue, issued late in 1882 by Albert Cohn, of Berlin, my eye lit on the title of this manuscript (the minutes of Flade's trial). I laid it before President White (Dr. Andrew White, of Cornell), who at once, spite of an inaccuracy in the name, divined that it was the trial of Dr. Flade, whose case he knew well through his researches in this field. We ordered it forthwith, and were overjoyed both to secure it and to find it what we had hoped." Burr, p. 4. Since 1883 the manuscript is in the President White Library at Cornell University.

³¹ Burr, p. 20.

³² Burr, p. 43.

names of a number of accomplices were wrung from him. On the 18th of September, 1589, he was first strangled and his body then burned to ashes.³³

On the morning of his execution, Flade was present at Mass and received the sacrament at the hands of the Jesuit Father Ellentz. This good Father had rendered much and faithful service as confessor of the witches. A pamphlet of the year 1603 says: "There is now no superstition as common and dangerous as the fear of witches. And it is to be wondered at that pious and merciful priests, especially those of the Society of Jesus, dare to go so much to the poor martyred witches in the prisons, to comfort them and to accompany them to the stake, as I have seen with my own eyes at Treves, where they spoke to the witches words of consolation in the name of Jesus Christ our Redeemer."³⁴ Father Ellentz spent whole nights with the victims in the filthy prisons. Shortly before his death, in 1607, he informed the provincial that he had accompanied at least two hundred of these unfortunate persons to the stake.³⁵ Similar reports were made of Fathers in Braunsberg, Ellwangen, Fulda, Paderborn, Speier, etc. In some places, as in Paderborn, the opinion was spread that those who had once sold their souls to the devil by compact, had no hope of salvation. The Jesuits did not share this view, but everywhere assisted the poor victims before death. In many cases they succeeded in liberating the condemned or accused persons.³⁶ We have ample testimony that this service of administering the last consolations of religion to witches was most dangerous, as the zealous priests themselves fell under the suspicion of witchcraft.

As we have heard, Soldan-Heppe has charged the Society with using the persecution of witches as a cloak for the punishment of heresy. He bases this charge largely on the history of the persecution at Treves. "Can we doubt that the great persecution for witchcraft which broke out at Treves in 1586 was in part only a continuation of the persecution of Protestantism, and was one of those means which the sagacity of the Jesuits had invented for accomplishing the task for which they had been called into the land?"³⁷ This is a most serious charge, but there is not a shadow of proof to substantiate it. Professor Burr says: "After a careful study of the documents left

³³ Burr, pp. 21-43.

³⁴ Janssen-Pastor, Vol. VIII., p. 641.

³⁵ Ibid. From "*Litterae annuae*" of 1607.

³⁶ Duhr, pp. 72-74.

³⁷ Soldan-Heppe, "*Geschichte der Hexenprozesse*," 1890, Vol. II., p. 37; quoted by Diefenbach, p. 85. Kaufmann ("*Neue Jahrbücher*," 1901, p. 286) considers it "a great fault of Soldan's work that he partisan-like inculcates the Catholic Church and attempts to exonerate the Protestant, whereas it is unfortunately an incontestable fact that countless Protestant preachers yielded nothing in blind fanaticism to Catholic priests, and in this faithfully adhered to the tradition of the old Church."

us, I find as yet no reason to share his view. The heretics were indeed not yet rooted out at Trier. Persecution for heresy went on side by side with persecution for witchcraft. It would have been strange, in sooth, if the two Satanic crimes were never associated in fervent minds; . . . but that this suspicion was actually felt, or that the Jesuits ever consciously confused the two crimes, I find scant evidence. . . . At all events, Dietrich Flade was no Protestant. . . . All his life he had been a leader of the Catholic party; and his most devoted friend till death was apparently his Jesuit confessor, Father Ellentz."³⁸

The charge made by Soldan-Heppe has been repeated by various writers, quite recently by Pastor Längin, of Karlsruhe.³⁹ Professor Riezler had also spoken of a connection between the counter-reformation and the persecution for witchcraft. Attacked by Father Duhr on this point, he defined his position more accurately by stating "that he never maintained the existence of a *general* or *regular* connection between the Catholic restoration and witch persecution; but what he defended and still defends is, that in *certain territories* the counter-reformation and witch persecution went hand in hand."⁴⁰ To this Father Duhr answers: "Considering the harsh opinions held by some Jesuits, much was possible in single cases, therefore Riezler's latest statement cannot be rejected *a priori*."⁴¹ But neither Professor Riezler nor any one else has furnished the least proof for the charge against the Jesuits that they ever used witch trials for persecuting Protestantism.

The Jesuits at Treves are evidently to be blamed, not only for their credulity in regard to witchcraft, a sentiment which they shared with nearly all their contemporaries, but especially for allowing themselves to be deceived by the ambitious and intriguing Governor Johann Zandt. Professor Burr remarks: "If it seems strange that men so subtle as the Jesuit Fathers could be played upon by the boy accomplices of Johann Zandt, one must remember that a Justus Lipsius (the famous archæologist and critic) was even then standing sponsor to the witch code of a Delrio."⁴² The Jesuits of Coblenz and of Mentz did not approve the actions of their brethren at Treves. If it is asked whence this difference arose, it seems very probable that the latter were under the influence of their friend, the Coadjutor-Bishop Peter Binsfeld. This Bishop had studied in the Collegium Germanicum at Rome from 1570-76; thus he was a pupil

³⁸ Burr, pp. 52-53. Professor Burr's judgment is accepted also by E. P. Evans, in "Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung," Munich, 1893, No. 102.

³⁹ See Diefenbach, *passim*. Kaufmann, by no means partial to the Catholic Church, says that "Längin speaks rather as a Protestant theologian than as a historian." ("Neue Jahrbücher," 1901, p. 286.)

⁴⁰ "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., 247.

⁴¹ "Stellung," p. 77.

⁴² Page 53.

of the Jesuits. In 1589 he published a book which had a disastrous influence on witch persecution. He strongly defended the credibility of the witch confessions. In his opinion: "The confessions of witches are either always or nearly always true." He casts strong suspicions on those who make themselves "advocates of the great evil," and he urges most strenuous proceedings against the witches, "who are nowhere to be tolerated, but to be extirpated entirely; such is the will of God."⁴³ In consequence of such principles the torture was used unsparingly, until all the confessions were extorted which the judges wanted. However deplorable the proceedings at Treves were, a remark of Professor Burr should not be overlooked: "It ought, in justice, to be added that, while the *Kursächsische Kriminalordnung* (1572) of Lutheran Saxony, and the *Kurpfälzisches Landrecht* (1582) of the Calvinist Palatinate, with the lesser Protestant codes based upon them, went beyond the Carolina⁴⁴ in making witchcraft, *even without matériel injury*, a capital crime when it involved dealings with the devil, Catholic Trier, spite of clerical and Jesuit influences, was from first to last, as to witchcraft, content to abide by the Caroline code."⁴⁵ We do not wish to examine how far this "spite of" is justified; one thing seems to be certain, that "clerical and Jesuit influences" succeeded in keeping the witch trials at least within legal bounds. As the work of Bishop Binsfeld has been mentioned, our attention is naturally called to works of Jesuit theologians who treated of witchcraft and its prosecution. We have to speak of some Jesuits who, unfortunately, shared too much the views of their times and, in their works, advocated energetic measures.

V. GREGORY DE VALENTIA AND MARTIN DELRIO.

In 1590 Duke William V. of Bavaria asked the theological and legal faculties of Ingolstadt for their opinion about the extirpation of witchcraft, which began to threaten Bavaria. Duke William was determined to adopt all means to overcome this evil. The verdict of the two faculties was to the following effect: "The judges should study the witch trials of the Bishoprics of Augsburg and Eichstädt, further the *Malleus maleficarum* and the book of Binsfeld; the Duke should make it a penal offense not to denounce every one suspected of witchcraft; the torture could be applied more promptly than in other trials." The judgment is signed by four jurists and four theologians. Among the latter are two Jesuits, Matthias Mairofer and Gregory of Valentia.

"Of the distinguished theologian, Gregory de Valentia, we possess

⁴³ See Burr, p. 12, seq. Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 29-30.

⁴⁴ The imperial code of Charles V., which provided that torture should be used.

⁴⁵ Page 11.

other utterances on this subject which do him no credit."⁴⁶ Born and educated in Spain, he taught philosophy in Rome and theology for twenty-four years at Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and was very influential at the court of Munich. In 1595 appeared his work on theology which gave him the name of one of the greatest theologians of the sixteenth century.⁴⁷ He treats on witchcraft in the third volume of his work.⁴⁸ The chapter bears the title: "On the Duty of Magistrates Concerning the Punishment of Witchcraft." The introduction says: "From the very outset it cannot be doubted that magistrates are strictly obliged to examine and punish witchcraft." He endeavors to prove this obligation from Scripture (Exodus xxii., Deuteronomy xiii., Romans xiii.). "Especial diligence is necessary when the evil prevails in the neighborhood. If the magistrates are careless, the evil can quickly assume immense proportions to the incredible detriment of individuals and the whole state. It will be most useful for the judges to examine the minutes of witch trials conducted in the neighborhood. Besides, it will be most beneficial to study books written on this subject, above all the *Malleus maleficarum* and the work of Peter Binsfeld on 'witch-confessions.' As this evil is of common occurrence and, on account of its gravity and difficulty, often causes trouble to the consciences of magistrates and judges, I wish to treat of a few points in detail.

1. How shall the judicial inquiry be conducted?

When it is thought that this evil exists in a certain locality, it is first of all expedient to make a *general* inquiry, and command all by public edict, and under a definite penalty, to denounce within a certain time what they know, what they have seen or heard. Then a *special* inquiry can be made by examining in particular those who have been denounced or are otherwise suspected, or by interrogating witnesses about such persons. But in order to conduct this special inquiry legally, some points must necessarily be observed. According to law, no one can be examined unless he is suspected of this offense, either on account of public *infamy* for this very crime, or on account of semi-sufficient evidence (*sempiennem probationem*), or on account of grave indications (*indicia*). The infamy must be based upon the opinion of several upright men. The semi-sufficient evidence exists when the incontrovertible testimony of one man, *omni exceptione maius*, is added to the deposition of the accuser or informer. The *indicia* must be such as can of themselves create the suspicion of this offense. . . .

⁴⁶ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 36.

⁴⁷ "Commentariorum Theologicorum Tomi Quattuor." The edition used is that of Lyons, 1603.

⁴⁸ Vol. III., columns 1615-1622. (Disput. VI., quaest. XIII., punctum quartum.) See also Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 37 seq.

2. How can witchcraft be recognized?

A witch can be recognized (1) from her own confession, if she admits the performance of acts pertaining to witchcraft; (2) from the confessions of those who are guilty of the same crime and have informed on others; (3) from the admitted possession of a writ which hands over the soul to the devil, after the person has renounced her faith in Christ; or from the impression of a certain mark (*stigma*) which is usually conferred on witches; (4) from the possession of certain poisons, sacred hosts, toads, human limbs, waxen figures pierced with needles; (5) from having been convicted of habitually invoking the devil; for having threatened evil to another, such as a disease or a certain spell that later on befell that person; (6) from the testimony of witnesses who saw the accused besmear animals, which afterwards died, with poison or a salve; for having done the same to children or others. These tests are given by Bodinus, Spina and Binsfeld. A prudent and diligent judge can add other signs,⁴⁹ especially from former witch trials and from the *Malleus maleficarum*.

But as witchcraft is practised secretly, the guilt of witches is more easily recognized from their own confession legitimately extorted by inquiry or by torture, or from the testimony of others, or, lastly, from the denunciation obtained by the use or threats of torture. However, torture is not to be employed unless several denounce the same person, or unless other evidence is added to the denunciation of one informer. In the trials the judges must abstain from the use of illicit means, such as false promises of immunity, if the accused should confess; from false statements, such as the assertion that the accused has been previously denounced by other witches; most of all from the so-called water test⁵⁰ or other superstitious means.

3. What are the signs and presumptions that suffice for imprisoning and torturing a person?

The above mentioned signs or tests are here enumerated.

4. How are persons to be denounced, arrested and punished?

Towards the end of this paragraph, Gregory says: "When the judicial process has been observed and the guilt according to law and custom sufficiently established, the sentence is pronounced. Such criminals are rightly condemned to death, according to canon law?

What is the nature of the proceedings?

"First, the same method is to be followed as in other causes in which there is question of life and death: the accused is to be given an advocate. Secondly, whilst witches are detained in prison spir-

⁴⁹ This was a fatal clause, as it opened the door to arbitrary decisions of the judge.

⁵⁰ The witches were thrown into water, hands and feet closely tied; if they swam, it was a proof of guilt.

itual remedies should be at hand against the attacks of the devil: holy water, crucifixes, etc.; priests should exercise their functions to reconcile them to God. Thirdly, after the death sentence no denial of the condemned is to be accepted. Fourthly, before execution they should be diligently prepared to receive the sacraments worthily."

This is a short extract of Gregory's principles concerning witch prosecution. In nearly every detail he quotes the authority of Binsfeld, on whom he absolutely relies. His doctrine sounds frightful to us, and proves what sway the superstition held over the minds of men. How otherwise could a man, known as a profound thinker, give such advice? In justice to the man, however, it must be added that several of his principles, for instance, that a defense is to be admitted, that the witnesses must be trustworthy, that the denunciation of one witness is not sufficient for employing torture, unless other proofs strengthen the case, were considered too lenient by most judges. It is certain, therefore, that Valentia did not wish to advocate injustice. Still it must be said that his expositions proved disastrous.

Worse was the book of another Spanish Jesuit, Father Martin Delrio. Born at Antwerp in 1551, he was for some years a zealous student of ancient and modern languages; then he devoted himself to the study of law, in which he received the doctorate at Salamanca, in 1574. Called to Belgium, he was made Vice-Chancellor and Procurator-General of Brabant. In 1580 he entered the Society of Jesus and taught later on philosophy and theology. In 1599 he published his "*Disquisitiones Magicae*," of which about twenty editions appeared within one hundred and fifty years.⁵¹ This notorious work exhibits wide reading and extensive learning, but betrays an almost incredible lack of criticism. The silliest witch stories are believed without any critical examination. It is sufficient that the story is told by a pious man to make it credible.⁵²

To give an instance: "Hear, O reader, another quite well-founded certain story. In the year 1587 a soldier on guard shot into a dark cloud, and lo, a woman fell to his feet. Now what do those say who deny that witches ride to meetings? They will say that they do not believe it. Let them remain incredulous, because they will not believe eye-witnesses of whom I could adduce many," etc. We might laugh at such silly credulity, if it had not borne such sad consequences. Delrio states that zeal for the glory of God led him to write the book. He says: "Judges are bound under pain

⁵¹ Professor Burr discovered an earlier and much briefer draft of the work at Brussels, dated 1596. Janassen-Pastor, VIII., p. 603.

⁵² He accepts as true all the stories related in the *Malleus maleficarum* and by Binsfeld. Burr states that Delrio draws his stories, at least the more modern one, largely from the "*Litterae annuae*," p. 16, note 3.

of mortal sin to condemn witches to death who have confessed their crimes; any one who pronounces against the death sentence is reasonably suspected of secret complicity; no one is to urge the judges to desist from the prosecution, nay, it is an *indicium* of witchcraft to defend witches, or to affirm that witch stories which are told as certain are mere deceptions or illusions. One does not avoid what one defends. In fact, such protectors have mostly been found out to be accomplices of witchcraft, as, for instance, Flade,"⁵³ whom Binsfeld had so stoutly opposed. Indeed, Binsfeld had expressly said in the first edition of his book (1589) "that he prints it in the hope of dispelling a skepticism which hindered the punishment of witches in his own home."⁵⁴

Delrio tells us that he wrote his book above all for the benefit of the judges, "*ut iudicibus consulam.*" His advice must have been most welcome to many eager witch persecutors, who now heard that they were on the right track; whilst others, who were more inclined to leniency, were frightened by the thought of neglecting their duty and running the risk of being personally suspected. Yet even Delrio advocated some mitigation of what was commonly practised. He exhorts the judges to proceed carefully lest the innocent should suffer; it were better, he says, that one hundred culprits remained unpunished than that one innocent person should be condemned; every judge should remember that there was a higher judge above him, who one day would judge him.⁵⁵ The torture is to be applied only when the evidence is quite conclusive. He rejects the validity of certain evidence commonly accepted, as the fear and trembling of the accused; he condemns as cruelty the distinction made by Sprenger in the *Malleus maleficarum* that the repetition of the torture was merely a continuation of it. The torture was to be used, at the most, only three times. No new cruelties were to be invented.

A comparison with the description which a Protestant theologian, Meyfart,⁵⁶ gives us of the exquisite cruelties practised at his time, when people were burnt with sulphur, seething oil, etc., makes it evident that Delrio's recommendations amounted to a considerable mitigation of the usual proceedings. Most important were the following principles: "1. The confession wrung from a person by torture is null and void, and a death sentence cannot be based on it. 2. The testimony of accomplices, no matter how numerous, cannot alone be the basis of a condemnation. I know that the opposite view is held more commonly. 3. By all means a counsel for defense must be granted; the witches are mostly illiterate people, who cannot defend themselves, therefore others must defend them." Protestant

⁵³ Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 39-43.

⁵⁴ Burr, p. 47.

⁵⁵ Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 613.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 616.

jurists at Coburg who followed this more lenient course, and granted a defense, were on that account attacked by the Coburg Protestant preachers. Then the jurists appealed to Delrio's work, which advocated this mitigation. In many courts the torture was used eight, ten or twelve hours, whereas Delrio forbids the use of it beyond one hour.

Still all these circumstances did not prevent the book from being most baneful in its principal tendency, and from being the source of unspeakable evil, as appears from hundreds of trials, in which Delrio is referred to as the recognized author who declares legitimate the harsh measures used against witches.⁵⁷

Diefenbach endeavors to extenuate the charge against the Catholic theologians, Sprenger, Binsfeld, Delrio and others, by saying that their works were written for the learned world and in Latin, whereas Protestant preachers wrote mostly in the vernacular, addressing themselves directly to the people.⁵⁸ This palliation can hardly be admitted.⁵⁹ Works in the vernacular evidently did more to spread the *belief* in witchcraft among the people; but the witch *persecutions* were not popular outbreaks, but systematic proceedings of the authorities. If the clergy and the jurists had been more critical in their inquiries, we might have heard of occasional outbreaks, of wild acts of barbarous popular fury, like lynching in this country, but there would never have been systematic witch persecutions. And if Catholic priests and Protestant preachers had strenuously combated the popular ideas, the superstition would never have assumed such horrible dimensions. Now the said Latin theological works were addressed to theologians and still more to the jurists, consequently to the men in whose hands it lay to stop the persecution. And as in those times the opinions of theologians were decisive for the jurists, it may be said that Princes and courts of justice would not have prosecuted the so-called witches, if Catholic and Protestant theologians and preachers had not defended the most exorbitant forms of belief in witchcraft.⁶⁰ The two Jesuit theologians are to be blamed severely for propounding this disastrous belief with a whole scientific apparatus. But even Professor Riezler says: "The greatest part of the responsibility lies on the Inquisitors, especially on the Dominicans who wrote the *Malleus maleficarum*, a work which forms, directly or indirectly, the basis (of the systematic defense of witch persecution) for the succeeding centuries."⁶¹ In another place the same historian writes: "Whereas, on the part of

⁵⁷ Riezler, "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., 249.

⁵⁸ *L. c.*, p. 35.

⁵⁹ We abstract from the fact that Binsfeld's work appeared in a German translation, 1590 and 1591.

⁶⁰ If thus limited, Professor Riezler's position ("Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., p. 245) could perhaps be accepted.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Catholics, the Jesuits indeed urged witch persecution, whilst such conduct was exceptional in the secular clergy, we find this dismal activity (of urging the persecution) more frequently among Lutheran preachers."⁶² That it is an unwarrantable generalization to say "*the Jesuits*" will appear from the next paragraphs, where we shall meet Jesuit theologians who, even at a great personal risk, strenuously combated the witch persecution. And one of them, the heroic Father Frederick Spe, did more than any other man to put an end to the horrible trials.

VI. ADAM TANNER AND PAUL LAYMANN.

The two Spanish Jesuits, Gregory de Valentia and Delrio, were soon opposed by the most distinguished Jesuit theologian of the age in Germany, Adam Tanner. Born at Innsbruck, 1572, he taught in Ingolstadt, Munich, Vienna and Prague. His "*Theologia Scholastica*" appeared in 1624. In treating of the angels in the first volume he mentions witches. He asks: what is to be thought of "witch sabbaths?" He adduces two opinions; the one, that witches could not ride out at all; the other, "the common and true opinion of Catholic theologians," that witches were sometimes carried by the devil to nightly meetings. But against Delrio Tanner holds that women, who say or believe that they have been taken to witch sabbaths, suffer in most cases from illusions. He proves this especially from the fact that such women pretend to have been changed into cats, mice, birds. "This is evidently absurd, as neither angel nor devil could transform man into an animal."⁶³

Tanner treats more fully of witchcraft in the third volume. He warns emphatically against the hasty and uncritical proceedings manifested in trials. He firmly maintains the falseness of the objection advanced by several theologians, especially Binsfeld and Delrio, that God would not permit the condemnation of innocent persons. He attacks in several paragraphs the dangerous practice of accepting the confessions of tortured witches as grounds for indicting those whose names were thus revealed. Here again he vigorously assails Binsfeld, Delrio, Gregory de Valentia and others, and says that this pernicious practice caused many innocent persons to be tortured and condemned. "For it is morally certain that, under the agony of the torture, the accused say anything to be relieved from their frightful sufferings."⁶⁴ Tanner does not deny the existence of witchcraft in some cases, nor does he condemn the witch trials as such. But he condemned the trials as they were conducted, and he demanded so many modifications and so much caution, that, if his

⁶² See Diefenbach, p. 35.

⁶³ Duhr, "*Stellung*," pp. 45-47.

⁶⁴ See Duhr, l. c. 47-53.

principles had been followed, few, if any, witches would have been burned. He demands that penitent witches should not be burnt, but receive ecclesiastical penances, like those imposed in the early Church; he advises all to have recourse rather to spiritual weapons: profession of faith, prayers, good education of children, Christian instruction by sermons and catechism, suppression of cursing and bad talk, etc. By such means, he says, witchcraft could be extirpated much more effectively than by trials. It would be unfair to blame Tanner for not having absolutely condemned trials for witchcraft.⁶⁵ On the contrary, we must admire him for daring to advocate such moderation against so many theologians and jurists. Binsfeld, Delrio, Carpzov (the famous Protestant jurist in Saxony) and others declared such advocates of leniency suspect of witchcraft. Indeed Father Spe writes that two inquisitors of a powerful Prince threatened to place Tanner on the rack if they should lay hold of him.⁶⁶

Tanner was considered by the Jesuits as "one of their best and most pious theologians. None of his brethren opposed his work."⁶⁷ Undoubtedly his views exercised a most salutary influence on the Jesuits who came in contact with the author or his book.

This influence was soon noticed in the work of another German Jesuit, Paul Laymann, a distinguished writer on moral theology.

Laymann, like Tanner, did not deny witchcraft, nor did he absolutely condemn the trials, but he said much to prevent judicial murders. He refutes especially Binsfeld's theory that the denunciation by several witches proved the guilt of the accused. "It is never lawful," he writes, "to put a person to death for having been denounced by others, no matter how many they are who make the denunciations. This principle can be proved by a double argument: First, witches who have confessed their own guilt are for this very reason unworthy of being believed; besides the hatred they bear to others invalidates their deposition. Secondly, though the depositions of several witches may all point to the same person, they are usually not at one as regards the circumstances. Consequently their denunciations do not create an adequate certitude, one that is clearer than daylight, as is required for a judicial condemnation to death."⁶⁸ The judges of the time hardly ever admitted a retraction after a

⁶⁵ We find that the greatest men of the time could not rid themselves of these opinions. Thus the great Astronomer Kepler, a Protestant, who only with the greatest efforts saved his own mother from the torture and the stake (1615), writes in the strongest terms against the *cruelty* of the witch trials, and yet he expressly admits that witches can cause preternaturally diseases, etc. Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 668.

⁶⁶ "Cautio criminalis, dubia," 9 and 18. Duhr, "Spe," p. 73. Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 657.

⁶⁷ Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 659.

⁶⁸ "Theologia Moralis," lib. iii., tract. vi., cap. v., sec. 1. "De Sagis," quaestio duodecima; "Dico III."

denunciation had been wrung from the witches by torture. Laymann is altogether against this practice. "When a witch asserts that, from hatred or from fear of torture, she has denounced innocent persons, the confessor must tell her that she is under the gravest obligation to retract her false denunciation before the judge, although she may fear to be tortured again on account of her inconstancy. However, she must not be urged to retract if there is no hope that the judge will believe her retraction. For ordinarily the judges do not listen to any such retraction. As to the question whether the judge is bound to consider these retractions, Binsfeld, Delrio and the majority of authors answer in the negative. They say such a retraction, made outside of court, cannot invalidate the solemn denunciation made under torture and confirmed before the judge and a notary. Against this line of argument I say: Either you believe that the retraction is true or not. If the retraction is true, the denunciation must be false. If you do not believe that the retraction is true, you must admit the great inconstancy and levity of the woman who, at the very point of death, dares to lie in so important a matter. Therefore, besides being a witch she is a convicted liar and perjurer; hence she does not deserve to be believed."⁶⁹ Laymann reprehends the judges for committing witches to the torture, as soon as they are arrested; "for then they are much frightened and almost despairing, so that they are inclined to confess a crime which they have not committed, in order to escape by death the ignominy and misery into which they have fallen." Further, "a confession made after the judge threatens with torture, or has applied it, must be considered null. A denunciation is valid only if made voluntarily, without any fear of torture. If the accused has freely denounced any one, she is to be tortured to see whether she confirms the denunciation."⁷⁰ If this course had been followed, instead of the opposite, very few witches would have been denounced and burnt. Laymann says also that "it is a Christian custom to put a bag of powder around the breast of the condemned when they are burnt, that thus they may not be tormented too long and without any relief."⁷¹

In many other passages Laymann argues with Tanner against Binsfeld and Delrio, and pleads for a milder treatment. Wherever he upholds what to us appears shocking, he follows these two authors and the writers of the *Malleus maleficarum*. In one passage he earnestly exhorts the judges to use all caution lest any innocent person be condemned. "It is better to let go unpunished some who are guilty than to condemn unjustly any who are inno-

⁶⁹ Ibid, quaestio iii., n. 24-26.

⁷⁰ Ibid, qu. xi., n. 48.

⁷¹ Ibid, qu. xiv., n. 59.

cent. Hence Christ said: 'Let the cockle grow with the wheat, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it.'"⁷² From these and many similar passages in Laymann's work it appears that Professor Riezler is not justified when he says: "This Munich Jesuit does not deserve the honorable place among the opponents of witch prosecution which superficial knowledge has assigned him. . . . Where Laymann expresses his own opinions—in the first two editions of his 'Theologia Moralis' and in his 'Juridicus Processus Contra Sagas et Veneficos'—he adopts, on the whole, the prevailing abominable system, and, in doubtful cases, inclines even towards the severer view."⁷³ It is true, he accepted in great part the prevailing system, but even in the first two editions of his "Theologia Moralis" he considerably modified it, and went still further in those which followed.

It is not true, however, that, in disputed cases, he inclined towards the severer view; the very opposite is true. Besides, Professor Riezler's charge rests on a false supposition, viz., that Laymann is the author of the "Juridicus Processus Contra Sagas." This "Juridicus Processus" furnished indeed arguments against Laymann, until a few months ago this difficulty was solved by Father Duhr in an unexpected manner. In the year 1629 Laymann published the third edition of his "Theologia Moralis," in which he requires caution in the trials even more emphatically than in the first two editions. But in the same year appeared a work in Aschaffenburg, by Quirin Botzer, whose full title was "Tractatus Novus de Processu Contra Sagas et Veneficos," that is: A juridical process against witches and sorcerers, with great diligence and solid arguments composed in the Latin language by Father Paul Laymann, Theologian of the Society of Jesus and Doctor of Canon Law. Now rendered into German for the benefit of judges, also *augmented* by stories and other material, and *divided* under sundry titles." In the same year another edition of this work was printed at Cologne, which differs from the Aschaffenburg edition only by the first words of the title: "Juridicus Processus" instead of "Tractatus Novus de Processu Juridico." Indeed in this work the severer views *are* advocated throughout, the value and necessity of torture are insisted on, and Tanner's appeals for leniency are combated.

Father Duhr points out the *intrinsic* contradictions between this work and the "Theologia Moralis" of Laymann, even in its first and second edition, and much more in the third. Is it not altogether unintelligible, nay, a monstrosity, to think that a man of known honesty published two works in the same year, advocating in one leniency against the prevailing practices, and in the other urging the

⁷² Ibid, qu. xiii., n. 56.

⁷³ "Histor. Zeitschrift," l. c., p. 251.

pernicious practices which he had condemned in the first? Besides, the Latin original of which the "Juridicus Processus" is supposed to be a translation has never been found. Further, the work is, according to the title, *augmented and divided under sundry titles* in the translation. But it is not even suggested that translation, additions and division are Laymann's work. From these and other reasons Father Duhr concluded that Laymann could not be the author of the "Processus Juridicus Contra Sagas," although all the Bibliographies of the Society, also that of Sommervogel, ascribe it to him. Careful research brought forth weighty *extrinsic* reasons which corroborate this conjecture.⁷⁴ Professor Riezler then attacked Father Duhr and said that all his objections against Laymann's authorship of the "Processus" were insignificant. ("Hist. Zeitsch., 1900, p. 256.) Still a striking discovery proved the correctness of Father Duhr's position.

Father Duhr had conjectured that a second edition of the "Processus" existed, probably without the name of Laymann. Many libraries were searched, especially those of Berlin and Munich. At last a copy was found in the City Library of Mentz. It is of the very year 1629, published by the same Quirin Botzer, and is called the "Posterior et Correctior Editio." What is most remarkable is the fact that the *whole correction consists in the omission of Father Laymann's name*, both on the title page and in the dedication. The first edition says: "Carefully and diligently written in Latin through P. Paulum Laymann, Societatis Jesu Theologum et Juris Canonici Doctorem." This is left out in the second edition. Consequently Father Duhr concluded: 1. Father Laymann never wrote a Latin work, "Processus Juridicus Contra Sagas." 2. The German work under that title was not written by Laymann, but by some other author, who frequently quotes Laymann's authority. 3. The publisher used Laymann's name as an advertisement, as he was the most renowned writer on Moral Theology at the time. Against these conclusions Professor Riezler argued negatively: "If this had been the case, Father Laymann would have protested against this abuse of his name either in the later editions of his 'Theologia Moralis' or somewhere else." Such a negative argument holds good only if we possess all the relative documents, especially all the letters on the subject. But something must have happened shortly after the publication of the first edition; for the second edition appears in the *same year by the same publisher* as "Editio Correctior," omitting merely the name of Father Laymann as author. The publisher would not have taken this step except for most weighty reasons, as the name of the distinguished theologian was the best recommenda-

⁷⁴ See Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 56-59, and "Innsbrucker Theologische Zeitschrift," 1900, pp. 585 foll.

tion of the book. What is more natural than the conclusion that the protest of Father Laymann, or of his friends, was the reason for dropping the name and putting an end to the fraud?⁷⁵

In the meantime the author of the book seems to have been found. Professor Binz publishes a notice in the "*Historische Zeitschrift*" (1900, vol. 85, pp. 291 foll) that, according to the "*Bibliotheca Coloniensis*" (1747) of the Jesuit Hartzheim (p. 182), the "*Processus Juridicus*" was published "*anonymously by Dr. Jordanaeus, Canon and Pastor in Bonn, by order of the Prince-Archbishop, at Cologne, 1629.*" Based on these facts, Father Duhr's latest conclusions are: 1. A Latin edition of the "*Processus Juridicus*" never existed. 2. The German book under that title must definitely be struck from the list of Laymann's works.⁷⁶

Professor Binz, assuming Laymann's authorship of the "*Processus*" wrote in 1885 and 1896: "Laymann cannot be reckoned among the few that had more enlightened views about witch prosecution. His merit is only to have strenuously advocated caution. But even this means something in the century of Carpzovs."⁷⁷ As the "*Processus*" can no longer be attributed to Laymann, he now undoubtedly ranks higher amongst the opponents of witch prosecution.

VII. THE CAUTIO CRIMINALIS OF FREDERICK SPE.

In the year 1631, at the time when the persecution had reached its height, a little book of four hundred pages appeared under the title: "*Cautio Criminalis, seu de Processibus Contra Sagas Liber: Caution in criminal processes, or a book on witch trials, at this time necessary for the magistrates of Germany, and most useful for counsellors and confessors of princes, inquisitors, judges, lawyers, confessors of the accused, preachers and others. Written by an unknown Roman Theologian.*" The author was the Jesuit Frederick Spe, a distinguished German poet, but much more famous as the brave opponent of witch prosecution. In order to appreciate this work, we must briefly sketch the author's life.

Frederick Spe (or Spee) von Langenfeld⁷⁸ was born 1591 at Kaiserswerth, near Düsseldorf, Rhineland. He was the scion of an

⁷⁵ "*Innsbrucker Theolog. Zeitschrift*," 1901, p. 168.

⁷⁶ "*Innsbr. Theol. Zeitsch.*," 1901, p. 168.

⁷⁷ Duhr, "*Stellung*," p. 59, note 4. The Lutheran Carpzov, called the "lawgiver of Saxony" (1668), declared that not only witchcraft, but the denial of the reality of diabolical facts should be severely punished. It is said that he pronounced twenty thousand death sentences in witch trials. Although there is no foundation for this assertion, it is certain that he sentenced a very great number. His juridical works exerted a far-reaching influence. The biographer of Carpzov says of those who blame the famous jurist for his severity: "The critics that judge from the viewpoint of modern ideas do not apply a fair criticism." (See Duhr, "*Stellung*," p. 21, note 2.) Should not men like Soldan, Riezler, Hansen and others, who censure the theologians so severely, have remembered this principle and applied it to the theologians as well as to the jurists?

⁷⁸ Duhr, "*Spe*," pp. 3 foll.

old noble family, of which one branch survives in the Counts von Spee. Twelve or thirteen years old, Frederick was sent to the Jesuit College at Cologne. After having completed the course, he entered the Society of Jesus, 1610, nearly twenty years of age. The motive of this step is expressed in a letter to Father Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society. In touching terms he explains his desire to go on foreign missions: "From early childhood a secret fire consumes me, which, in spite of all attempts to smother it, breaks forth again and again: India has wounded my heart. In my boyish games this thought occupied my mind; my parents sought in vain to divert me from it. This thought, and hardly anything else, has led me to this Society. . . . On my knees I write this letter, begging, for the love of Christ, to be sent to the place where my heart is; but only, if it be the will of God, which I seek to fulfil with such burning love that I cannot imagine anything so hard, so low, so painful, which I am not willing to bear under His guidance." Another mission awaited him, in which pain and suffering should not be wanting.

Spe was a novice of the Society at Treves, 1611-1612, studied philosophy at Würzburg 1613-15, then taught four years in Jesuit colleges. In 1620 he went to the University of Mentz to study theology. His zeal could not be satisfied with this study and he began to write, but the General of the Society advised him to postpone the publication of these works. After his studies Spe taught Moral Theology at Paderborn, Cologne and Treves.⁷⁹ From Paderborn complaints were repeatedly sent to Rome against Spe, and in 1631, in the middle of the scholastic year, he was deposed from his office by the rector of the college, without sufficient investigation into his conduct.⁸⁰ Spe complained to the General, and it seems that nothing of importance could be found against him, as the general wrote to Spe: "I think you have been unjustly denounced to superiors." It was, however, not the last difficulty Spe was to find within his own order. That misunderstandings happen also among men of the same religious order cannot surprise any one who has a knowledge of human nature. "It is especially the lot of sharply marked characters to offend others and to be misunderstood, particularly by such as, caring more for smaller concerns and trifles, easily lose sight of higher viewpoints."⁸¹ Father Reiffenberg, who

⁷⁹ His lectures on moral theology were kept for some time in manuscript, but are now lost. They are embodied in the famous work of Father Busenbaum (1688), who says in the introduction to his "*Medulla Theologiae Moralis*:" "I have followed the most approved authors, eminent among whom are Hermann Nunning and Frederick Spe, to whom I owe very much." Thus Spe's notes are indirectly a source for St. Alphonsus and most modern moralists. See Father Blötzer, S. J., on Frederick Spe; in "*Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexikon*" (2 ed.), Vol. XI., 577.

⁸⁰ Duhr, "Spe," pp. 24 foll.

⁸¹ Duhr, "Spe," p. 28.

wrote a history of the province to which Spe belonged, says that "through God's permission Spe had always superiors, whose opinions differed from his, who censured many of his doings and never allowed him to make the Profession."⁸² He experienced, like St. Francis Regis, that such struggles are the most difficult of all."

From 1632-35 Spe was Professor of Moral Theology at Treves. Here he had begun his life as a religious, here he was also to end it. It was during the Thirty Years' War, the period of greatest humiliation for Germany, that the Archbishop-Elector of Treves had treacherously surrendered the city and the Electorate to France, and nominated Cardinal Richelieu as Coadjutor and successor in the Electorship. The Imperial army entered Treves, a fierce battle ensued in the streets of the city. Spe hastened to the scene, administered the sacraments to the dying, carried the wounded on his shoulders to places of safety, dressed their wounds, begged alms for the captured soldiers and secured liberty for many of them. Then a pestilential fever broke out in the city. Spe was indefatigable in the service of the sick and dying, brought them food and carried water from the public fountains to the hospitals and the houses of the sick. No hovel was too wretched, no sick room too revolting, no prison too gloomy for him; neither filth nor danger of infection could deter him from assisting the poor and the sick in their spiritual and bodily wants. At last he was seized by the fever, and died August 7, 1635, a victim of his zeal and charity. He was buried in the "Jesuit Church," where the place is marked with the humble inscription: "Here lies Frederick Spe."

German literature owes to Spe one of the best poetical productions of the seventeenth century. His little volume of poems, "Trutz-Nachtigall," "Dare Nightingale,"⁸³ contains many exquisite songs full of warmth, sweetness, power and devotion. Its great merits are admitted by competent critics of the most different schools, Protestants as well as Catholics.⁸⁴ Another little prose work has met with great praise, "Virtue's Golden Book" (*Güldenes Tugendbuch*). It is a devotional work which gives instructions on "Faith, Hope and Charity, the essence of perfection." It breathes a spirit of faith, a burning love for God and man, which can only come from a heart deeply imbued with the principles of Christianity. No less a man than the great Protestant Leibniz was an enthusiastic admirer of this little work. He writes: "It is a wholly divine book (*liber plane divinus*), and I wish it were in the hands of all Christians. In my opinion it is one of the most solid and most touching devotional books ever written."⁸⁵ In this beautiful little work Spe

⁸² The last solemn vows of the Jesuit.

⁸³ Spe explains this title by saying that his book "sings sweetly as a nightingale."

⁸⁴ See Duhr, "Spe," pp. 38-56.

⁸⁵ Duhr, "Spe," pp. 30-31.

gives expression to his compassion for the poor victims of witch persecution. He describes vividly the torments of the innocent persons, and then addresses to his soul the question, whether it be not willing to render them consolation and assistance. The answer is: "Certainly, most certainly. God knows how grieved I am for not being able to help them. Methinks I would fain kneel down and offer mine own head to be struck off, if therewith I could save them. Oh my most merciful Lord! how canst Thou suffer that Thy creatures are thus tormented? I implore Thee through Thy holy blood which flowed in Thy tender body, come and help all the innocent and oppressed, that they may not despair. Enlighten those placed in power that they may diligently see how they judge, and that justice be not turned into cruelty and ungodliness. Would that I were able to go around to all creatures and visit the poor prisoners! Oh my God! how I should like to do this and to comfort all heartily, to encourage them, and to render them all service and love for the sake of Christ my Lord!"⁸⁶ These were the sentiments which prompted Spe to write the "*Cautio Criminalis*."

A man, burning with such heroic love for his fellow-men, must have been deeply moved at the horrors of witch persecution. At Paderborn, perhaps for a short time also at Würzburg and in other places, Spe had heard the confessions of witches and accompanied them to the stake.⁸⁷

In his "*Cautio*"⁸⁸ he says: "I assert and confirm under oath that I never found one of the accused guilty; the same I have heard from two other theologians; and yet I have taken all possible pains to ascertain the truth." Leibniz writes in a letter that one day (probably in the year 1627), Philip von Schönborn, Canon at Würzburg, later on Bishop of that city, asked Spe why his hair had turned gray before the time. The father replied: "It comes from the witches whom I have accompanied to the stake." When Schönborn expressed his surprise at this answer, Spe explained: "In spite of all investigations I could not find that one of them was guilty. I possessed their perfect confidence, and all complained with heart-rending sobs about the wickedness and injustice of the judges, and in their last needs they called on God as witness of their innocence. This frightful, oft-repeated spectacle has so shocked me that I have become prematurely gray."⁸⁹

The "*Cautio*" contains fifty-one *Dubia* or questions. He answers them by referring frequently to Tanner's opinions, and very often

⁸⁶ Duhr, "*Spe*," p. 125.

⁸⁷ In most historical works it is said that Spe acted as confessor of the witches chiefly at Würzburg. But this is hardly possible, for as priest he spent only a very short time at Würzburg. See Duhr, "*Spe*," pp. 21 and 57.

⁸⁸ "*Dubium*," 30.

⁸⁹ Duhr, "*Spe*," p. 21.

argues against Binsfeld and Delrio. We can call attention only to a few of the more characteristic questions.⁹⁰

Dubium 7. Can witchcraft be extirpated by severe measures? I answer: No. The princes never will come to an end, unless they burn everything. If the mild measures of the Jesuit theologian Tanner were adopted, the princes would gain their object.

Dubium 8. What caution is to be taken in witch trials? These trials demand exceptionally great caution, conscientiousness and prudence, because once the prosecutions are begun, they increase the number of the accused without end. The execution of so many innocent persons is a disgrace not only to noble families, as Tanner has well remarked, but to the Catholic religion, which is belittled by its opponents, if even men, distinguished for their piety, are swept away by that torrent. I have heard that in some places one is suspected if he says the rosary more devoutly, prays more fervently in church and manifests other signs of devotion. It is said they perform such works of piety because they are tormented by the devil. Thus it has come about that in the dominion of a certain prince every one avoids carefully all appearance of piety. Priests, who formerly used to say Mass daily, now omit it altogether, or celebrate secretly, lest the people denounce them as suspect of witchcraft. In some places the jurists and lay inquisitors who conduct the witch trials receive a certain sum of money, four or five *thaler* (dollars), for every guilty person. How easily can justice be violated on account of avarice!

Dubium 9. Do princes escape the responsibility by leaving all care to the officials? Not at all; for princes cannot always rely on the knowledge and conscientiousness of their officials. The princes take personal care of financial affairs, of hawking and hunting. They are certainly not excused, if they do not personally examine cases in which the lives of men are at stake. If the princes saw the wretched condition of the accused, if they beheld with their own eyes the barbarous cruelty of the torture, there would soon be fewer witches. The princes do not hear the truth from their officials, as these are interested in the prosecution. In some places they banquet together with the confessors who also receive a sum of money for each condemned person. Other people will not tell the princes the truth, for they would immediately be suspected as patrons and protectors of witchcraft. I remind the reader only of Father Tanner. His prudent and reasonable warnings were a sufficient evidence for certain inquisitors and jurists to threaten so great a theologian with torture. Even confessors of princes are either not allowed or do not care to warn their penitents. Three times I have

⁹⁰ The following summary is taken from Father Duhr's biography of "Spe," pp. 68-114.

taken the pen in my hand to utter an emphatic protest; three times I dropped it, for what business is it of mine? But woe, that so many others whose business it is, are silent.

Dubium 11. Is it credible that God has permitted innocent persons to be condemned? Against Binsfeld and Delrio I answer with Tanner and other learned and pious men: there is no doubt that God has allowed it. My own experience proves it. I have heard confessions of witches in various places and not even found one who was guilty. As I could not go against the courts, it is easy to imagine how I felt at seeing these innocent persons die. Also for other reasons it is certain that many innocent people were burnt, on account of the imprudence or wickedness of the judges, the cruel application of the torture, the inane evidences, etc.; and in spite of all this we are to believe with Delrio that God will soon reveal the innocence of any one who has been condemned unjustly? True enough, He reveals their innocence, but after they have been burnt to ashes!

Dubium 12. Trials in which there is any danger for innocent persons are to be stopped.

Dubium 13. I repeat with Tanner Christ's parable: "Let the cockle grow," etc.

Dubium 17. Is a defense to be allowed? I am ashamed of putting the question, but I am forced to do so. The answer is evidently affirmative, as natural law and reason give every one the right of defense, and this the more, the greater the crime of which one is accused. How many innocent people have been executed, because no opportunity for defense was given them!

Dubium 15. Who are they that urge the authorities to persecute witches? Answer as above (p. 478).

Dubium 16. How can injustice be prevented? Above all by appointing learned, prudent, upright judges, who not only look at the letter of the law, but follow reason, and in doubtful cases, always decide in favor of the accused. But now the judges presuppose the guilt of the accused and try to prove it by right or wrong means. Besides no extra fee is to be given to the judges, and the property of the accused must not be confiscated by the princes. Now the saying is: "The easiest means of becoming rich is the burning of witches." Further, as the Caroline Code is not satisfactory, a new Imperial Law must be made which leaves as little as possible to the discretion of the judges. For the drawing up of this law not only jurists are to be consulted, but also theologians and *physicians*.⁹¹

⁹¹ This is one of the most remarkable and most enlightened demands of Father Spe. We know now that some strange phenomena which in former ages were ascribed to diabolical influence, are really the effect of bodily or mental diseases. It seems as though Father Spe preluded what only in recent times has received due attention: "Pastoral Medicine" and "Legal and Pastoral Psychiatry." At all events, there can be no doubt that this man was far ahead of his age.

. . . If this is not done, nothing is left but to abolish the trials altogether, on account of the many innocent persons whose blood cries to heaven. A last means is the punishment of unjust judges.

Dubium 18. Therefore defense is not only to be granted but to be facilitated in every manner. But what is done? Not long ago a priest showed the judges from the minutes of the trials the injustice of their proceedings. The consequence was that the accused were executed, and the priest was once for all forbidden to enter a prison. The same is said to have happened to several other priests. If one dares to admonish the judges, he is suspected himself. For this reason I do not publish this work which I have written long ago, but give it only to a few friends; however, they must conceal my name; for the example of Tanner, whose worthy and prudent treatise has enraged so many, terrifies me. A trial without defense is null, and judges and princes are bound to make restitution for the damage done. Also councillors and confessors who fail to give warning of this duty are guilty.

Dubium 19. Priests should not press the accused to make confession of their guilt. I hear some ignorant, imprudent, indiscreet priests do so. What a responsibility, not only for such priests, but also for those who commission them with this dangerous office of hearing the confessions of witches. Lately at a banquet, a famous jurist praised a priest (who had accompanied to the stake nearly 200 witches) for having obtained from all accused persons the promise that they would acknowledge everything in confession that they had stated on the rack, as otherwise he would not hear their confession, and they would have to die like dogs, without the sacraments. Thus many persons were compelled to utter falsehoods even in confession. A worthy pair united, such a judge and such a priest! When I went to the prison I remembered the words which Father Tanner quotes from Ecclesiastes (iv., 1): "I turned myself to other things and I saw the oppressions that are done under the sun, and the tears of the innocent, and they had no comforter; and they were not able to resist their violence, being destitute of help from any. And I praise the dead rather than the living."

Dubium 20. What is to be thought of the torture? It is evidently a frequent danger for the innocent and fills our land with witches. (Spe then describes the frightful cruelties, practised in violation of the laws of Pope Paul III.) The torments are so great that the accused rather acknowledge any crimes than suffer longer. Recently a religious asked some jurists how a person innocently accused could save himself? They gave an evasive answer, but pressed hard by the religious, they finally said "they would think it over." Thus, the judges who lighted so many pyres do not know how an innocent

person could save himself. The authorities do not know. Oh, the blindness of the wise! But they sit snugly at home and philosophize about torture. If they were tortured for only a few minutes, they would stop philosophizing childishly about matters of which they know nothing. I agree with a friend of mine, a man of high rank, who repeatedly uttered this jest: "Why do we seek so anxiously for witches? Ye judges, put the Capuchins, the Jesuits and other religious on the rack; they will confess. Do you want more? Torture the prelates, the canons, the doctors; they will confess. For how could these poor delicate persons persist in denying! If you want still more, I will torture you, and you afterwards shall torture me; we all shall be witches."

Dubium 28. The torture is to be abolished, or is to be changed, in such manner that, with moral certitude, all dangers for the innocent are prevented.

Dubium 29. The confessions made under torture are invalid. I scorn the silly arguments brought forward for the opposite opinion. This is a matter of conscience for princes, their councillors and confessors. Human blood is not to be trifled with and human heads are no playthings, like balls which may be tossed about at pleasure. If before the eternal judge an account must be given for every idle word, how about the account for human blood? "Charity presses me," and burns within me to oppose with all zeal the burning of witches.

Dubium 30. Special caution is necessary in confession. To confessors I say: Be kind, charitable—the hangman's work is not yours.

Dubium 35. The authorities must severely punish such as denounce innocent persons.

Dubium 39. One who persistently denies guilt cannot be condemned. Unfortunately the contrary is most commonly done.

Dubium 43. "Witch marks" are no proof. I did not see any and do not believe in them, and deplore the shameful credulity of so many distinguished men in this regard.

Dubium 44. Against Binsfeld and Delrio I maintain that no denunciation of witches warrants the arrest or torture of the denounced, no matter how many have made the denunciation.

Dubium 51. The superstition, envy, calumny that exist among the Germans, and especially—I am ashamed to confess it—among the Catholics, are incredible. These vices create the suspicion of witchcraft. . . . Unexperienced, impetuous priests are sent to the prisons, who harass the accused until they confess themselves guilty. The judges are most diligent in preventing more discreet and more learned priests from visiting the victims, as they fear nothing more

than that such priests should make revelations in favor of the innocence of the accused. *For this reason men whom the whole world charges with the education of children, and to whom princes themselves entrust the care of their consciences, are prevented by the inquisitors of the same princes from directing the consciences of the accused.* Nay, such inquisitors said recently that these men should be banished from Germany, as disturbers of justice." These men are evidently the Jesuits; for at the time they had in their hands the education of youth nearly in the whole Catholic world, and many confessors of princes were Jesuits. Professor Riezler⁹² admits that "the Jesuits are meant, in the first place Spe himself, and perhaps one or other of his brethren, at any rate only a few." The whole passage in its obvious sense points to the fact that more than "a few" must have shared the views of Spe. Spe concludes his book with these words:

"I cannot say more for grief and sorrow; I cannot publish this little book, nor translate it into German, which would not be without great benefit. Perhaps others will do this from love of their country and the innocent."⁹³ One thing I ask of all educated, pious, prudent critics, and I ask it by the judgment seat of the Almighty God, to read carefully and ponder over these lines: All magistrates and princes are in great danger of eternal perdition, if they do not turn their closest attention to this matter. They should not wonder that at times my warnings sound vehement. I do not wish to be one of those whom the prophet styles "dumb watch-dogs that do not bark." . . . May the authorities take care of themselves and the whole flock for which God will one day call them to account."

In an appendix the author draws a comparison between the Christians burned under Nero and the victims of witch persecutions. In both cases there were horrible accusations and frightful tortures, and yet it is certain that the Christians were innocent; the Catholic Church honors them as martyrs. The application to the witch trials is self-evident. These are the scanty outlines of a work which has been called "one of the most meritorious that ever appeared in Germany." Protestant critics are at one with Catholics in praising the work. Even Soldan-Heppe writes: "Under Spe's hands the belief in witchcraft dwindles down into so small dimensions and the trials are so thoroughly transformed that, if his principles had been followed, Germany would hardly ever have seen a single witch burnt."⁹⁴ The Protestant jurist Christian Thomasius (1728), who seventy years after Spe opposed the prosecution of witches, praised it most highly. Among other things he says: "Spe sets forth so clearly the injus-

⁹² "Hist. Zeitschr.," 1900, p. 251.

⁹³ A German translation appeared 1649; Leibniz says "the 'Cautio' was translated into many languages." Sommervogel mentions French, Dutch and Polish translations.

⁹⁴ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 20.

tice of witch prosecutions that he justly puts to the blush those Evangelicals who defend these trials." Leibniz, too, speaks in high terms of the book, and the Protestant theologian David Hauber, in 1741, calls it "a work, used by Divine Providence to put an end to witch trials."⁹⁵ A modern Protestant critic (Professor Binz) says: "Spe cries out to the world with the voice of a prophet of old who reproaches the people of Israel for its abominable sin, and with the deep emotion of a man who has seen personally, day after day, all the terrors and abominations."⁹⁶ "It is a book," says Dr. Cardauns, "in which the highest literary gifts, the fulness of Christian charity and the whole power of his moral energy unite in a soul-stirring harmony; it is the triumph of reason and humanity over superstition and brutality, the monument which he has erected for himself, around which to-day mankind stands in gratitude, not excepting those even to whom his creed is a folly and his religious garb a scandal."⁹⁷

How was the book received by Spe's brethren, the Jesuits? Here arises a great difficulty. The book appeared without the approbation of the superiors and without Spe's name. Professor Riezler writes: "The merit of the noble Jesuit Spe is indisputable, but it is altogether individual and in no way to be attributed to the order, as Spe, owing to the spirit prevailing in the order, saw himself obliged to publish the work anonymously."⁹⁸ Professor Riezler has overlooked several circumstances. Spe attacked most vigorously the credulity of his contemporaries, especially of pious men, priests and theologians; he assails the opinions and arguments of the distinguished Jesuits Gregory de Valentia and Delrio; he fearlessly exposes the injustice of princes, magistrates, judges and of the confessors of the princes. Now many of these confessors were Jesuits. Can we wonder that some of these Jesuits, as also such theologians as held the opinions of Delrio and Valentia, turned against Spe? One theologian, Peter Roestius, a Jesuit at Cologne, censured the book severely and threatened to have it put on the *Index* of Forbidden Books. On June 19, 1603, Father Vitelleschi, General of the Society, writes to Spe "he should not worry about the censures of Father Roestius, for his book would not meet the fate which that Father intended for it." And on June 22, of the same year, the General wrote to the Provincial: "I hear that Father Roestius causes Father Spe some trouble by too severe criticisms of his book, and that he even threatens to have the book put on the Index. As such behavior is against religious charity, I beg your Reverence to ad-

⁹⁵ Duhr, "Spe," p. 122.

⁹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 123-124.

⁹⁷ Quoted by Duhr, "Spe," p. 68.

⁹⁸ "Hist. Zeitsch.," 1900, p. 250.

monish Father Roestius to desist from censuring the book and from molesting Father Spe any further."⁹⁹

These letters prove that the General was not opposed to the character of the book. But new and bitter complaints were soon made against Father Spe, so that the General on August 28, 1632, wrote to Father Goswin Nickel, at that time Provincial, to dismiss Father Spe from the Society, unless he had taken his last vows in the meantime. If it was not advisable to dismiss him, the Provincial should see how the storm of opposition which threatened on account of his book, could be met. Father Nickel was opposed to Spe's dismissal. In 1634 the General expresses his delight that Father Spe is in the best disposition and determined to be faithful to the Society and its constitutions. That there were Jesuits who from the very first spoke favorably of Father Spe's work is evident from the Annals of Father Turck, rector of the College at Treves (1669). He writes *ad annum* 1630: "Whilst others urged to greater hatred against witches, Frederick Spe, a priest of the Society, distinguished for piety, learning and nobility of birth, advocated milder measures by publishing a most useful book, the 'Cautio Criminalis,' which was received with great applause by many. Although the tyrannical judges violently opposed these warnings, the book brought it about that in many places a milder and more cautious course was adopted."¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, it is easy to explain the anxiety of the Jesuit superiors about the effect of the book. Great difficulties were likely to arise from it for the whole order, because Spe had unsparingly attacked judges and princes. It is known that some of the jurists, even before the publication of this work had demanded the expulsion of the order from Germany, for "protecting the witches." Of the princes who were most zealous in the witch persecution, not a few were protectors and benefactors of Jesuit colleges. The Society had to expect their wrath, if a member of the order censured them so severely. For this reason Spe could not publish the work under his name. Besides he was deterred from doing so by the example of Father Tanner, whom certain lay inquisitors had threatened with torture, and yet Spe's invectives against witch prosecution were far more scathing.

Spe had given his manuscript to friends, as he states in the "Cautio" (*Dubium* 18). Knowing the author's zeal to stop the crying injustice, these friends could conclude that the publication of the work would be welcome to him. Thus they put it in print. It is not certain whether Father Spe actually consented to this step. That he was suspected of having given his consent appears from a letter

⁹⁹ Letters (in Latin) from the Archive of the German Province, in the "Historisches Jahrbuch," 1900, pp. 344 foll.

¹⁰⁰ Duhr, "Spe," p. 118.

of the General to the Provincial, Goswin Nickel, July 19, 1632. The General wants to know from Father Nickel "*quantum ipsius Patris Friderici in eo culpae deprehenderit*, how far he finds Father Spe guilty, for he seems to have acted surreptitiously, *aliquid dolo factum in eo negotio*." If this was the case, it was a serious transgression of the rule forbidding the publication of a book without the approbation of superiors. Father General calls it "a dangerous and bad example," *res pravi et periculosi exempli*. If Spe had connived at the publication, it was all the more aggravating in his case, as, owing to other previous complaints, his solemn profession had been postponed.

If for these reasons it is asserted that the book in no way does credit to the order, the precarious conditions which prevented the Society from openly endorsing Father Spe's views must be taken into consideration. It would have meant the suppression of many colleges and other persecutions. More than once the Jesuits had been publicly denounced as defenders of the witches and participators of their crimes. In 1599 the Protestant preacher Melchior Leonhard wrote: "The Jebusites [abusive appellation for Jesuits] often espouse the cause of the witches and demand mercy for this fiendish brood, for no other reason than that they themselves may not be summarily dealt with and handed over to the torture." And as early as 1575 another Protestant preacher, Seibert, had written: "The Jebusites practise dreadful sorcery, they anoint their pupils with secret salves of the devil, by which they so entice them that they do not want to be separated from these wizards and long to go back to them. Therefore the Jesuits must not only be expelled, but must be burnt as witches. Without this well-deserved punishment they cannot be gotten rid of. They are not only witches themselves, but teach witchcraft in their schools. The Jesuits use also certain secret charms to accelerate the progress of their pupils."¹⁰¹

All this explains fully the reserved and anxious attitude of the Society towards a publication of the character of the "*Cautio Criminalis*." In spite of this reserve we maintain that the Society justly claims for herself the man whom she educated from his twelfth year. Is it possible that he imbibed such humanitarian views if his whole surroundings were altogether in favor of witch persecution? Besides it is significant that the author to whom he refers almost continually for supporting his views is the Jesuit Tanner. Thus the Society may point to Spe's work as a full off-set for the deplorable blunders committed by Delrio and Gregory de Valentia.

One thing is beyond all doubt, that, considering the circumstances under which Spe wrote, we must admire not only his critical spirit,

¹⁰¹ Janassen-Pastor, VIII., 650-652.

and his burning love for the persecuted victims of a sad superstition, but also his heroic courage. He evidently deserves a place among the great heroes and benefactors of mankind; and if he committed a fault by handing over the manuscript to friends, may we not call it a *felix culpa*?

VIII. ATTITUDE OF VARIOUS OTHER JESUITS.

Father Spe mentions repeatedly the confessors of princes, and that not in terms of praise. He censures them especially for being silent, for not warning the princes against the injustice of witch trials. He also reproaches preachers who urge princes to persecute the witches. Among these were some Jesuits, for instance, the Fathers Contzen and Drexelius. Father Adam *Contzen*, confessor to the Duke of Bavaria, wrote in 1628 a political romance, in which he advocates energetic proceedings against witches.¹⁰² Similar opinions were held by Father Jeremias Drexelius, preacher at the court of Munich. He was a pious man, renowned as an ascetical writer, and Balde, the "Horace of Germany," celebrates him in one of his odes (I., XVI.). *Drexelius* treats of witchcraft in a place where one should hardly expect it. In a work on "Almsgiving," published in 1637, he enumerates the reasons for giving alms; one of them is that it "protects against witchcraft." On this occasion he writes: "Who could have the effrontery to accuse of error and injustice the judges who, with fire and sword, proceed against this pestilential crime of witchcraft? Nevertheless there are cold Christians, scarcely deserving of the name of Christians, who with might and main oppose the extirpation of this vice, lest perhaps, as they say, the innocent might be endangered. O ye enemies of Divine honor! Does not the Divine law expressly command 'Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live?' (Exodus xxii., 18). Here I cry as loud as I can, at the Divine bidding, that Bishops, Princes and Kings may hear it: 'Witches ye shall not suffer to live.' With fire and sword extirpate them. To you, Princes and Kings, the sword has been given, etc."¹⁰³

Probably Drexelius had not read the "Cautio" of Spe. There he would have found himself faithfully depicted among the "holy and pious men who, carried away by zeal rather than by discretion, and, totally ignorant of the reality, deem it criminal to question the justice and honesty of the judges."¹⁰⁴ About the same time another Jesuit, Caspar Hell, opposed the Bishop of Eichstädt in his witch persecution. The Bishop was greatly vexed and complaints were

¹⁰² Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 67-69.

¹⁰³ Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 67-71. In Janssen-Pastor, VIII., 653, it is stated: "The only German Jesuit who, as far as can be ascertained, urged the authorities on to witch persecution is George Scherer." It is now known that, aside from Delrio and Valentin, who were Spaniards, Contzen, Drexelius and another to be mentioned hereafter are guilty of having encouraged witch persecution.

¹⁰⁴ See above, pp. 478-479.

made in Rome. The General wrote to the provincial: "Silence Father Hell, lest the Bishop be more exasperated. However, some people are inclined to the other extreme, and meddle in witch trials; if there are any such among the Jesuits, command them to leave this whole affair to the prince and his officials." Father Hell's attitude was so little considered as a fault that a year later, in 1630, the General made him rector of the college at Amberg.¹⁰⁵ In 1656-7 a strange epidemic appeared in Paderborn. Some considered those attacked as witches, who should be burned. The Jesuit *Löper* thought they were possessed and exorcised many. But his proceedings, especially his mode of questioning, were not according to ecclesiastical practice. Protestants and Catholics alike wrote against Father *Löper*; at last the Bishop begged the General of the Society to remove him, which request was immediately complied with. *Löper* was a zealous, but very indiscreet and obstinate religious, who had the fixed idea that he was the chosen instrument of God to fight against the power of the devil. At last he published a book in his defense without the permission of superiors. The General of the Society ordered the Provincial to punish Father *Löper* and to suppress his book as far as possible.¹⁰⁶

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a revival of witch persecution in several places. In Ermland the Jesuits opposed it in their sermons and were decried for their attitude, and at last forbidden to preach against witch trials.¹⁰⁷ Quite different from this manner of acting, a Jesuit saw fit to defend the witch trials some decades later. In 1749, a nun, sub-prioress of a convent near Würzburg, was beheaded and then burnt—for witchcraft it was said. The Protestant historian Menzel writes: "She was not quite guiltless, in as far as she had harassed her sisters with all sorts of phantoms, and besides, by strange potions, had reduced some to a state much like insanity. She was to all appearance a hysterical person."¹⁰⁸ After the execution the Jesuit George *Gaar*, at the bidding of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, delivered a sermon, much like that of Father Scherer of 1583. All the old nonsense was again rehashed; but *Gaar*'s sermon is all the more unpardonable, as two centuries of discussion, and above all the work of his fellow-religious *Spe*, should have made him a little more critical. The Italian Tartarotti wrote a sarcastic criticism of the sermon and held it up to the ridicule which it deserved. Be it remarked that in the previous year, 1748, a Pro-

¹⁰⁵ Duhr, "Stellung," p. 72.

¹⁰⁶ See details by Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 78-84. The punishment inflicted on Father *Löper* is also a proof that the displeasure shown by the General at *Spe*'s publication was not due to the character of the book, but to the fact of its having been published without the prescribed approbation.

¹⁰⁷ Duhr, 84-91.

¹⁰⁸ This incident, as well as the Paderborn affair, proves how wisely Father *Spe* had demanded that the physicians should be consulted.

testant Diaconus, Rinder, printed a sermon in which "he urged the necessity of burning witches" and "as a faithful Lutheran, rejected the milder practice advocated by the Jesuits."¹⁰⁹

IX. CONCLUSION.

We have arrived at the end of our study. What have we found? We may sum up the evidence in the words of Father Duhr:

1. "From the beginning the Society rejected the occupation with the 'devil's mysticism' as something dangerous, which, at the same time, prevents more useful labors. This warning of Peter Faber is repeated by the Generals of the Society at different times.

2. "The Society as such took no definite attitude in this matter. The opinion that the Society, as a whole, opposed the witch trials is just as erroneous as the opposite assertion that the Jesuits as such generally urged on to the persecution. The Generals, far distant from the scene, received most contradictory informations; they heard how all secular and ecclesiastical princes proceeded against witches, and it was almost impossible to judge that this was all a most outrageous injustice. Thus they confined themselves to an attitude of neutrality.

"As regards the individual Jesuits, we find the greatest variety of opinions. Some were convinced of the injustice and warned against it; others considered it impossible that so many judicial murders could be committed, and saw in the frequency of condemnations a proof of the frightful extent of witchcraft; and so thought it their duty to raise their voice for the extirpation of the evil. Here we find writers against writers, preacher against preacher, approbation of books against approbation. As it is to the credit of the individual Jesuits, that they, in spite of the general superstition, recognized the injustice of the trials and had the courage to express their conviction, so all those deserved the gratitude of mankind who saved many of these poor women from death, or tried to alleviate the terrible lot of these victims by consoling words and self-sacrificing assistance."

It should be remembered that the Jesuits generally assisted the condemned witches in their last hour, and that the discharge of this duty made them the object of the hatred and suspicion of all those who were relentless in the prosecution.¹¹⁰ All the more deserving of praise is, therefore, their heroic charity. The number of these men, according to the testimony of contemporary writers, is very great. *They* represent the attitude of the Society rather than the few individuals who wrote on this question. Further, the real spirit of the Order must be judged from the attitude of the Superiors. Now what do we find here? From the very beginning they were

¹⁰⁹ Menzel, "Geschichte der Deutschen," quoted by Duhr, "Stellung," p. 96.

¹¹⁰ See above, pp. 478, 479, 480, 482, 485.

strongly opposed to any interference in witch trials; they rebuked and checked those who meddled in these proceedings; nay, more, some Superiors, as the two Provincials Hoffaeus and Bader, manifested a skeptical spirit towards the current popular belief. [See above, pp. 480 and 482.] In the face of such facts it is a flagrant injustice to say, as the Protestant historians Soldan-Heppe and Riezler do, that *the Jesuits* advocated the prosecution of witches.

In regard to the few individuals who, sharing the deplorable views of their age, recommended severe measures, it will be well to remember the words of a recent French writer who cannot be charged with partiality to the Jesuits, M. de Ladevèze, in an article in the *Open Court*, Chicago, January, 1902, endeavored to state "THE Truth about the Jesuits," from an entirely independent point of view. After quoting the eulogies of many Popes on the Society, he continues: "I do not mean to infer that we have not the right to judge the Jesuits from a different point of view to the Popes'. But then even, then especially, we must remember, before so doing, the maxim of Marcus Aurelius: 'There are a thousand circumstances with which we must acquaint ourselves in order to be able to pronounce on the actions of others.' Now if we acquaint ourselves with these 'thousand circumstances,' we end inevitably by recognizing that all the reproaches with which we may feel entitled to load the Jesuits in the name of reason, of philosophy, etc., etc., fall equally upon all Religious Orders, and upon the Church herself of which they have ever been the most brilliant ornament. Why then address these reproaches to the Jesuits only? . . . Let their opponents reproach them with being Catholics, if reproach them they must; but let those of us who are conscious of the injustice of such a reproach, recognize the good in them; as to the rest, *let us remember that they are human, and therefore subject to the faults and failings we all share, but against which they strive far more constantly and efficaciously than do so large a number of ourselves*; so large a number, above all, of those—the race shows no sign of extinction, alas!—who having expended all their severity upon others have nothing but unbounded indulgence at their disposal when it comes to dealing with themselves."¹¹¹

One thing is beyond a doubt: that Protestant historians act unjustly if they blame the Catholic Church in general, or the Dominicans and Jesuits in particular, for persecuting witches. For history rises against them with a stern *Medice sana te ipsum*. No fair-minded Protestant historian denies that Luther's influence was most disastrous in fostering the popular superstition. Calvinism is not less guilty, as we see in the case of Scotland. "Sir Walter Scott has pointed out in his *Letters on Demonology* that the Calvinists were of

¹¹¹ The *Open Court*, January, 1902, pp. 28-30.

all sects the most suspicious of sorcery, and the most eager to punish it as a heinous crime. Hence in a country where almost every kind of amusement was suppressed or tabooed, and men's thoughts were concentrated with peculiar energy on theological ideas, the dread of witchcraft was all but universal . . . the terribly numerous witch trials were almost entirely conducted by the clergy, but the 'secular arm' was placed ungrudgingly at their service for execution of the sentence. . . . And it is noticeable, considering what is said of mediæval ignorance and superstition, that the first law against witchcraft in Scotland was passed in 1563, and it was not till thirty years later that it began to be systematically carried out. The persecution was therefore in a very special sense the work of the Presbyterian ministry, or rather of their creed, which, partly from political causes, connected with the history of the Scotch Reformation, was shaped more directly on the lines of the Old than the New Testament. These executions for witchcraft came to an end about 1730, but not apparently by the good will of the Presbytery, who passed a resolution fifty years afterwards deploring the prevalent skepticism on the subject."¹¹²

And what do we find in this country? The Pilgrim Fathers revived in Massachusetts the panic about witchcraft, at a time when it had practically died out in the Catholic countries of Europe. It is known that the witch persecution in New England was exclusively the work of Puritan ministers, of Cotton Mather, Parris and Noyes. Here "the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists,"¹¹³ *i. e.*, they were used to persecute such as differed in religious views from the ruling ministers. Quite a different picture is presented in Maryland, where the *Jesuits* had planted Catholicity. "The asylum of the Papists," says Bancroft, "was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world . . . the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state, . . . and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance."¹¹⁴ Here, however, not a single witch was burnt or hanged.

It has been said that the history of the Papacy is its best apology, notwithstanding the most lamentable faults of a few individual Popes. We may justly apply the same maxim to the Society of Jesus: its best apology is its true history, not indeed that caricature which its enemies parade as the history of the Order. The Society can honestly and fearlessly acknowledge the faults and blunders of a few of its members; for it is fully confident that, if its work is

¹¹² "Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography." By the Rev. H. N. Oxenham. London: Chapman & Hall, 1884, p. 250.

¹¹³ Bancroft, "Hist. of the U. S.," Vol. III., p. 93 (18 ed. Boston, 1864).

¹¹⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. I., p. 244-248.

weighed in the balance of impartiality, the scale will incline decidedly in its favor.

A few practical remarks may be added to our historical sketch. Many modern writers who reject the fundamental truths of Christian revelation and deny the existence of a spiritual world beyond this material universe, consistently deny the possibility of a compact with evil spirits. To such men spirits, good or evil, are but the creation of a weak and sickly imagination: "Horatio says 'tis but our fantasy.'" Or they represent the belief in spirits as an invention of priests, who found in these spirits "a very powerful means for terrifying men, or an easy explanation of natural phenomena which they could not explain otherwise."¹¹⁵ However, we might reply that such a sweeping denial of the existence of spirits is a very easy method of disposing of numerous undeniable facts in the world's history. To upholders of this radical doctrine one may say with Hamlet:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

The Catholic's view of the question is very different. "No Christian can assert the impossibility of diabolic influences upon mankind; nay, that they are possible is shown by Scripture and tradition; therefore the error of former generations (in regard to witchcraft) was not one of principle; it existed only in the manner of treating particular manifestations."¹¹⁶ The *possibility* of such leagues, not, however, the *existence* of any particular compact, is a matter of belief for the Catholic. Still it cannot be denied that the attitude of the Catholic mind towards the whole question has considerably changed. As Cardinal Hergenroether says, "we know now how much is purely natural which even the most enlightened men of their age formerly accounted supernatural." Besides many particulars, as the belief in the Sabbaths or nightly witch meetings, the belief in *incubus* and *succubus*, which played a most important part in the witch trials, are now rejected either expressly or indirectly by the best Catholic theologians.

However, even now some people are too ready to see the influence of the evil one in events which, although most extraordinary and mysterious, can possibly be explained by natural causes. Father Christian Pesch, S. J., has well said: "*A priori* we ought to be very slow in admitting in a given case that diabolical influence exists unless it is proved by irrefutable arguments. In matters of this kind, the greatest incredulity is preferable to credulity, when there is question of men who make a business of such things. . . . On the other hand, not all narrations about compacts with demons are simply to

¹¹⁵ So Hansen, "Zauberwahn," etc., p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Hergenroether, "Church and State," Vol. II., p. 344.

be rejected as fables. If the fact is proved with historical certainty, and if this fact cannot be accounted for by any physical forces nor by any human artifice, then we must reasonably find higher agents in it. It will appear from the circumstances whether God, good angels or evil spirits are these higher agents. But in passing such judgments, the greatest caution is required, because in things so remote from the senses mistakes are very easily made."¹¹⁷

Had these principles always been followed, thousands of judicial murders would have been prevented in former ages. Even at the present day it may not be altogether useless to warn against credulity. It suffices to mention the disgraceful Leo Taxil affair. Thousands of educated men, among them prominent ecclesiastics, allowed themselves to be imposed upon by the mystifications of that brazen-faced liar; and those that expressed doubts about Diana Vaughan and the devil Bitru were stigmatized as hypercritical and mild infidels. A year ago Father Grisar spoke of the dishonor which this sad occurrence has brought upon the Catholic name. Indeed but a few months ago a writer in one of the leading reviews in Germany¹¹⁸ cast reproach on the Catholic Church, because so many Catholics, particularly of the Romanic nations, had been so eager in accepting and so obstinate in defending the monstrous stories of Taxil. The study of this question may, therefore, serve as an earnest appeal to all Catholics to be very critical, whenever there is question of supposed demoniac phenomena.

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LEIBNITZ AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE close of the nineteenth century has naturally enough led many of us to dwell on its chief achievements, in that amiable spirit of eulogy which is a common characteristic of epitaphs and funeral orations. It may be hoped, indeed, that some of this abundant praise had some solid foundation. For it can hardly be denied that the nineteenth century was an age of great men and great movements, an age singularly fertile in art and literature, and distinguished by a marked advance in scientific research and historical criticism. At the same time, the claims put forward by many of our enthusiastic admirers of the "mighty mother age," are, to say the least, somewhat exaggerated. And there is some-

¹¹⁷ "Praelectiones dogmaticae," Vol. III., n. 415.

¹¹⁸ "Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur," 1901, I., p. 352.

times a tendency to do less than justice to the work of the eighteenth century, or to the greater lights of earlier periods.

Were it only for this reason, it may not be amiss to take this opportunity of dwelling on the merits of a remarkable writer who in no small measure anticipated much that is best in the movements of modern thought, while his many-sided learning and varied activity are in marked contrast to the narrowness and specialization of some later philosophers. For in truth the life and labors of Godfrey William von Leibnitz convey a lesson that is much needed at this day—the living unity of all truth and of all science. In his capacious mind, the scattered lights of all the sciences were brought together and blended; while his patient industry gathered up the results of the past, and his genius forestalled or foreshadowed the discoveries of the future.

The name of Leibnitz still looms so large in the history of thought and of letters, that it might well seem to be somewhat superfluous to insist on the merits of his writings, which have by this time taken a permanent place among the classics of learned literature. But it must be remembered that works of this kind are not very widely read; and many are content to judge of them at second-hand. Even poets, whose literary form has beauties that no critic or commentator can hope to convey, are sometimes less read than might be supposed from the frequency with which their names are cited. And in the case of books whose main merit is in science and learning, there is more reason for this comparative neglect by later generations. For all and more than all the knowledge imparted in their pages can generally be acquired with greater ease and expedition from more modern manuals. Hence it is likely enough that readers of the works of Leibnitz are by no means numerous. These works, moreover, are so large and so varied that many of those who have occasion to consult them will naturally confine their attention to some particular portion, without attempting to seize their general significance or to note their relation to later movements in science or theology.

When we regard the works of Leibnitz in this light, perhaps the first thing that strikes us is the contrast between the wide range of his learned activity and the narrower limits of later writers. This is partly due to the natural tendency to division of labor and specialization, as the tree of science multiplies its far-spreading branches. But, at the same time, it is largely the result of the catholic character of the author's genius. The history of letters can show many notable instances of universal learning from the days of Pico della Mirandola and the "admirable Crichton." But few if any of these scholars could boast quite the same degree of varied excellence. Sometimes

their efforts only resulted in a multiplicity of imperfect knowledge that recalls the Homeric gibe at Margites,

Πολλ' ἠπίστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπίστατο πάντα,

or serves to illustrate the wisdom of Goethe's counsel,

"Wer grosses will muss sich zusammenraffen."

And even where this danger is happily avoided, the real merit is mostly in one line alone, and the author's work in other fields is of little or no importance. It is far otherwise with Leibnitz. His collected works treat of such various topics as Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Science, Philology, History and Jurisprudence. And though it may well be that none of the other divisions have quite the same importance as the volume on Mathematics, all are worthy of attentive study. In the spacious writings of this many-sided man we find ourselves, so to say, brought into contact with all the varied knowledge and culture of his time; and what is more, we are able to see the earlier stages of many movements whose force is still felt in our own day.

The varied volumes of these collected works of Leibnitz may be regarded as an abiding proof of the organic unity and the continuous growth of all the sciences. For apart from his own contributions, he had a singular facility in finding out and bringing together the best that was being done, in many different directions, by the leading scholars and thinkers of his time. Some of his correspondents are specialists in various fields of sacred or secular science; and, in such cases, he shows due deference to their authority, and humbly asks for information. At the same time, he can generally see further into the collateral relations of the subject, and seize its significance and importance in the wider world of thought and learning that is often hidden from the eyes of the specialist. Hence we sometimes find him urging some Oriental philologist, or some practical inventor, to go forward in his chosen field of labor. And even after this long lapse of years, we can see enough to understand something of the potent influence of his architectonic genius on the general progress of the sciences.

Some idea of the wide range of his interests, and of his close relations with the leaders of science in all its branches, may be gathered from an enumeration of his chief correspondents, with most of whom he could treat, on almost equal terms, of the varied matters in which they were acknowledged masters. Thus we find him the great rival of Newton in Mathematics, conducting an amicable discussion in Theology with Bossuet, treating of History with Muratori, of Armenian letters with La Croze, and Ethiopic with Ludolf. And in addition to these and many other excursions in various fields of

learning, his attention was engaged by the problems of the higher politics and international jurisprudence. Nor could these multifarious cares prevent him from turning aside to speculate on such minor matters as the origin and principles of games; and we find him urging others to undertake a scientific and methodical treatment of this curious subject.

In some of these many fields, Leibnitz, as his most ardent admirers must allow, can claim at best but a secondary rank; but in Mathematics he was clearly one of the great masters. It is possible, indeed, that some other portions of his writings may surpass it in interest or as historic evidence. But there can be little doubt that the third volume, containing the *Opera Mathematica*, has the highest intrinsic value. And the result of this part of his labor is still felt in many branches of modern science. For even those who have never read a line of Leibnitz must needs avail themselves of the Infinitesimal Calculus, which first took shape in his hands.

As we need hardly remind the reader, the original discovery of this important branch of higher mathematics was long the subject of a somewhat acrimonious controversy between the followers of Leibnitz and those of Newton. But after this lapse of time, and in the light of later experience, we may find a satisfactory solution in allowing the merit of an independent invention to both these illustrious men. For the same thing has happened in the case of Darwin and Wallace; though, here, the coincidence was in some respects more remarkable. In the long run, neither Newton nor Leibnitz suffered from the disputed title. For, while justice was eventually done to all parties, the noise of the controversy only served to give greater prominence to the claims of both inventors. There is much in the long discussion that we can willingly let die; and for this the too zealous friends and followers on either side were largely responsible. But unfortunately this petty sublunary strife has left some trace in the immortal pages of the *Principia*.¹

As racial rivalry had some part in the dispute, it may be well to add that in his valuable note on the writings of Descartes, Leibnitz does justice to the memory of an early English mathematician, Thomas Harriot, whose fame has been overshadowed by the Analytical Geometry of the French philosopher. It has been suggested that Descartes was indebted to the work of his English predecessor. But possibly this may be another case of coincidence in invention.

¹ See the Scholion at the end of Lemma II., lib. II. In the earlier editions of the *Principia* this contained a generous tribute to Leibnitz, and readily recognized the originality of his independent discovery of the calculus. This was afterwards withdrawn and a new Scholion inserted, simply reciting evidence that establishes the priority of Newton's own invention. Cf. the preface to the first edition of the *Optics*, where the author gives his reason for appending the little treatise *De Quadratura Curvarum*.

Though first in its importance, this mathematical work of Leibnitz is by no means the only region in which he comes into contact with our modern science. For his active interest in contemporary researches in natural history, and his suggestive questions on the nature and significance of fossil remains, may be said to foreshadow some later achievements in Geology and Biology. But there is another important work of the nineteenth century that is more plainly anticipated by the labors of Leibnitz—the scientific treatment of historical studies. In this matter he did not content himself by giving encouragement to the efforts of others, or by speculating on the way in which history should be written. And, indeed, if all his original writings and scientific discoveries are left out of consideration, Leibnitz would still deserve to be held in honor for his laborious industry in editing the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, the *Scriptores Historiae Brunsvicensi inservientes* and the *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*. It may be of interest to add that this last named work seems to have impelled Thomas Rymer to make his valuable and voluminous collection of our own historical documents.

While there is much in the scientific and historical work of Leibnitz that bears a close resemblance to the later labors of the nineteenth century, there is one point which seems at first sight to present a curious and striking contrast. In our own days much of the best work in these fields is distinctly German. And, indeed, the peculiar predominance of German thought and literature is one of the most marked features of the past century. But when Leibnitz began to write, his own country was by no means the chief centre of letters and learning; and most of his great compeers or rivals were French philosophers, Italian historians or English mathematicians. And though Leibnitz himself was a genuine German, it is significant that all his best works were written either in French or in Latin. At first this fact might seem to separate him from the great literary achievements of his countrymen in later days. But, in truth, it was in this very matter that he was in a special way the pioneer of the nineteenth century. It is true that the bulk of his collected works are printed in French or Latin, in which languages they were, for the most part, originally written. But one remarkable piece is preserved in German, though the author himself has taken care to provide it with a French version for the benefit of foreign readers, who in that day could scarcely be expected to understand the original. This is the suggestive and far-seeing "Thoughts on the Perfectioning and Use of the German Language."²

If we are not mistaken, this treatise is but little known to modern

² "Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken, Betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache." Opp. tom. vi., part 2, p. 6.

readers. But it is well worthy the serious attention of all students of literary history. It may perhaps be considered the Teutonic counterpart to Dante's treatise *De Volgare Eloquenza*. We may especially commend it to the attention of those who are endeavoring to revive or extend the use of other national idioms. For it should certainly serve as an encouragement to be reminded that in the early eighteenth century the German language was threatened by the encroachments, and by the corrupting influence, of foreign forms of speech; that it was for the most part confined to matters of common daily life, and that the chief German thinker of the age set himself to find some means for taking away this reproach and making the language more fit for further use in the higher fields of literature. For never was labor more successful, or hopes more happily and abundantly fulfilled.

In the century that lay behind him, Leibnitz could see that his countrymen had shown their prowess in the field of battle; but instead of letting them rest on these laurels, he boldly proclaimed that they must achieve similar triumphs in the peaceful realm of thought and of letters. To those who first read the tract, this might well seem an idle boast. But the words bear a different meaning to readers of to-day, who can look back across the rich regions of literature left us by the great German poets, philosophers and historians of the last century. Two hundred years ago Leibnitz was constrained to write in French or Latin, though he could already see the latent powers of his own vernacular. And now, as Mr. Morley justly says, to be ignorant of German "is to be without one of the literary senses."

In this paper on the German language, Leibnitz shows something of the prophetic vision of genius. At the same time, his suggestions are eminently practical, and he is free from any trace of pedantic purism. With all his confidence in the powers of the German tongue, he is ready to allow the retention or, if so be, the adoption of foreign words that have no natural equivalent in the vernacular. But he wisely wishes that, where it is possible, these deficiencies may be supplied from the neglected stores of old German literature; or, failing this, from the speech of the kindred races.

Here, as elsewhere in his writings, we can see that Leibnitz is anticipating some of the triumphs of modern science. Comparative Philology was as yet unborn. The treasures of early German literature were still to be explored by the labors of Jacob Grimm and other kindred spirits; while the inauguration of Sanskrit studies and the brilliant suggestions of Schlegel's *Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* were to set the Teutonic in its true place in the family of Indo-European languages. Much of all this was necessarily hidden from

the eyes of Leibnitz. And, indeed, one of his most learned contemporaries was even then engaged on the hopeless enterprise of deducing all languages from the Hebrew. But while he was not altogether exempt from the limitations of his time, Leibnitz yet shows a just discernment, we may perhaps say an instinctive presentiment in his writings on these topics. And it is hardly too much to say that the germ of the Indo-European conception is already present in his pages. He has at any rate arrived at the root idea that German, Latin, Greek and Celtic are a group of kindred languages. It is pleasant to add, in this connection, that he seems to take a special interest in promoting the study of Welsh and Irish; and he may thus be reckoned as one of the pioneers of the Celtic Renaissance. Nor is the Eastern element altogether wanting. For he gladly avails himself of the suggestion of a contemporary Orientalist, that there is some family likeness between German and Persian. Moreover, his remarks on other forms of speech are often singularly just; and we find him already acquainted with the connection between Finnish and Hungarian.

Before leaving this subject, it may be well to mention a fact which is enough to show that this great writer's service to science has not been forgotten by those who have entered into the fruits of his labors. In an international Congress of the Scientific Academies of Europe, held at Paris last year, it was decided to promote the publication of a full edition of the writings of Leibnitz, in a series of no less than one hundred and forty volumes. In recording this remarkable tribute, a writer in our able Hungarian contemporary, the *Katholikus Szemle*, justly says that it was well deserved, were it only for the fact that Leibnitz, whose genius had enlightened the kingdom of the sciences, clearly saw, two centuries ago, the need of that international collaboration which is now accomplished by the associated Scientific Academies.³

In the field of Philosophy the work of Leibnitz was scarcely less important; but though it is by no means forgotten, it cannot be said that it is generally appreciated at its true value. His name, indeed, is duly mentioned in the most meagre history of philosophy, and our scholastic text-books usually give at least some brief space to the thesis, "Falsum est systema Leibnitii," or some equivalent condemnation. Like other modern philosophers, he is generally judged by the merits or demerits of his peculiar "system." And curiously

³ "E kimagasló tudós, aki lángelméjének fényével óriási területen világította be a tudományok birodalmát, ha nem is voltak volna a tudomány fejlődésére szárazokra kiható eszméi, mégis megérdemelte volna az akadémiák nemzetközi szövetekeztetése részéről ezt a kitüntetést, mert ő már 200 évvel ezelőtt látta be a nemzetközi szövetekeztetés szükségességét bizonyos föladatak megoldására és már akkor indítványozta azt, ami az akadémiák szövetekeztetésében most ténynyé vált." Székely Karoly, in the *Katholikus Szemle*, February, 1902, p. 149.

enough, while Catholic writers count him as one of the first founders and begetters of new and dangerous doctrines, he is regarded by others as one of the chief representatives of the orthodox philosophy that was stricken down by the keen blast of Kantian criticism. It is no part of our purpose to put in any plea on behalf of the system of Leibnitz, and, in any case, we would fain take the facts as they are, and we have no wish to attenuate or explain away any of its faults or failings. But the very circumstance that it is thus open to attacks from such different quarters may seem to suggest that it is neither so conservative nor so dangerous as it is described by these conflicting critics.

Be this as it may, there can, we fancy, be little doubt that Leibnitz himself stands, so to say, on neutral ground, between the old and the new philosophies. And his readers are brought into contact with the great thinkers of all the ages. In a word, we find him exerting that constructive and unitive force which is his chief and best characteristic in the field of philosophy as it is in that of the sciences. Here as elsewhere his estimate is often, and necessarily, imperfect. And some of his attempts at comprehension or generalization are possibly a little premature. But it was no mean merit to grasp the great idea of philosophic unity and to look for light in the pages of the despised mediæval schoolmen, in a day when those who aspired to keep abreast with the progress of the age were all too ready to disparage the work of their predecessors.

Even at the present hour, when science and philosophy have made such vast and rapid strides, and so much has been done to illustrate the darker pages of the past, we fear that there are many who still stand in need of the lesson left by Leibnitz. But this lesson is almost necessarily lost on those who only know him by some brief account of his distinctive system or have at best some acquaintance with some of his more important writings. To catch the spirit of his broad and liberal philosophy the reader must reckon with many of his stray pieces, more especially with those instructive letters to M. Remond de Montmort, wherein he tells of his own studies and shows us how he regarded the great writers who had gone before him.

In the first of these letters there is a striking instance of the interest that Leibnitz felt in the problems of philosophy, at an age when the boy's mind is mostly bent on other matters. When only fifteen years old he wandered alone in a wood near Leipsic debating within himself as to whether or no he should admit the existence of "substantial forms."

"*Etant enfant j'appris Aristote, et même les Scholastiques ne me rebutèrent point; et je n'en suis point fâché présentement. Mais*

Platon aussi dès lors avec Plotin me donnèrent quelque contentement, sans parler d'autres Anciens que je consultai. Par après étant émancipé des Ecoles triviales, je tombai sur les Modernes; et je me souviens que je me promenai seul dans un bocage auprès de Leipsic, appelé le *Rosendal*, à l'âge de 15. ans, pour délibérer si je garderois les Formes substantielles. Enfin le Mécanisme prévalut et me porta à m'appliquer aux Mathématiques." (Opp. tom. v., p. 8.)

We have good reason to be thankful that the young Leibnitz be- took himself to the study of the science that owes so much to the light of his genius. But in spite of his speedy success and the natural attraction of the subject for his eminently mathematical mind, he was unable to find satisfaction in the mechanical philosophy. And his researches in mechanics and the laws of motion carried him back to Metaphysics, to the Entelechies and to the Platonic ideas. Hence arose his own system of the *Monads*, or ultimate simple substances, which was, in fact, an attempt to supply the necessary metaphysical basis for mathematical science. But though this system seems to have satisfied the all too partial judgment of its author, it will scarcely find many defenders at the present day, and it must be regarded as at best a fleeting phase in the historical evolution of philosophy.

But what was far more important than the system itself was the pregnant principle in which it had its origin. Disappointed by the idealism of the ancients and the mechanism of the moderns, Leibnitz came to see that the solution must be sought in a larger philosophy which should bring together in one the scattered elements of truth to be found in all the various systems. "J'ai trouvé que la plupart des Sectes ont raison dans une bonne partie de ce qu'elles avancent, mais non pas tant en ce qu'elles nient." (Ibid, p. 9.) And again, on the point at issue between the Greek "Formalists," as he calls them, and the modern materialists, he says:

"Je me flatte d'avoir pénétré l'Harmonie des differens régnes, et d'avoir vu que les deux partis ont raison, pourvu qu'ils ne se choquent point; que tout se fait mécaniquement et métaphysiquement en même tems dans les phénomènes de la nature, mais que la source de la mécanique est dans la métaphysique."

And, in marked contrast to those whose mental horizon is confined to the ideas of one school or party, he says with equal justice and eloquence:

"La vérité est plus répandue qu' on ne pense; mais elle est très-souvent fardée, et très-souvent aussi enveloppée, et même affoiblie, mutilée, corrompue par des additions qui la gâtent ou la rendent moins utile. En faisant remarquer ces traces de la vérité dans les Anciens, ou pour parler plus généralement, dans les antérieurs, on tireroit l'or de la boue, le diamant de sa mine, et la

lumière des ténébres; et ce seroit en effet *perennis quaedam Philosophia*." (Ibid, p. 13.)

It would be well if this same principle could be applied, with like courage and candor, to the wider field of philosophy open to our view to-day, when large tracts of ancient literature have been more thoroughly explored and some new lights have risen above the horizon. But, unhappily, the tendency to party strife and sects and schisms in philosophy is still with us. Leibnitz himself was not wholly free from its influence; for his attempt at comprehension only resulted in the creation of a fresh system, and some of his remarks on the opinions of Newton and Descartes are scarcely in keeping with his own broad and generous principles. But, at least, he felt the need of conciliation and union of forces, and he entered a timely protest against the tendency to division and internecine feuds among the philosophers.

This aspect of the Leibnitian philosophy will naturally appeal to the sympathies of Catholic readers. But they will probably feel a yet deeper interest in the author's labors for peace and reunion in the field of Theology. The intrinsic worth of his theological volumes may not reach the high level of some of his other writings. For whereas he is admittedly one of the great masters of mathematical science, he can scarcely claim the same rank among theologians. At the same time, the tentative and transitional character of his doctrine would alone suffice to prevent him from becoming a classic authority in any body of religionists. Among the most notable of his works in this field is his long and interesting correspondence with Bossuet and some others, on a project for healing the breach caused by the Lutheran disruption. These efforts, we venture to think, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received at the hands of historians. If some of the reasoning of Leibnitz in this matter is vitiated by what seems an inadequate conception of Catholic ecclesiastical unity and authority, this is scarcely surprising, when we remember the disturbing influence exerted by the presence of Gallicanism. And we may well wonder that the large-minded German Protestant could get so near to the true position.

In a more speculative field the keen insight and the patient impartiality of Leibnitz enabled him to appreciate and vindicate the beauty and harmony of our doctrinal and sacramental system, which is too often misjudged and distorted by captious controversialists. And in a different direction, his Catholic sympathies are shown by some of his comments on a project for ensuring perpetual peace, put forward by the Abbé de S. Pierre. In his brief but instructive paper on this subject Leibnitz looks back with regret to the days of the lost mediæval polity, when the Popes in some measure realized the

modern dreams of a common court of arbitration to keep the peace of Europe. And he considers that there was still a possibility of preserving this after the Council of Constance:

“Cependant je crois que s’il y avoit eu des papes en grande réputation de sagesse et de vertu, qui eussent voulu suivre les mesures prises à Constance, ils auroient remédié aux abus, prévenu la rupture, et soutenu, ou même avancé davantage la Société Chrétienne.” (Opp. tom. v., p. 56.)

There is much in all this to awaken the sympathy of the Catholic reader. But at the same time there is something painfully pathetic in this approximation of Leibnitz to the Church which after all he never entered, and in all these unavailing efforts to accomplish a reunion. Yet when we look on the one hand at his relations with modern science and historical criticism, and on the other at the great Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century, the attitude of Leibnitz in this matter appears in a very different aspect. It is seen to be something of deeper import than the position of an individual however eminent, and instead of leaving us with a painful impression of failure, it may well seem to be a hopeful presage of ultimate triumph. For here, as elsewhere, Leibnitz may rightly be regarded as the harbinger of the future. He was moving in the main stream of historic evolution, and his large learning and varied interests kept him from being swept aside by eddies of individual eccentricity, or stranded by the backwash of reaction. Schisms and heresies arise in many ways, but for the most part they are caused and sustained by errors of fact and false views of history, which must disappear in the light of a larger knowledge. The real source of danger lies in ignorance, or in the proverbial “little learning.” For heresy is ever in the part; but the whole is Catholic. In his own famous phrases, this is the “sufficient reason” of the strong strain of Catholicism which appears in the writings of Leibnitz, and serves to illustrate the “preëstablished harmony” between the vast body of human science and the spirit of Revealed Religion.

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THE ANCIENT CATHEDRALS OF SCOTLAND.

PART III.

THE quaint little gray town of Dornoch, the seat of the Bishopric of Caithness, stands on the north side of the mountain-girt Frith of Dornoch, nearly opposite the town of Tain on the southern shore. It has dwindled down to little better than a village, though it was once the centre of ecclesiastical life for all the surrounding district. Its name, according to one derivation, signifies "Horse's Hoof."¹ It is said that when a Danish chief made a descent on the coast in 1259, the Earl of Caithness, who was taking part in the defense against the invader, had the misfortune to break his sword. In default of any better weapon he seized the leg of a dead horse from the battle-field and with it slew the leader of the Danes. Tradition points to the site of the King's Cross at Embo, about a mile from the town, as the scene of the occurrence, and a horseshoe figures prominently in the arms of the burgh, in memory, as it is believed, of the extraordinary victory.²

The see of Caithness was originally founded during the reign of Malcolm III., the husband of St. Margaret, about the year 1066. The chief church of the diocese was at one time a small building dedicated in honor of St. Finbar, an Irish saint of the sixth century, who labored as a missionary in Scotland. It remained for the holy Bishop Gilbert de Moray to build at his own cost a more worthy cathedral and to constitute a Chapter.

Bishop Gilbert was a member of the noble family of Moray, being the son of William, Lord of Duffus. He filled the see for twenty years, to the great edification of his flock. His life was illustrious for miracles, and after his death he was honored as a saint—the last Scot placed upon the Calendar before the Reformation.

The church raised by this holy bishop was a cruciform building, consisting of a nave with aisles, transepts, central tower and low spire. It measured about 126 feet in length and 97 feet across the transepts. In style it was Early English, with massive circular pillars. The good bishop worked with his own hands in the erection of the cathedral and superintended the manufacture of the necessary glass for the windows at his glassworks at Sideray.

St. Gilbert formed his Chapter on the model of that of Lincoln, the rite of that church being followed in the ceremonial of the services. The dignitaries and canons numbered ten and there were in addition

¹ "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Vol. XV.

² Ibid. Besides that work, the chief source of information regarding Dornoch Cathedral has been "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ," Vol. II., part 2.

many Vicars Choral or minor ecclesiastics to assist in the celebration of the sacred offices. On account of the close connection between the Abbey of Scone and Caithness, the abbot of that house was always a canon of the chapter, though he was dispensed from the duty of residence.

We gain some idea of the state of things before St. Gilbert's time from the fact that three of his immediate predecessors in the see were either burned or stoned to death by the half-savage people over whom they tried to rule, in revenge for what was looked upon as an excess of zeal in the carrying out of their pastoral duties. Bishop Adam, his predecessor, who was rigid in the exaction of his ecclesiastical dues, was shut up in his house by an infuriated mob at Halkirk, in 1222, and burned to death there. Alexander II., then on his way to England, turned back at the news of this barbarous outrage and marching to Dornoch, took summary vengeance on the delinquents; no less than four hundred persons, who had been concerned in the murder were punished with death on the occasion.³ Such were the people upon whom St. Gilbert's saintly life and generous benefactions were to produce such a wonderfully civilizing effect. The holy bishop died in 1245 and was buried beneath the central tower of his cathedral. A century after the church which he had designated St. Mary's had become known as that of St. Mary and St. Gilbert.

Some particulars concerning the more important bishops who filled this see may be of interest. Bishop Alan, thought by some to have been an Englishman, was made Lord Chancellor in 1291. He swore allegiance to Edward I., who at that time was claiming superiority over Scotland. Bishop Andrew Stewart, who had been previously Abbot of Fearn, held the see in 1490. He became Lord Treasurer of the kingdom. Robert Stewart, brother to the Earl of Lennox, was appointed bishop in 1542, while a young man of 25. He was not even a priest, nor did he ever become one, for being implicated in the rebellion of his brother, he was obliged to absent himself from the kingdom for more than twenty years, and on his return he joined the party of Reformers and became a Protestant. He, nevertheless, enjoyed the revenues till his death. It is amusing to a Catholic to learn that although a married man and with no pretense to orders, he was named as one of the consecrating bishops in the ceremony of the consecration of the Protestant occupant of the see of St. Andrews in the year 1571. This Robert Stewart succeeded his nephew in the earldom of Lennox in 1576, but resigned in favor of a grandnephew, receiving instead the title of Earl of March.

Pope Pius II. conferred upon the cathedral church of Dornoch the special privilege of Sanctuary. By a Bull, granted early in his

³ Vide "*Tales of a Grandfather*" (Scott), Vol. I., chap. 5.

Pontificate, he declared that, in honor of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Gilbert, the space of three miles in all directions around that church should enjoy "a certain sacred immunity." James III., in 1464, "at the pious and just request of his counsellor, William, Bishop of Caithness, and his clergy and desiring to sanction and defend the same sacred immunity," commanded all to preserve it inviolate.⁴

Few occurrences of general historical interest can be related of this see, up to the disastrous period when the Reformation was brought about. Some three hundred years after its completion, the cathedral was set on fire in a fray between the Morays and the Master of Caithness and was almost entirely destroyed. This happened in 1570. The tower and a few ruined arches, the sole remains of St. Gilbert's building, received some additions, through the generosity of the Earl of Sutherland, in 1614, to enable the church to serve as a place of Protestant worship. The Earl had received from James VI. in 1601 the grant of all the lands of the bishopric.

The restored building was afterwards modified to make it more suitable for Presbyterian use by the addition of a wooden floor, about seven feet above the ground; a flat ceiling and a gallery were constructed in 1816, so that little resemblance was left to St. Gilbert's original church. In 1835 the Duchess of Sutherland began a restoration, upon which some £6,000 (about \$30,000) were expended. "The work," says Dr. Robertson, "unhappily was not entrusted to competent hands;"⁵ the result is, as another authority describes it, "a mixture of Gothic and Vandalism."

The square tower of the Bishop's Palace was converted into the County Jail. A strongly vaulted building to the north of the choir, supposed to have been the Chapter House, was long used as a prison.

The relics of St. Gilbert were preserved and venerated up to the Reformation; for in 1545 John Gray of Kilmaly, Marquhard Murray and Walter Murray "swore on the relics of St. Gilbert" and "deponed on their oath, touching the same relics,"⁶ in the Chapter House of the cathedral, to clear themselves of charges brought against them. A mutilated statue, supposed to represent the saint, is still to be seen at Dornoch.

The foundation of the see of Galloway dates back to the time of St. Ninian, who was consecrated bishop by Pope St. Siricius and sent to preach the Christian faith in that district towards the end of the fourth century. The first stone church ever built in the country was that raised by the saint after the fashion of the buildings he had seen in Rome. It stood on the promontory now known as the Isle

⁴ *Regis. Mag. Sigil.*, Rolls Series, 1464, No. 802.

⁵ Robertson, "*Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*," p. 49.

⁶ *Orig. Paroch.*, p. 609.

of Whithorn, about three miles from the town of that name. Its gleaming white walls—probably plastered with lime—gained for the humble sanctuary the name of Whithern ("white house"), a designation which extended to the surrounding district in later ages and is still perpetuated in the official title of the see of Galloway—Candida Casa—as well as in the corrupted form of the old Saxon name borne by the town of Whithorn.

St. Ninian called his church after St. Martin, the great Bishop of Tours, whom he had visited on his way from Rome, who had supplied him with masons for the work and who had passed to his heavenly reward while the church was building which was destined to become a model of ecclesiastical architecture and a theological centre for the kingdom of the Southern Picts.

The original building raised by St. Ninian no longer exists. A small chapel, afterwards built on its site, perpetuated its memory; some ruins of the latter may still be seen. Another church was probably erected by the saint on the spot where the remains of the mediæval cathedral still stand. In this second church his body was enshrined after death.

It was under the auspices of the devout King David I. that the see was formally erected. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded at Whithorn a monastery of Premonstratensian or White Canons, in 1143, and these Canons were constituted the Cathedral Chapter by King David. The cathedral erected in the twelfth century is now in so ruinous a condition that it is difficult to determine its style or dimensions. The nave, which is the only portion remaining, is without aisles and measures about 75 feet in length and 38 in width. The total length of the building must have been some 225 feet, independent of the western tower. The church was terminated by a Lady Chapel and there were extensive transepts, for the foundations of one of them, in twelfth century architecture, have been laid bare in recent years. The tower was surmounted by a steeple, which fell early in the eighteenth century. Eastern and western walls were built to the nave to fit it for the use of the Presbyterian community as a place of worship, and thus the original style of the building has been entirely changed. Extensive crypts still exist under the choir and eastern portions. The conventual buildings must have been of considerable size, but merely traces of their ruins, covering a large extent of ground, are now discernible.⁷

The glory of Whithorn consisted in the shrine of St. Ninian, the apostle of the district. To his tomb flocked crowds of pilgrims from England and Ireland as well as from all parts of Scotland. So pop-

⁷ These details are gleaned from the carefully restored ground-plan of the cathedral in Vol. X., p. 171, of "*Archæological Collections of Ayr and Wigton.*" That work, together with Chalmers' "*Caledonia*," Vol. V., supplied the information given concerning Whithorn.

ular was the saint that Whithorn became the most famous of the Scottish pilgrimages during the Ages of Faith. It needed special legislation after the Reformation to curb the expression of their love for such shrines on the part of the people; in the seventh Parliament of James VI. an act was passed forbidding such visits "to Chapelles, Welles, Croces and sik uther monuments of Idolatrie" under the penalty of heavy fines for the first offense, "And for the secund fault, the offenders to suffer the pane of death as idolaters."⁸ Such a cruel and iniquitous law was the most effectual preventive of the continuance of pilgrimages to Whithorn or any other Scottish shrine; and from the date of its passing we naturally find little mention of such practices of devotion. The conventual buildings attached to the cathedral met the same fate as those belonging to other religious orders, and the church itself, unsuited to the requirements of Presbyterianism, was left to decay. When a small portion of the building was made use of for that purpose, the remainder became, as in too many other cases, a mere quarry for building stone, at the mercy of any one who chose to carry off materials for their own use. Whatever may have befallen the sacred relics enshrined there, it is consoling to know that at least an arm of St. Ninian escaped the wreck of everything sacred at the disastrous period of the Reformation. Such a relic, through the efforts of the Countess of Linlithgow, a faithful Catholic, assisted by an ecclesiastic named Alexander Macquarry and Fr. Alexander Seton, a Jesuit, was safely conveyed to the Scots College at Douai.⁹ Its subsequent history, owing to Revolution troubles, is unknown.

Few of the bishops of this see were men of unusual distinction. Bishop Thomas (1296) swore fealty to Edward I., but, like so many other Scottish ecclesiastics of that period, promptly veered round to the Bruce when he came to power. Alexander (1426), who is called by the historian Boece, a noble and learned man, "*vir nobilis et eruditus*," was employed in an embassy to England. He is said to have resigned his see in 1451. His successor, Thomas Spens, a man of great prudence, was also of service to his sovereign in a similar way; besides assisting to negotiate the marriage treaty of the Duke of Savoy with Princess Anabella, sister to James II., he was one of the ambassadors to England to conclude a truce in 1451. He was soon after created Keeper of the Privy Seal. The last of the Catholic bishops of this see, Alexander Gordon, promptly embraced the doctrines of the Reformers. He married and left the revenues of the see to his son, to whom they were confirmed by royal charter.¹⁰

The diocese of Galloway possessed in the beginning but slender

⁸ Acts of Parl., James VI., October 24, 1581.

⁹ Bellesheim, "*Geschichte der Kath. Kirche in Schott.*," Vol. I., p. 15.

¹⁰ Keith's "*Scottish Bishops*" is the authority for the details of the above paragraph.

revenues, though the offerings of the numerous pilgrims to St. Ninian's tomb contributed largely to its yearly income. James IV., however, annexed to it in 1504 the deanery of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and some years later added the possessions of the abbey of Tongland, another house of White Canons in Galloway.

It is difficult to realize the glories of this once famous church, for nothing is left of the fabric but a mere heap of ruins, in addition to the little ivy-clad chapel, which represents the former nave of the cathedral. Yet in the middle ages, before heresy had stripped it of all beauty and stateliness, it must have witnessed many a gorgeous pageant. The later Scottish Kings were conspicuous in their devotion to the shrine which it contained. James IV. made frequent pilgrimages to Whithorn during the whole of his reign. The Treasurer's Accounts of his time give many particulars of these visits. Thus we learn from that source that the King left Edinburgh in September, 1497, taking the usual route by Biggar, through Upper Clydesdale and across Nithsdale and on to Whithorn by way of Wigton. At the shrine, besides his usual offerings, he gave £10, a considerable sum of money in those days, for Masses for himself. The next April he was there once more. In April, 1501, he again visited the shrine, passing through Kirkcudbright, where he gave a donation to the church and presented the friars with £5 12s. to enable them to buy a Pyx. In the following June he was once more at Whithorn; in August 1502, April and May 1503, June 1504, July 1505, April 1506 and again in August of the same year he visited St. Ninian's and performed his accustomed devotions. In 1506, when his Queen, Margaret Tudor, was in danger of death at the birth of her first-born son, James made a pilgrimage on foot from Edinburgh to Whithorn to pray for her recovery. In the following July, both King and Queen repaired to the same shrine to return thanks for the favor granted in the restoration of Margaret to health. Their Majesties were accompanied by a numerous retinue; the Queen traveled in a litter and no less than seventeen horses were employed for the transport of her wardrobe and the furniture of her chapel. James V. in like manner made frequent pilgrimages to the shrine and in a style of equal magnificence.

It is from the Treasurer's record of these royal visits that we learn incidentally of a miracle which the saint obtained for one of his clients; in one of the pilgrimages of James IV. that King gave 18s. in alms to an English pilgrim who had been favored with a cure. From all this, Whithorn's popularity is clear; the renown of its shrine and the high standing of the Order of Canons who served as its ministers are proofs that it must have held an important place among Scottish cathedrals in its time. But like its material remains, its records, too, are of the scantiest. It is left to the imagination to picture with

what skill it may the scenes which might have been witnessed in its hallowed precincts in days gone by—the crowds of fervent worshippers, the brilliant retinues of royal or noble pilgrims, the solemn and stately celebration of the daily choir offices by the white robed canons, clad in their graceful robes of furred white serge. But, like all scenes of earthly splendor and beauty, these, too, have passed away, never, perchance, to be renewed.

The see of Argyll¹¹ had its origin in the thirteenth century. It has been already mentioned in the account of Dunkeld Cathedral, that one of its bishops relinquished that part of his territory in which Gaelic was spoken, in order that a new diocese might be constituted. The Holy See, accordingly, erected the Bishopric of Argyll, the Gaelic-speaking ecclesiastic Harold, chaplain to the prelate of Dunkeld, being appointed its first bishop. At first the seat of the new bishopric seems to have been in the district of Muckairn, near Loch Etive. Later on, however, the Bishop of The Isles petitioned for the severance of the Island of Lismore from his diocese, that it might form the seat of that of Argyll; this was, accordingly, done in 1236.¹²

Lismore is an island of Loch Linnhe, ten miles long and less than two miles broad. Its name, which signifies "The Great Garden," designates the extreme richness of its soil; for it is a fertile region amid districts of comparative barrenness. An ancient church dedicated to St. Moluag, the original Apostle of the island, stood on the seashore, marking the spot where that saint had first landed. Its remains are still pointed out. The Cathedral of St. Moluag was erected further inland, about three miles from the northern end of the island. From the small portion that remains, it appears to have been built in the fourteenth century; it may well be, therefore, that it superseded either the old church on the shore or another on the present site. Originally its dimensions were 137 feet in length by 29 in width; at the present day the existing building measures no more than 56 feet long and is thought to be merely the choir of the old cathedral. One authority, it is true, entertains the opinion that the church was never larger than at present. Dr. Robertson speaks of it as "perhaps the humblest cathedral in Britain."¹³ A local parish minister, however, writing in 1789, alludes to the church as the former choir and states that in 1749 it was repaired and lowered in height. Its style of architecture he describes as fourteenth century decorated.¹⁴

There are traces of Chapter House and Sacristy on the north-east side and the Piscina and Sedilia are still remaining in the Sanctuary

¹¹ The chief authorities relied upon in the description of this cathedral are "Orig. Paroch.," Vol. II., pt. I, and "New Statist. Acct.," Vol. VII.

¹² Skene, "Celtic Scotland," Vol. II., p. 409, and Theiner, "Monumenta," p. 83.

¹³ "Abbeys and Cathedrals," p. 78.

¹⁴ Letter of Rev. D. McNicol, quoted in "Orig. Paroch."

near the site of the former altar. The ruins of a castle, once the residence of the bishops, are to be seen in the vicinity of the church.

The third prelate of this see, Bishop William, was drowned in a storm in 1241, when he had ruled the diocese only one year. No successor was appointed for the space of seven years. When, at length, Pope Innocent IV., in 1249, directed the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane to take steps for filling the vacancy, he desired that the seat of the bishopric should be removed to a more convenient spot than "that island in the sea" upon which it was then situated, since, on account of the stormy channel which separated it from the mainland, and which it was impossible to cross without danger, the island was practically inaccessible. This mandate, however, must have been afterwards retracted, for it was never carried into effect.

About the middle of the thirteenth century a regularly constituted Chapter was established. It consisted of Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor and Treasurer, together with a certain number of Canons. From the manuscript antiquarian notes of Fr. Augustin Hay, a Canon Regular of the eighteenth century, we gain some idea of the canonical dress worn at the choir offices. In the summer it consisted of a linen surplice with an almuce (a small tippet with a hood attached) over the shoulders. During the winter months this was changed for a long linen surplice or alb, reaching to the feet and over it a violet choir cope. The usual choir copes of canons and collegiate clergy were of black material; the Chapter of this cathedral enjoyed the special privilege of wearing violet, which had been forbidden to ordinary ecclesiastics by one of the Councils of the Church.

It may be noticed that one of the Deans of this Chapter, Sir James Macgregor, was the author of a Latin chronicle relating to the Highlands up to the year 1542. The manuscript of this work, still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is contained in a volume comprised of a miscellaneous collection of prose and poetry in Latin, Scottish and Gaelic; the pieces in the latter language are considered to be the oldest specimens in existence of the written language of the Scottish Gael.

The church at Lismore was suffered to fall into ruins after the Reformation, only the small portion forming the original chancel being reserved for the purposes of Presbyterian worship.

On the church glebe there formerly stood a small building which gave the right of "Sanctuary" to any one who should take refuge within it when flying from pursuers, even though they should be the lawful representatives of justice.

Some curious customs prevailed at Lismore in later times which are worthy of notice here. The ancient burying ground is situated on a knoll near the old church. At the summit of the rising ground

formerly stood a stone cross, whose pedestal is still to be seen, though the sacred symbol itself has disappeared; the place, nevertheless, is commonly known as "The Cross." Here, up to the beginning of the last century, it was the custom to proclaim the Banns of Marriage pertaining to the parish. The friends of the contracting parties used to assemble on Sunday morning and amid the cheers of the company the clerk would make the necessary announcements. The assembly would then adjourn to a public house and spend the whole day in drinking, which not unfrequently ended in fighting. It has always been the custom here to celebrate marriages in the church and never at the house of the bride's relatives, as in some parts of Scotland.

A curious practice prevailed at Lismore, some fifty years back, with regard to baptisms. As a rule, they formerly took place on a week-day and all the persons present were regarded as sponsors. The father of the infant went round to everyone and placed the child in the arms of each in succession. This custom has probably disappeared in later times.

An interesting relic of Catholic Lismore is in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. This is the pastoral staff of St. Moluag, the patron of the old Cathedral. A small freehold property, formerly twelve acres in extent, but latterly only six, was held for centuries by a family named Livingstone in recompense for the custody of the relic, which was known as the "Bachuill More;" from this circumstance the Livingstones were called in the district the "Barons of Bachuill." The staff is of wood with a curved head; it was originally covered with plates of copper which were probably gilt. The metal, with the exception of small fragments, is now torn off.

Lismore possesses Catholic memories of Post-Reformation date, as well as those of an earlier period. Bishop John Chisholm, Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District with the title of Bishop of Oria (1792-1814), established a small seminary on the island for the education of clerical students. He died there in 1814 and was buried at Lismore. His brother, Aeneas, was consecrated at the seminary in 1805 as Coadjutor, with the title of Bishop of Diocesarea; he also died at Lismore and was buried there in 1818.¹⁵ The seminary was amalgamated by Bishop Paterson with that of Aquhorties in Aberdeenshire, the two establishments being transferred to Blairs near Aberdeen in 1831. Very few, if any, Catholics are now to be found upon the island.

The last in order of all the Scottish cathedrals, that of Iona, became the seat of a bishopric only a few years before the overthrow of the Catholic religion in Scotland. It was in 1498 that James IV.

¹⁵ "Dictionary of National Biog."

petitioned Pope Alexander VI. to annex the See of the Isles to the abbacy of Iona; henceforth both dignities rested upon the same person.¹⁶

The circumstances which led to the change were these. The See of the Isles, founded about the year 838, comprised all the western islands, including the Isle of Man. As these formerly belonged to Norway, they continued under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian Metropolitan, even after their restoration to Scotland in 1266. When, in the fourteenth century, the Isle of Man, the seat of bishopric, was seized by the English, the cathedral of St. German was lost by Scotland and this led to the establishment of a Scottish bishop for the remaining isles, Man becoming subject henceforth to the English ecclesiastical authorities up to the period of the Reformation. The English title of the see, perpetuated even in Protestant times, is Sodor and Man. This is a remnant of the old state of things; the islands lying below the Ardnamurchan Point, on the west coast of Scotland, had always been known as the "Sudreys," to distinguish them from the "Nordreys" or northern islands, and hence the bishop became known as the Bishop of Sodor. The addition to the title was made when Man was separated from the rest.

Whether Iona was at once made the residence of a bishop is not certain; it was not till 1498, as we have seen, that the Holy See was asked to erect the abbacy into the bishopric of the Isles and by 1506 this had been accomplished.

Iona, as is well known, derives its renown from the great Irish apostle of Scotland, St. Columba. On Whitsunday, A. D. 563, he landed with his companions on that bleak, unsheltered island off the coast of Argyll, which was destined to become the centre of Christian teaching and practice for the whole extent of country north of the Grampians. The monastery established by St. Columba existed for six centuries. Early in the thirteenth century the island passed into the hands of Benedictines. Reginald, Lord of the Isles, founded an abbey for them and Pope Innocent III. approved of the foundation in 1203.

The abbey church, destined in after years to be raised to the dignity of a cathedral, was built of red granite brought from the neighboring island of Mull. It consisted of nave, choir and transepts; for the ground-plan, as in most monastic churches, was cruciform. There were no aisles, but on the south side of the choir were side chapels separated by pillars and arches. In extreme length the building measured some 148 feet, the nave and choir being of almost equal proportions. The transepts were 70 feet long. The massive

¹⁶ Gordon's "Iona" and "Orig. Paroch.," Vol. II., pt. 1, are the authorities followed with regard to this cathedral.

square tower at the junction of nave and transept was about 70 feet high.

The great variety of styles to be detected in the architecture of the church shows it to have been built, bit by bit, at different periods, from the thirteenth century onwards. In the days of its glory the sculptured ornaments of the pillars of the choir and those supporting the central tower must have been among the most striking features of the church. One of the capitals bears the representation of the temptation of our first parents, another, their fall and expulsion from Paradise; the Crucifixion, the seizure of our Lord in the garden, the Last Judgment and Heaven seem to be the subjects portrayed on others. On the south side of the choir are three Sedilia for the use of the sacred ministers at Mass; these also are very finely carved.

The tower, which is now roofless, but otherwise almost perfect, forms a conspicuous feature of the buildings as viewed from the sea. Its windows are of uncommon design; one side is lighted by a cluster of quatre-foils in a square frame, another by a wheel window.

Scarcely more than fifty years after the erection of St. Mary's Abbey into the cathedral of the diocese of The Isles came the downfall of the Catholic religion in Scotland. The act passed in 1561 for the demolition of all "Monuments of Idolatry" throughout the realm was concurred in by the Synod of Argyll. The monks, in consequence, taking such of their sacred treasures as could be removed at short notice, fled before the approaching storm. Its ocean rampart was not enough to defend Iona from attack, although Kirkwall, similarly situated, escaped molestation. A mob of fanatics fell upon the sacred buildings and plundered all that could be taken, destroying what they could not carry off.

Some idea of the havoc wrought may be gained from the fact that of the 360 sculptured crosses which then stood on the island only three were left untouched; all the others being demolished and cast into the waves or carried away to adjacent islands to serve as grave-stones. The very bells were removed from the tower and local tradition has it that they were carried to Glasgow and broken up as old metal there. Another story says that they never reached their destination, being lost at sea—a fate which befell the bells of St. Andrews. The bells of Iona, however, were not all carried off from the island at that period, as there is evidence to show. From a letter of Charles II. to the Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, dated March 14, 1635, it appears that two bells had been taken there by a former Protestant bishop of the Isles.

The library of Iona was of great value. Many of its treasures were removed to Cairnburgh Castle on a neighboring island; but

when Cromwell besieged the place in after years, they must have perished in the flames which destroyed the castle. Some of the books and manuscripts are said to have been conveyed in safety to the continent and placed in the Colleges of Douai and Ratisbon; but these houses, too, fell a prey to the Revolution and the evils which followed in its train, and thus such salvage consequently disappeared in its turn. One or two stray manuscripts are preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; but all the records of Iona have vanished entirely.

One of the chalices—a gold one of great antiquity—came into the possession of the family of Glengarry and was presented to Bishop Ranald McDonald (1820-1832), Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. From him it passed to Bishop Andrew Scott, who became his coadjutor and afterwards his successor in the Western District. Bishop Scott was accustomed to make use of the chalice in St. Mary's Catholic Church, Abercromby street, Glasgow, but in 1845 some burglars broke into the sacristy of the church and carried off the precious relic of bygone days, and in spite of every effort to recover it the chalice was never seen again, having found its way, in all probability, into the melting pot.

The slab of the High Altar was a fine piece of white marble veined with gray, and when perfect measured six feet by four. It was probably quarried from the south end of the island, where a small quantity still exists. Between the years 1688 and 1772 this stone diminished from almost its original size to a small fragment. The reason of this was that Protestant visitors broke off pieces to keep by them as a species of charm, a superstitious belief having sprung up that the stone would bring its possessor general good luck—an idea originating, no doubt, from the vague impression that it had been connected in some way with the manifestation of God's special power. The last remaining portion was carried to Glasgow and placed in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church there.

About the year 1648 Iona came into the possession of the Argyll family, with whom it has since remained. The late Duke took a great interest in the sacred spot and its antiquities. In 1873 he employed an architect to visit the ruins and report upon their condition; in consequence of the suggestions made in the report, many restorations were carried out for the better preservation of the venerable pile. The foundations of chapels hitherto covered by accumulated rubbish were cleared, many excavations and repairs made in the monastic buildings that yet remained and the whole of the ruins put into a state of decent order.

At the present day the walls of the choir are in pretty good condition, though the nave is more dilapidated. Within the precincts are

several interesting tombs. On the north side of the altar is that of Abbot Mackinnon, who died in 1500. On the south side is that of Abbot Kenneth McKenzie, eleven years earlier in date. McLean of Ross has a tomb in the choir and McLeod of McLeod also.

Iona retains its interest for those who are opposed to Catholicity on account of its connection with St. Columba. The following extract from the pen of an American Episcopalian minister is a curious instance of the effect of bigotry in blinding the mind to the clear teaching of history: "It affords an exalted and tranquil pleasure to rest in the shadow of such ruins—to search with a filial affection in the faint remembrances of ages for the venerable, but alas, fading forms of the Fathers of that Faith, which itself is the evidence of things that are not seen. . . . Seven centuries roll away and the unseen has given place to the visible. Towers, arches, altars, crosses, buttresses and palaces have covered the iron-bound coast of the island of Columba's cell. . . . The simple Faith which was built upon the Rock of Ages is obscured by a mortal homage, offered in a magnificent cathedral built upon the sand! Behold it there nodding to its downfall! . . . The pure Faith, of which Columba, about thirteen centuries ago, was the northern apostle, lives and prevails, and by the power of its childlike simplicity shall conquer the world, while the magnificent monuments of a visible religion, though hardly seven centuries old, have already crumbled."¹⁷

The amazing assumption that the religion taught by St. Columba was identical with Protestantism is not more amusing to a Catholic mind than the insinuation that the crumbling ruins of the "magnificent cathedral built upon the sand" (not by any means a happy simile, for it stands higher than any other building on the island) are the result of mere neglect on the part of the followers of "the simple . . . the pure Faith," because they despise all outward grandeur of worship. History is the witness that the ruins are the result of wanton and deliberate sacrilege and affirms that the Faith taught by Columba, the Irish monk, was identical with that of the builder of the more modern cathedral. Both the one and the other would agree in denouncing the "pure" religion of the writer in question as a false and imperfect form of Christianity.

An old Gaelic verse, often quoted, embodies what is said to have been a prophecy of St. Columba concerning his dear Iona; literally translated it runs as follows:

"In Iona of my heart, Iona of my love,
Instead of monk's voice shall be lowing of kine;
But ere the world comes to end
Shall Iona be as it was."

¹⁷ Gordon's "Eccl. Chronicle of Scot.," Vol. III., p. 575-6.

As regards the cattle, the prophecy has certainly been fulfilled; for they grazed within the grass-grown nave and choir as freely as in the surrounding meadow, after the building had fallen to ruin. When a pilgrimage of Scottish Catholics, led by the Bishop of the Isles, celebrated there the memory of the great St. Columba, Mass was sung once again in the ancient sanctuary and the Benedictine Monks from Fort Augustus formed the choir; in a certain sense, therefore, the latter part of the verse has seen its fulfilment in the restoration of the sacred rites and of God's praises offered by the voices of monks, after so many years of desecration.

Since then a further advance has been made; for when a second pilgrimage resorted thither in June, 1897, in honor of the thirteenth centenary of the saint's death, the cathedral had been partially roofed, to render it more fitted for divine worship, on the occasion of an Anglican Church celebration a few days before, and the Pontifical Mass was accordingly offered in more decent surroundings than had been previously possible.

At the present time the sacred edifice is undergoing more substantial restoration to fit it for Presbyterian worship; for the present Duke has given it to the Church of Scotland; however much one may regret that an ancient Catholic sanctuary should be made over to the use of a religion alien to that for which it was founded, the cathedral will, at least, escape the degradation of becoming once more a grazing ground for cattle, as in past ages.

It may be that this recent building-up of the youngest of the old Scottish cathedrals is intended in the providence of God to pave the way to a more perfect renovation, when a church beautified by the art of man shall receive its crowning glory in the restitution of Catholic rites within its walls in perpetuity. This alone can fully verify the prediction of Iona's saintly founder; but this, at present, seems as far off as ever.

Nevertheless, God's hand is not shortened; that which seems to us a dream, hopelessly impossible of fulfilment, is surely within His power. To the Scottish Catholic of a hundred years ago the present liberty which the Church enjoys and the respect shown to her ministers could never have been foreseen. To us, in like manner, the future is a sealed book. But we can hope and pray that Iona and the other centres of Catholic life in the ages of Faith may return to their former owners and become once again homes of the Blessed Sacrament and temples whence the voice of prayer and praise may rise to heaven, not in the faltering accents of an imperfect Christianity, but in the full and perfect harmony of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

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THE LAST MEXICAN EMPIRE.

HISTOIRE DU SECOND EMPIRE. Par Pierre de la Gorce. Five volumes. Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1899-1901.

A CLEVER man once remarked to us that he thought history ought to be learned backwards. At all events such a novel method of teaching history would be more useful than that in use in too many schools. There the ancient histories of Greece and Rome are fully learned, but of the history of their own country the students learn little, and of contemporary history they are taught nothing. It may be objected that it is not possible to teach students the history of the times immediately preceding their own, because it has not and cannot as yet be written.

It is not for lack of material that it cannot be written and fully and accurately written. Of course there have been events during the last half dozen decades shrouded in secrecy that cannot and perhaps never will be pierced. But every age has had such secrets and such as the most patient historical investigations have never quite cleared up. But for forming a just judgment on recent history, our parliamentary debates, our official publications of documents, the despatches, letters and memoirs of our soldiers, statesmen and public personages, and, if critically handled, much that has been printed in the newspapers, form, we hold, a mass of material for writing the history of the last sixty or seventy years. That this can be done is proved by the work before us. Its five volumes are models of how to write contemporary history with accuracy and impartiality. The French Academy by crowning and the French public by calling for a fifth edition of this work attest its value and success. To Catholics the story they tell is of no small interest, for M. de la Gorce gives in all its details the story of how Italy was made and of how Pius IX. was robbed of his Civil Principedom, a robbery which led to the overthrow of the Second French Empire whose master had played such a double-dealing part towards the Holy See.

Interesting as it would be, it were too long to follow our author through all this part of his narrative. We shall take up the thread of his narrative at the point where he resumes it in his fourth volume. Italy was then made except that it did not include the Patrimony of St. Peter and the Venetian provinces within frontiers extended by so much fraud and bloodshed. And Cavour, that able, ambitious, unscrupulous statesman, was just dead while another statesman, Bismarck, who was destined to give the final blows that overwhelmed the Second Empire, had not as yet loomed largely on the political horizon. As for Napoleon the Third in that year 1861, he was still

popular in France and abroad, still regarded as the arbiter of the world's destinies. But, as M. de la Gorce remarks, the Emperor, a dreamer of dreams such as the world has rarely seen, had cast seeds broadcast at home and abroad and was surprised to see the seeds rapidly springing up and assuming a growth the sower little intended they should ever assume. "But your real dreamer thinks he can better his dreams by fresh dreams, but he never gives over dreaming." The fresh dream of Napoleon the Third in the year 1861 was to found on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico an empire which if not French should be founded by French arms and under French influences.

The story of how Napoleon III. attempted the realization of this wild dream is as tragic a story as any in the history of the nineteenth century, although that history is not devoid of many tragic elements.

Three European nations had considerable interests engaged in Mexico at this time. British capital and enterprise were busied with the mines and farms of Mexico. Spaniards in large numbers had emigrated to Mexico, considering that country, though politically separated from their own, as still by race and language, a part of their own fatherland. And thither Frenchmen, in greater numbers than is generally thought, says M. de la Gorce, had gone to seek fortunes which their own land had refused them and which they preferred to seek in the midst of a Latin race than in lands where the majority belonged to the English-speaking races. But all these emigrants found themselves in great straits by the civil wars that became endemic in Mexico after the abdication of the President Santa-Anna in 1855. Looked upon with suspicion by all parties in the country, no matter how quiet they kept or how carefully they held aloof from party strife, these emigrants were ransomed in turn by whatever party chanced for the moment to have the upper hand. France tried in vain to protect its subjects, and even went as far as to bombard Vera Cruz in 1858, whereupon a promise was made to indemnify French settlers for their losses. England and Spain had also concluded various conventions with Mexico in favor of their subjects. But all produced little results. The foreign settlers continued to pour in their complaints through their consuls and ambassadors to their respective governments. It is true some of these complaints were trumped up by men who sought to fill their pockets by describing grievances they had never endured. But well-founded grievances enough existed to authorize an intervention of England, France and Spain on behalf of their subjects in Mexico.

In 1860 Mexican affairs had got into such a tangle that it seemed impossible to unravel them and that the sword would have to do its work. At Vera Cruz, Juarez held sway with the help of the Liberal

party whose programme was to consolidate and to federalize the Mexican republic and to nationalize, that is to say, confiscate for the benefit of the state, the property of the Catholic Church throughout the country. In the capital the gallant young General Miramon ruled, supported by the Conservatives whose leanings were towards a monarchy and whose strength lay among the land owners and clergy. The party under Juarez had in 1860 rather the best of the struggle for power when some of his followers intercepted and seized a convoy of silver, belonging for the most part to British merchants, on its way to the coast. Almost at the same moment, Miramon's agents laid hands on a considerable sum of money deposited in the British embassy in Mexico for the payment of certain interests long overdue. England protested and the rival Presidents hastened to excuse their conduct. It was harder to make full restitution, for both parties were penniless. Each party promised restitution as soon as it had overcome its rival. Such promises met with little favor either in England or in France, and the idea of an expedition against Mexico began to take form. England at least desired to use no more force nor to interfere further in Mexican affairs than was needful to protect British interests.

Other schemes were fermenting in the busy brain of the third Napoleon. In the year 1846 a prisoner confined in a small citadel of Northern France for a political offense had written a brilliantly imaginative pamphlet in which he had described a canal made to unite the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, and to keep asunder the English-speaking races of North and the Latin races of Southern America. And beside this canal was to be founded, in a land rich with agricultural and mineral produce, a second Byzantine empire whose business it would be to hold in equilibrium the forces of North and South America. The prisoner who thus dreamed in his cell in the citadel of Ham was now, in 1860, Emperor of the French and by his victories in the plains of Lombardy had just lately twined a laurel wreath around his brows. Had the time come when the dreams of the prisoner should be realized by the master of many legions and of a powerful fleet?

During the Second Empire strangers of all nations found a ready welcome in the palace of the Tuileries. Especially welcome were the Mexicans who had sought a refuge in Paris from political troubles at home. Among these were Mgr. Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, and several representatives of the Conservative party in Mexico. The Emperor turned a willing ear to their proposals that with some help from a European power a new monarchy should be set up in Mexico. The Empress, who conversed with these refugees in her and their mother tongue, was favorable to their views. Her

piety inclined her to plans that seemed for the good of religion endangered by Juarez and his republicans.¹

The historian of the Second Empire records certain vague conversations between French and Spanish diplomatists, and a report that, as early as 1859, an offer of a Mexican crown had been made to the Archduke Maximilian, to show that Napoleon was contemplating transforming a question that with England was merely one of commercial interests into a political question of the first magnitude. Dubois de Saligny had been sent out as French envoy and arrived in Mexico just as Juarez had entered the Mexican capital on January 11, 1861, and his rival Miramon had fled and sought refuge in Cuba. All the despatches of this envoy, who had, it would seem, read his master's thoughts too well, were designed to egg on the French Emperor to intervene by force of arms in Mexican affairs. His accusations against Juarez and his government were numerous and exaggerated. But matters reached a climax when towards the close of August, 1861, a despatch reached Europe announcing that the Mexican Congress and its President had passed a law suspending for two years the payment of debts due by treaty to foreigners. Being penniless, there was nothing unexpected in this act of international bankruptcy, but it was the last straw that broke the back of European patience. It was warmly resented in Paris, Madrid and London.

Lord John Russell was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Palmerston Cabinet. He at once and unhesitatingly declared what England would do in regard to Mexico. England would act as an armed bailiff on behalf of Mexico's British creditors. It would seize and hold certain harbors and custom houses to enforce payments of debts due to her subjects. England would have nothing to do with any ideal policy in regard to Mexico. So far as England was concerned, she had suffered from both parties in Mexico, and she was not going to interfere with their cutting their throats mutually. And though at that moment the United States were engaged in civil war, England desired above all not to do anything that the States might resent, such as a military occupation of Mexico. As M. de la Gorce admits, England's attitude was straightforward, and she kept to it to the last. Nor was Lord John Russell inclined to depart from it by the knowledge he had of what was passing in the Emperor Napoleon's mind.

The attitude of Spain was very different. It talked of restoring law and order in Mexico whence Juarez had lately expelled Spain's diplomatic agent. Orders were given to prepare an expedition from Cuba to plant on the shores of Mexico the old and glorious flag of

¹ P. de la Gorce, "*Histoire du Second Empire*," III., 16.

Spain. In diplomatic talk with M. Thouvenel, then French Foreign Minister, the Spanish ambassador in Paris hinted that a prince of the house of Bourbon might be put on a Mexican throne. When, however, M. Thouvenel suggested that an Austrian Archduke might be more acceptable, Spain grew less enthusiastic. England wanted no more than commercial profit out of a bad business. France and Spain sought political gains, and thought the occasion good to win them. The most formidable obstacles—the United States—was engaged over its own internal troubles. Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse in Mexico. Not only the French, but also the English reports described the state of anarchy as extreme, and no foreigner's life was safe, nor his property secure in the unhappy country which God had made so rich and beautiful and man had turned into a pandemonium. It was time to act, and accordingly England, France and Spain, apparently at least, agreed as to what had to be done.

On October 31, 1861, the Convention of London was signed by the representatives of the three powers. The rough draft as well as the final form the convention assumed betrayed the pre-occupations of the three contracting powers. The object of the treaty was clearly enough set forth. Mexico was to be forced to fulfill its financial and other treaty obligations. To effect this certain forts and places along its coasts were to be seized. But, and in this stipulation France spoke, the commanders of the allied forces were free to take such measures on the spot as they might deem necessary for the protection of foreign residents in Mexico. But, and here England spoke, the second article of the treaty bound the allied powers not to interfere with the right of Mexicans to choose and constitute their own form of government. It is hard to see how these two last stipulations could be made to tally. If the commanders decided to push on to the Mexican capital to protect foreigners there, how, in presence of an invading force, would the Mexicans be free to choose their own form of government—a government the allies might deem hostile to those they came to protect? Nor were the instructions given to the French and English commanders less contradictory. As to Spain, all the instructions it had given, so it said, were "elastic and discretionary."

Early in December the diplomatic representatives of England and France left Mexico for Vera Cruz. A few days later a Spanish fleet with six thousand soldiers on board, commanded by General Prim, appeared off Vera Cruz. The partisans of Juarez did not defend the place. They allowed the Spaniards to occupy it without opposition and contented themselves with drawing a cordon of outposts around the town to cut off all communication between it and the interior of

the country. In January the English fleet anchored off Vera Cruz. Commanded by Commodore Dunlop, the English force consisted only of a line of battleship, two frigates and a landing party of seven hundred Royal Marines. This force was quickly joined by the French under Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. The French troops consisted in all of some two thousand five hundred men. It was a ridiculously small force if—as there can be no doubt was the case—Napoleon III. dreamed of founding an empire in Mexico. On the contrary, the comparatively large force of Spaniards under a general conversant with the language of the country, having friends there and well versed in the art of political intrigues, caused much surprise. It was the impression of many in the allied forces that Prim had come to carve out for himself a kingdom in Mexico.

The allies expected that their arrival in Vera Cruz would rally around them all who in Mexico loved law and order. A proclamation was issued to appeal to such persons, but no answer came. The only Mexicans who appeared were the exiles who had come with the allies, among whom was Miramon. His presence was resented by the English and he was sent back to Cuba. Then the allied commanders and diplomatists drew up their claims against Mexico. Great was the surprise of English and Spaniards when France demanded a lump sum of twelve million *piastres*, the *piastres* having then a nominal value of a dollar. Still greater surprise was caused when France further demanded that the contract concluded in 1859, between a banker named Jecker and the Mexican government should be there and then fulfilled. This Jecker was a Swiss who had by a very pretty bit of usury made the Mexican government his debtor for some seventy-five million *piastres*. Had Jecker sought to recover this sum in any law court of a civilized nation, he would certainly have been non-suited. Moreover, what had France to do with a contract passed between persons not under its jurisdiction? But this bankrupt Swiss banker had made to himself powerful protectors in Europe and finally obtained a decree naturalizing him a Frenchman. In the state papers published by the United States government in 1863, and from papers found in the Tuileries after the fall of the Second Empire, it is clear that the chief protector of this banker was the Duc de Morny, the friend and adviser of Napoleon the Third.² This Jecker claim, bringing up the grand total to be exacted from Mexico to the sum of 250,000,000 of *piastres*, determined the representatives of England, Spain and France to refer to their respective governments for further instructions. It had become clear that it would be no easy matter to make Mexico pay a sum equal to two years of its entire revenue.

² See P. de la Gorce, *op. cit.*, III., 40.

This delay threw on the military chiefs of the expedition a terrible anxiety. February had already begun. In two months more the rainy season would set in, and the deadly *vomito* or yellow fever would decimate their small forces. Before the rains should begin either the troops would have to reëmbark or else move to the higher, more temperate and healthier regions of Mexico. To reëmbark was to confess that the expedition had failed; to take up positions in the interior of the country with so small a force was courting disaster; besides would England and Spain, now more and more inclined to stand together, agree to a move inland? Just then a curious offer was made by Juarez's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Doblado. Receiving the officers sent to him with the financial demands of the allies in an affable, off-hand fashion, he declared that now all Mexico had submitted except a few rebels still in arms to the authority of Juarez, the republic would be very well pleased to settle with its creditors. But, he added, would it not be better for the representatives of the allies to move up country with an escort of two thousand men as far as Orizaba, a healthy town with a temperate and pleasant climate, situated some fifteen thousand feet above the marshy, steaming, fever-haunted lands around Vera Cruz? The rest of the expedition might then return to its homes. Negotiations ensued, Prim and Doblado met and finally the treaty of Soledad was signed. The allies promised to respect the territory, independence and sovereignty of the republic; they were to take up positions in and around the three towns of Cordova, Tehuacan and Orizaba. Negotiations were to be resumed on April 15, 1862; if these failed the allies, before opening hostilities, were to withdraw from the temperate to the torrid lands at the foot of the mountains. The Mexican flag was to float over Vera Cruz beside the flags of the allies. The treaty was welcome to the English, who had more and more begun to put their trust in the government of Juarez. It was welcome, too, to Spaniards who with their chief had wholly lost whatever illusions they once entertained of restoring Spanish rule in Mexico. As for the French, it was better than remaining in Vera Cruz, and it relieved the anxieties of their military chiefs. Already the allies had had a warning of what Vera Cruz had in store for them. The Spaniards had sent home six hundred and the French four hundred invalid soldiers. And the yellow fever had not as yet appeared. But in the last days of February, as the French and Spanish troops marched wearily across a difficult country to take up their cantonments in the hill country, some cases of yellow fever showed how pressing was the need that they should change quarters. As to the handful of British marines, they reëmbarked on board their ships in the harbor. The Mexican flag was hoisted over Vera Cruz and was

saluted by a United States warship in port. The echo of that salute should have been a salutary reminder to the allies that on American soil there was a power that had not forgotten and would in due time act on the principles of the Monroe doctrine.

Early in 1862 the French government embarked for Mexico a reinforcement of four thousand men under the command of General de Lorencez. England regretted this measure; Spain disliked it, for it placed her in the second rank in the military strength of the alliance. That alliance it was clear was rapidly breaking up. English diplomacy was disgusted at the Jecker claims and alarmed by persistent rumors that the Austrian Archduke Maximilian had been offered the crown of Mexico, if not by France, at least by those France patronized, the Mexican exiles. One of these, Almonte, a man of obscure birth but of high character, who had held high office in Mexico and had represented the Conservative party while in power in the Mexican embassies of Washington and Paris, returned to Mexico at the same time French reinforcements landed there. Prim and the English envoy strove to have him expelled, but the French refused. They objected to Almonte because he was opposed to Juarez, whom they wished to conciliate. Almonte had come to arouse the dormant Conservative party which he had led Napoleon to believe as powerful in Mexico. And in this belief the despatches of the French envoy de Saligny confirmed the Emperor. And so when the imperial government heard of the Soledad treaty, it disavowed it and recalled the honest sailor, Admiral Jurien, who had signed it. Things were now ripe for England and Spain to break off from an alliance that was rapidly involving them in an armed intervention in the internal affairs of Mexico. The rupture came on April 9, when a council of the military chiefs and diplomatic representatives of the allies met. England and Spain protested against the presence of Almonte in Mexico. The French replied that it was not his presence, but the excessive deference paid by England and Spain to the government of Juarez, that had made the treaty of London valueless. Between the French and English diplomatists words waxed warm. A personal altercation ensued between the French envoy de Saligny and Prim, who was accused by the former of personal ambition in his opposition to what was now clearly France's aim, the establishment of a monarchy under Maximilian. The meeting grew more and more stormy. The English and Spaniards demanded Almonte's expulsion. The French refused, whereupon the former withdrew, announcing their intention to reëmbark their forces. A few days later the small British force was on its way to Bermuda, and the Spaniards to Havana.

General Lorencez, with his six thousand Frenchmen, were left

alone at Cordova. A small French force held Vera Cruz as the base of operations. But between that base and the army extended a tract of country infested by guerillas and reeking with yellow fever. Never was soldier left in a more precarious position than was Lorencez. It was one from which genius might snatch a victory. But Lorencez was no genius, only a plain, brave, rather martinet soldier. Moreover, he was blinded to the full danger of his position by his belief in what the French envoy had told him since his arrival in Mexico and in what he had heard from the Emperor before leaving France, that there existed in Mexico a Conservative party ready to found on the ruins of the republic a monarchy under French protection. It was this belief that misled all concerned in the terrible drama of which we have now seen the first act.

Anxious to escape the obligation imposed on him by the treaty of Soledad of regaining the foot of the hills before beginning hostilities, Lorencez used a letter that General Saragoza, the Mexican general, had sent him and which seemed to menace the lives of some French sick soldiers left in the power of the Mexicans, to commence his advance without retrograding first to the regions where the yellow fever would have decimated his small army. Joined by some three hundred irregular Mexican insurgent cavalry he marched on Puebla de los Angeles, a city which, it was expected, would welcome the French. But on coming before it he found nobody came forth to welcome him. Instead the place was strongly held by the Mexicans under Saragoza. It was commanded by a convent on the Cerro de Guadeloupe which the Mexicans had turned into a fortress bristling with cannon. The French made an attempt to take it by assault. In spite of heroic attempts to scale the walls, the French were repulsed with a loss of some five hundred killed and wounded. After waiting outside Puebla in hopes that the Mexicans would come out and meet him in the open, Lorencez had to begin his retreat, admirably conducted, to Orizaba, there to await reinforcements from France.

In France little interest had been taken by the public in the Mexican expedition until news was made public that a French force had met with a reverse at Puebla. The Mexican question was debated in the Chamber of Deputies, and if the government orators won the day, the opposition speakers, and especially Jules Favre, were listened with an attention that disquieted Napoleon. He saw that nothing now except success would justify to France his Mexican policy. With feverish anxiety he urged on his War Minister to send out reinforcements, and by the end of September some twenty-three thousand men under General Forey had set sail for Mexico. All military and civil power was given to the general, but

he was to treat with great deference the advice M. de Saligny might tender. Napoleon III. was still under the charm of that diplomatist whose views coincided so well with the Emperor's. Napoleon still dreamed of a regeneration of Mexico under a monarchy.

The situation of the French force in Mexico was, meanwhile, exceedingly critical. It was with the greatest difficulty that the troops at Orizaba could be provisioned, for the convoys from Vera Cruz were harassed by the guerillas, and their escorts ravaged by the yellow fever in crossing the unhealthy lowlands. Messages passed between the main corps and the daily enfeebled garrison at the seaport with the greatest dangers. Often Indians employed to carry these messages wrapped up as cigarettes were caught by watchful Mexican guerillas and strung up without pity on the nearest tree for helping the invader. Lorencez's force was nearly surprised, too, on one occasion by a force of two thousand Mexicans who had crept up a mountain overlooking Orizaba and had got three howitzers into position on its summit. Happily for the French, a poor woman alarmed a picket of the Ninety-ninth Regiment. Two companies gallantly climbed the face of the mountain, where the Mexicans awaited dawn to open fire on the French beneath them. The surprisers were themselves surprised, driven with heavy loss from their commanding position and their guns captured.

It was to their great joy that at last relief came to the French. By the end of November, 1862, General Forey had assembled his army at Orizaba. With the remnants of Lorencez's force—that general had been recalled to France—the whole force consisted of some twenty-seven thousand men divided into two divisions, one under General Douay, the other under General Bazaine. Forey, the commander-in-chief, rendered cautious by his predecessor's failure through overhaste, went to the other extreme. His advanced years, the pessimist views his political adviser, M. de Saligny, now expressed, the sight of a whole regiment that had escorted him from Vera Cruz being reduced on the march through fatigue and sickness to only ten men in good health, depressed the gallant veteran and it was five months before he ventured to attack Puebla. Saragoza, its former defender, was dead. Ortega, his successor, had placed the town in a strong state for defense. New forts had been erected around the place, while its stone-built houses, especially its massively built convents and public buildings, had been converted into well-defended fortresses. After two months of hard fighting the French captured one of the outlying forts and had begun to attack the fortified houses of the town. The French began to lose heart before so stubborn a defense and thought that at Puebla de los Angeles they had found a second Saragossa. Forey himself pro-

posed at a council of war to raise the siege. But at the darkest moment of the siege hope dawned for the French. A Mexican relieving force had attempted to aid the besiegers in vain. By a clever night march Bazaine had surprised this force and utterly routed it. Ortega saw that now the final issue of the siege must be favorable to the French and after some parleying surrendered at discretion. On May 19, 1863, Forey made his entry into the town. More than a thousand officers and men of the French had been killed and wounded during the siege.

The road to the Mexican capital was now open to the French. Juarez and his government, with his money chests and records, after making a pretence of intending to defend Mexico, abandoned the capital and on June 10 General Forey rode in triumph into the city of Montezuma. Then for the first time the Mexicans, whom Napoleon believed, and his agent de Saligny had affirmed to be so anxious to welcome the French, began to show themselves. Triumphal arches, showers of flowers, processions and endless festivities might, if the capital had at all been representative of the country, have made the French believe that they were welcome guests and that their imperial master's dream was being realized. So at least thought Forey, of whom one of his officers wrote home: "He imagines himself to be a second Cortez." He appointed a Junta of thirty-five notable citizens. The Junta chose a triumvirate consisting of Almonte, Mgr. Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, and one of the obscurest of the legion of Mexican generals, one named Salas. These three proclaimed that the monarchy was reëstablished and that the crown was to be offered to the Archduke Maximilian.

These events were still in progress when a change had come over the views of the French government. Napoleon had ceased to credit M. de Saligny's hopeful reports, and he was recalled. General Forey's procrastination in beginning operations and the length of time it had taken him to capture Puebla were to be punished and rewarded. He was promoted Marshal of France, but recalled from his command. On October 21, 1863, the old soldier set sail from Vera Cruz, and Bazaine commanded in his place. Marius had supplanted Metellus, remarks M. de la Gorce, and to him "for whom such a dark destiny was in store one might then have willingly applied the words of Sallust about Marius, *omnes spes et opes in illo sitæ*."

There was no communication by rail or telegraph in those days between Vera Cruz and the interior of Mexico. Consequently reports from the front were long in reaching Paris, while reports of the varying moods of the home government were equally long in reaching the army in Mexico. Much confusion ensued from this slowness of communications. But when it was known in Paris that

Mexico had been occupied, the Imperial government took up again its old resolutions for the regeneration of Mexico as an empire under Maximilian. Acting on instructions in this sense, Bazaine with laudable activity set to work with his army, now increased to an effective force of thirty-four thousand men, to hold and pacify the country, to prepare the way for the coming Emperor. First he secured his line of communication with Vera Cruz; next he despatched two divisions by two different roads that ran from the capital towards the Pacific. On January 5, 1864, his troops had occupied Guadalajara, the second most important town in the country. Thus the French held a line cutting the country almost in two and preventing the adherents of the fugitive Juarez from gathering in any considerable force from the north or the south. It was then that Almonte, who was the real head of the government or Regency of the Empire, as it styled itself, addressed a pressing and highly colored letter of invitation to the Archduke Maximilian, whom he hailed as "Sire." Juarez, he said, had fled, the Republicans were scattered and disheartened, two-thirds of the country and eighty per cent. of the population eagerly awaited their Emperor!

So the second act of this Mexican drama ended. It would have been better for France, for Napoleon and his Empire, had that act have ended not as it did, but by the withdrawal of the French from Mexico after exacting guarantees for the payment of French claims. France, if we may use Bismarck's inelegant phrase, should have allowed Mexico to stew in its own grease. The Crimea, the Italian campaign, the Syrian and Chinese expeditions had glutted Frenchmen with big and little wars. And the Mexican adventure came at a moment when dark clouds on the political horizon of Europe warned France to husband even her rich resources, instead of squandering them in an enterprise from which her English and Spanish allies had cautiously withdrawn. If the Mexicans wanted law and order under an Emperor or preferred to enjoy a revolution once a week under a republic, that was their business. But Napoleon had dreamed of a Mexican Empire, and his dream had to come to pass. Besides, would it not be wise to help an Austrian Archduke to an empire across the Atlantic to compensate Austria for what that country had lost or had still to lose in Italy? This would conciliate an old enemy and would insure Italy's gratitude.

Under the influence of such arguments, Napoleon allowed the Mexicans to invite Maximilian, the younger brother of the Austrian Emperor, to become their ruler. He was in the prime of life, having been born in 1832, was tall and handsome. A sailor by choice, he had voyaged a good deal and had reorganized the small but excellent Austrian navy. He had been for a short time Viceroy in Lombardy.

In his private capacity the Italians showed him many marks of esteem which they refused to pay him in his public capacity. He had the soul of an artist, was an able archæologist and well versed in botany. At Miramar he had created a home that contained the rare collections he had made in his travels and which looked out on that sea that was so dear to him. Married to Charlotte, daughter of King Leopold I., of Belgium, the couple might have lived in an earthly paradise at Miramar had not dreams of ambition dazzled his imagination and taken a more concrete form under the influence of his wife. He listened to the invitation the Mexicans brought him on October 3, 1863, to accept the crown of Mexico, and from his private correspondence it is clear that from that time he had made up his mind not to refuse the dangerous gift.

The infatuated Archduke took no heed of the warnings that reached him from many quarters. The Mexican Liberals, and even Almonte himself, let him know that the task he was about to take in hand was on child's play. For instance, they bade him remember that while the Church in Mexico would rightfully claim back the property Juarez had taken from it, a warm opposition might be expected from the present holders of that property. In England the press and the government uttered words of warning. England's late representative in Mexico traveled to Vienna to dissuade the Archduke from his enterprise. Palmerston cynically remarked that England's good wishes would be with him if he succeeded. In France, the War Minister, Marshal Randon, and General Fleury, one of the Emperor's intimate associates, expressed their opinion that France should withdraw from the whole business. In the *Corps Legislatif*, on credits being asked for the Mexican expedition, it was evident that they were very grudgingly granted, and in a debate on the Mexican expedition, Thiers and the aged Berryer urged that the government should withdraw from it. If anything could have opened the eyes of the Archduke—Arch-dupe some clumsy Parisian wit had called him—it surely should have been the so-called treaty of Miramar that Napoleon III. made him sign. By it the French expeditionary force was as soon as possible to be reduced to twenty-five thousand men and the whole to be gradually withdrawn. A secret clause, however, was added that twenty thousand French troops should remain in Mexico until 1867. Maximilian took on himself to satisfy all French claims amounting, without the Jecker claims, to sixty millions of francs; further, he was to be responsible for the two hundred and seventy million francs the expedition would have cost up to July, 1864, after which date he was to pay a thousand francs a year for each French soldier remaining in Mexico. A two monthly service of transports was to be established between France and Vera

Cruz, for which Maximilian was to pay four hundred thousand francs each voyage. For all this France was to receive a part payment of six millions which Maximilian was to raise at once by loan. In all this business it is hard to know whether to feel more disgust at Napoleon's huckstering or astonishment at Maximilian's simplicity. Did not the Archduke see that he was to start his empire by bankruptcy, or did he fancy that Mexico was an *El Dorado*, out of which by a wave of his imperial sceptre he could conjure up a stream of gold? And this was how Napoleon proposed to regenerate Mexico. After a visit to Brussels, London and Paris, the Archduke and his wife returned to Miramar, and there, on April 4, 1864, Maximilian solemnly accepted the imperial crown of Mexico from the delegates who had come to offer it to him. Six days later the new Emperor and Empress steamed away from Trieste on board the Austrian frigate *Novara*, escorted by the *Themis*, a French warship.

It is said that as the land he loved, yet had renounced, sunk from his sight, the Emperor, much depressed, retired into his cabin. Did he think then of two significant incidents that had occurred during his recent round of courtly visits? At Paris the American Minister, by orders of his government, had abstained from meeting the Archduke, and proved with what dislike the United States regarded his enterprise. While in England he and his wife had taken leave of the aged Queen Marie Amelie, the grandmother of the Archduchess. The aged widow of Louis Philippe had done her best to dissuade her grandchild, whom she loved dearly, and her husband from accepting the Mexican crown. And when they had parted from her she could no longer restrain her sorrow and fears, and kept on repeating with that mystical lore that the poet tells us comes with the evening of life: "They will be assassinated; they will be assassinated!" But when once fairly out on the Atlantic the Archduke's love of the breezy ocean revived his courage. Vera Cruz, with its coldly indifferent population, the journey across the fever-haunted lands between there and the first Mexican mountains and various little accidents by the way were not calculated to encourage the new sovereigns on their arrival in their empire. But in their progress to the capital the population grew more sympathetic until at last they entered the City of Mexico on June 12, 1864. There the joy seemed so universal that the Emperor and Empress might really believe that all Mexico welcomed them. In this joy how many were sincere? Perhaps only the poor Indians, who hoped much from the coming of the fair-haired Prince who, one of their traditions promised, would one day save them from the injustice of their European conquerors.*

Maximilian adopted a policy which, had he been a better judge of

* See P. de la Gorce, *op. cit.* IV., 334.

men than he was and had he been better acquainted with men and things in Mexico, might have been a wise and successful policy. As it was, it estranged from him all those who had been most zealous in inviting him to accept the throne of Mexico, for these men found themselves thrust into purely honorary offices or sent as ambassadors to Europe, as if the soil of Mexico were too hot for them. The reins of government were, on the contrary, confided to men who had been among the warmest opponents of foreign intervention. Moreover, Maximilian, devout Catholic as he was in his private life, set the clergy against him. In his parting interview with Pius IX. he had failed to settle the affairs of the Church in Mexico. Mgr. Meglia was sent out as Nuncio. Negotiations were renewed. The clergy desired a return to the state of things before the reforming laws of Juarez had disestablished the Church in Mexico and sold its property. Maximilian, a Liberal in such matters, disliked this, and the Nuncio found himself forced to refer to Rome for fresh instructions. But the Emperor grew impatient and issued two decrees by which the Catholic religion was recognized as the State religion of Mexico and the fate of the church property sold definitely fixed. The clergy, by these ill-timed decrees, grew cold in their support of the empire.

The military situation was better than the political and ecclesiastical. The centre of Mexico was pacified. In the north Juarez had been driven back towards the borders of the United States. South at Oajaca, Porfirio Diaz held that place with a republican force of seven thousand men. Bazaine, now Marshal, marched against it with six thousand men. He had hardly begun to lay siege to the place when Diaz surrendered it at discretion on February 9, 1865.

It would be a mistake to speak of there being in Mexico at this epoch parties on which the Emperor could rely. There were on the one side the men who lived by the recurring insurrections that convulsed the country; on the other hand was the mass of the population whose only desire was to live at peace. But that mass was inert, timid and looked for help when it ought to have had the energy and courage to help itself. It was from this mass that Maximilian thought to form a national party that would keep him on the throne. Had he been a wise, strong, determined ruler, with all the resources of the country at his free disposal, the task he had undertaken might have had a chance of success. As it was, Maximilian was of a weak, changeable character. He might decree the making of railways, the opening of new roads and telegraphic communications; he might and did try by his personal efforts and travels to improve the lot of his subjects, but all in vain. The journeys he began as Emperor he ended as a tourist, botanizing or admiring the scenery! As for his projects, he had no officials on whom he could rely to see them exe-

cuted, nor had he had the men, had he the means. Two Mexican loans launched in Europe had brought nothing into his treasury. Mexican credit had sunk too low to allow of such loans being fruitful while the treaty of Miramar, to which allusion has already been made, was a lien that would have absorbed the most successful of loans. To all this must be added the fact that the real master of the empire was not Maximilian. It was Marshal Bazaine. Nor were the real and nominal masters of the empire on good terms, though as yet their misunderstandings had not been made public. A rupture could have only been prevented between the two on condition that Maximilian had been full of wisdom and Bazaine high-souled. But, remarks M. de la Gorce, "Maximilian had not received the rare gift of wisdom and Bazaine would have been astonished if any one had praised him for his nobility of soul."

Mexico, by the extent and nature of its territory, was particularly fitted for partisan warfare. Juarez and his friends took advantage of this. March and counter-march as the French troops would, the guerillas dispersed at one point speedily appeared at another. Over and over again messages went off to Europe announcing that Mexico was pacified, followed by other messages that the guerillas had surprised this or that post, or cut to pieces a French detachment in the mountains, or defeated the new formed Belgian Legion with a loss of sixty killed and wounded and two hundred Belgians prisoners. These guerillas derived much help from the manifest hostility of the United States to the new Mexican empire. To it the States had been consistently opposed. They had refused from the outset to have any share in European intervention in Mexico. Amid the troubles of the Civil War the American government had never failed for a moment in letting Europe, and especially France, know how it utterly disliked Maximilian's wild adventure. And when the Civil War had ended that language became almost brutally plain towards France and more than once it seemed as if France and the United States would have come to blows over the Mexican empire. But the French dared not coerce and could not cajole the United States into friendship for the Mexican empire. Thenceforth it should have been clear to all concerned that Maximilian's empire was doomed.

The French Deputies, unlike their noisy, excitable, rowdy successors of to-day, conducted their debates with great gravity and rarely expressed, except by well-timed applause or a sarcastically worded remark, or by icy silence, approval or disapproval of government proposals. Now they had begun to feel that the country was growing weary of the Mexican business, and signs of this were given whenever the question came up on demands from the government for fresh credits. The quietly expressed dislike of the legisla-

ture was more noisily expressed by the public. The official reports from Mexico, the *Journal des Débats* ventured to remark, might be put in a single phrase: "Juarez continues a fugitive as already reported." The many small investors in the Mexican loans trembled for their savings, while the peasantry became alarmed for their sons in danger from the guerillas or from the deadly fevers. These warning signs did not escape the quick eyes of the Emperor. There was another source, too, from which he learned that the Mexican expedition should be ended, and that was the private letters that reached him from staff officers in Mexico. The conclusion of all these letters was that it was high time to get away from "the Mexican hornets' nest."⁴ The Tuileries began to lose courage. The Emperor's Mexican dream had become an unpleasant nightmare. He determined to be rid of it. With the opening of the Chambers in January, 1866, came the announcement that the Emperor Napoleon had decided to withdraw his troops from Mexico. Bazaine was warned by letter and Maximilian by an official messenger.

The new year began darkly in Mexico. The country was so little pacified that a Belgian diplomatic mission was attacked by guerillas and four of its members killed within a short distance from the capital. The treasury was empty, and had it not been for money doled out to him by Bazaine, whom he now thoroughly disliked, Maximilian's government would have been openly bankrupt. Clamors for evacuation and continual protests and vexations came from the United States. Then Napoleon's messenger arrived. Maximilian, still hopeful, would not credit his message, and sent off Almonte to Paris to endeavor to persuade Napoleon to withdraw his threat of evacuating Mexico. Almonte's mission met with no success. Napoleon curtly refused to do anything more for Mexico. He was weary of a business that was too evidently a failure. Like many another weak man, and Napoleon was a weak man, he wanted to get his failure out of sight, buried in oblivion, and on this he was now bent with that firmness that is begotten of weakness. Almonte reported to his sovereign the ill success of his efforts. The last act but one of the Mexican tragedy now began.

The Empress Charlotte was not devoid of ambition and endowed with a strong will. She had certainly approved of, perhaps had urged on her husband the acceptance of the wretched imperial crown of Mexico. Now with a valiant heart, she determined to make a supreme effort to save that crown. She set out for Europe after, it is said, having with difficulty got together money enough for the expenses of the journey of herself and her suite. On August 8, 1866, she landed in France. The Emperor had been warned of her coming

⁴ P. de la Gorce, *op. cit.* IV., 377.

by messages telegraphed through the cable that now connected the United States with England. Napoleon strove to avoid or anyhow to adjourn giving audience to the imperial supplicant. He was really ill. Austria had just been beaten down at Sadowa. France had had to stand by, hesitating and helpless, and that because the Mexican expedition had weakened her resources in men, money and warlike materials. The French Empress and the chief Ministers of Napoleon visited the Empress Charlotte. They listened with sympathy to her pleadings, but one and all let her feel that it was hopeless to expect France to do more, or even to continue to keep an army in Mexico. Finance Minister Fould listened for two hours at a time to her eloquent supplications. "If I listen any longer to your Majesty," he said as he rose to end one of these interviews, "I shall forget that I am Finance Minister of France." At last Napoleon received the Empress Charlotte at Saint-Cloud. It was a long, some said it was a stormy interview. Napoleon strove to refute his illustrious visitor's arguments, but when with the earnestness of despair, the Empress continued to plead her cause, he took refuge in silence until the Empress passionately exclaimed: "Then my husband will abdicate." And the Emperor, who would then have been only too pleased to see Maximilian abdicate, replied: "So be it—abdicate."⁵ A few days later Napoleon wrote to Bazaine: "I have told the Empress Charlotte that she must not expect from France another soldier nor another *sou*."

Meanwhile Maximilian was making efforts on his part to save his crown. He saw the French every day decreasing the area of territory they occupied preparatory to their final departure from the country, which the Paris *Moniteur* had announced to begin in the autumn. He saw the followers of Juarez daily gaining ground and those on whom he had relied losing heart. His own Mexican troops were of doubtful loyalty; his Austrian legion only longed to be home; the Belgians had got neither the lands nor the pay they were promised, while their officers, lent for two years from the Belgian army, were returning to Belgium unable to get an extension of leave to serve in Mexico. Meanwhile Maximilian distrusted and disliked Marshal Bazaine more and more. Bazaine was well aware of this, and knew, too, that the Empress had taken with her to Paris a report of him that calumniated rather than detracted from his character. Bazaine was not the man to forgive any offense the Emperor had offered him. His opportunity for revenge came when Maximilian tried to entangle the French still more in the Mexican business by appointing a French staff officer to be his War Minister and a French commissariat official to be his Finance Minister. Bazaine bade these

⁵ P. de la Gorce, op. cit. V., 84.

officers choose between remaining Ministers or remaining French officers. It can readily be imagined that the officers preferred their commissions to the portfolios of Ministers of a fast crumbling empire. At the same time Maximilian's policy underwent another change. He thought to revert to his earliest friends, the Conservatives of Mexico. One was named his Prime Minister who happened to be the friend of the Archbishop of Mexico. But if the Conservatives were rich, they were not influential nor were they likely to regain the confidence of the clergy in Maximilian, whose liberalism had estranged the clergy from him. Clearly, then, in that hour of need these changes in his policy were of no avail.

Amid these perplexities a telegram in cipher reached the Emperor. The official as he began to make out its contents turned deadly pale and tried to hide them from the Emperor, who was at his side. The Empress Charlotte, having failed in Paris, had gone on to implore the aid of Pius IX. in Rome. There she had been stricken, within the very walls of the Vatican, by illness, and had been removed to Miramar, where a doctor Riedel was attending her. That was the news the telegraph had brought. Calling to his own Austrian doctor, the Emperor asked: "Do you know this Viennese doctor?" Dr. Basch replied: "He is the director of the asylum for the insane." Maximilian knew the worst. The unfortunate Empress had lost her reason. For Maximilian this was a crushing blow; for her the infliction was perhaps a crowning mercy, for it hid from her the horrible last act of this Mexican tragedy.

It was on October 18, 1866, that Maximilian received the crushing news about the Empress Charlotte. Almost at the same time arrived in Mexico Brigadier General Castelnau, A. D. C. of Napoleon III. He came armed with full powers to hasten the evacuation and to bring about the abdication of the Emperor Maximilian. As he traveled up to the capital, he passed Maximilian and his court on their way to Orizaba and, as was then generally believed, taking the first step towards the Emperor's abdication and departure for Europe. To this end negotiations were carried on between the different parties concerned, and Castelnau was able to report to Paris that the abdication was not far off. Unfortunately the report proved premature. Maximilian wavered in his resolutions. His Mexican Conservative supporters and some of his friends in Europe persuaded him to delay his abdication. Bazaine, too, at this time seems to have desired that this should not take place speedily. The Marshal had family and financial reasons for wishing to prolong Maximilian's reign and the French occupation as long as possible, and many of those who served under him believed the Marshal had a hidden desire to succeed to the empire. Of this, as Bazaine never revealed his secret, no proof is possible. Anyhow he gave Maximilian hope by saying the French occupation might be prolonged until the autumn

of 1867. Thus it came about that a council was held at Orizaba, and Maximilian instead of descending to the coast returned to the capital and announced that he would remain Emperor until such time as a national congress could be called to select his successor.

Acting under orders from home, the French troops were preparing their retreat from Mexico. Outlying towns and villages were abandoned and were at once snapped up by the soldiers of Juarez. North and south and away west the country was daily falling into his hands. The end of the empire was approaching with giant's strides. Along all the roads leading towards Queretaro French soldiers were on the march to concentrate there before leaving for France. With the retreating French came carts and carriages, the one laden with household goods, the others filled with Mexicans who had supported the empire. They dared not await the Republicans who pressed closely on the rear of the French, but without daring to attack them.

The French spared no effort to persuade Maximilian to abdicate and to quit the country with them. Napoleon, as if to force the Emperor to abdicate, telegraphed that all foreigners, whether French, Austrian or Belgians, in the Mexican service, should be invited to embark with the French. This was effectually depriving Maximilian of the only guards on whom he could have fully relied when the French had gone. Then Dano, the French ambassador, and General Castelnau waited on him to urge on him to abdicate. The same advice was tendered by Vandersmissen, the commander of the Belgian Legion. Bazaine had labored unwisely, and, as it would seem, from personal motives, to prolong the reign. This had led to his being falsely charged with treachery to Maximilian. Now even he, at a council held on January 14, 1867, declared in favor of abdication. The majority of the council, composed of Mexican Conservatives, were in favor of continuing the struggle. Maximilian, who could not bear the thought of returning as a discrowned monarch to Europe under French convoy, accepted the advice of the majority. He immediately took measures such as a forced levy of recruits for his army, to prepare to resist the advancing Republicans. While these were in progress a regrettable conflict arose between Bazaine and the Emperor which did not speak well for the generosity of the one nor for the tact of the other. All communications ceased between the court and French headquarters. It was only when actually on shipboard that Bazaine sent a messenger to the Emperor Maximilian, entreating him before it was too late to set sail with him for Europe. But the Emperor refused this supreme offer, and on March 11 Bazaine and his army left Mexico forever.

"At last I am free," Maximilian is said to have exclaimed as he watched from behind the half-closed windows of his palace the de-

parture of the last French troops. Free he certainly was from the baneful friendship of Napoleon III., from French financial demands, from the low intrigues of Bazaine. But how long would the freedom of this Prince without resources last? He got together a force of some ten thousand men. He had as his generals the brave Miramon, whom he had hitherto distrusted, the experienced General Mejia, much beloved in the country around Queretaro, and Marquez, brave but unscrupulous, a typical free-lance. Miramon, pushing forward to meet the advancing Republicans, scored a victory, soon followed by a reverse. Juarez captured among others on this occasion one hundred Frenchmen and caused the whole batch to be shot in cold blood. When the United States remonstrated with Juarez on this cruel butchery, the answer made was that these men by Bazaine's own declarations had lost the protection of their country and were nothing but vulgar rebels taken with arms in their hands. After this reverse Maximilian took up position at Queretaro, which was soon beleaguered by the Republicans. Marquez, with a body of cavalry, made his way out of the place and went to the capital, over which the imperial flag still floated, to seek reinforcements. For two months the siege, marked by some successful sorties of the garrison of Queretaro, went on. Sickness and desertion among its defenders began then to herald the end. That end came suddenly through the treachery of the wretched traitor Colonel Lopez, who, on the morning of May 15, admitted the enemy into the place. Maximilian had only time to seize his arms, rally his most trusty friends and make a last stand on a hill overlooking the town. Artillery fire quickly made the position untenable; the numbers of Republicans around it made it impossible to cut a way through their lines. The white flag was hoisted and Maximilian surrendered, giving up his sword to General Escobedo.

The Mexican empire had ended. Its Emperor was a prisoner in the hands of an implacable enemy. That enemy was Juarez. Had he chosen at this time to forget the *lex talionis*, had he forgotten the decree by which his prisoner had ordered Republican prisoners to be shot as rebels, Juarez by an act of supreme mercy, might have crowned a tenacious and not inglorious struggle of five years' duration for the Republican cause by earning the character of a generous patriot. He preferred not merely the *lex talionis*, but the brutal retaliation of a savage. Tried by martial law, Maximilian was sentenced to be shot. He met his fate with dignity, Christian resignation and courage. On June 19 he was shot, together with his two generals, Miramon and Mejia, on the very hill above Queretaro where they had made their last stand. Juarez had turned a deaf ear to all who pleaded for mercy. He listened neither to the diplomatic

representations of the German ambassador, speaking in the name, it might be said, of the civilized world, nor even to prayers of women of his own nation. In this he was within his strict rights. But where his ferocity showed itself was in his refusal to give up the body of Maximilian even when Admiral Tegethoff, the hero of Lissa, came, not to demand it in the name of Austria, but to beg it for a sorrowing mother. He would only give it up by way of barter, to obtain Austria's recognition of his position.

So the curtain falls on this Mexican tragedy. Not a personage, not a nation concerned in it gained credit. France lost heavily, for it made her powerless to oppose the making of Germany after the victory of Sadowa. And the rest of Europe learned that in the United States a power existed that left no room for European intervention in American affairs.

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Bruges, Belgium.

LETTRE APOSTOLIQUE DE SA SAINTETE LE PAPE
LEON XIII.A TOUS LES PATRIARCHES, PRIMATS, ARCHEVEQUES ET EVEQUES
DU MONDE CATHOLIQUE.

LEON XIII. PAPE.

Vénérables Frères Salut et Bénédiction Apostolique.

PARVENU à la vingt-cinquième année de Notre Ministère apostolique, et étonné Nous-même de la longueur du chemin qu'au milieu d'âpres et continuels soucis Nous avons parcouru, Nous Nous sentons tout naturellement porté à élever Notre pensée vers le Dieu à jamais béni, qui, parmi tant d'autres faveurs a bien voulu Nous accorder un Pontificat d'une durée telle qu'on en rencontre à peine quelques-uns de pareils dans l'histoire. C'est donc vers le Père de tous les hommes, vers Celui qui tient dans ses mains le mystérieux secret de la vie, que s'élance, comme un impérieux besoin de Notre cœur, l'hymne de Notre action de grâces. Assurément, l'œil de l'homme ne peut pas sonder toute la profondeur des desseins de Dieu, lorsqu'il a ainsi prolongé au delà de toute espérance notre vieillesse; et ici Nous ne pouvons que Nous taire et l'adorer. Mais il y a pourtant une chose que Nous savons bien, c'est que s'il Lui a plu, et s'il Lui plaît de conserver encore Notre existence, un grand devoir Nous incombe: vivre pour le bien et le développement de son Epouse immaculée, la Sainte Eglise, et, loin de perdre courage en face des soucis et des peines, lui consacrer le restant de Nos forces jusqu'à Notre dernier soupir.

Après avoir payé le tribut d'une juste reconnaissance à notre Père céleste, à qui soient honneur et gloire pendant toute l'éternité, il Nous est très agréable de revenir vers vous par la pensée et de vous adresser la parole, à vous, Vénérables Frères, qui, appelés par l'Esprit Saint à gouverner des portions choisies du troupeau de Jésus-Christ, participez par cela même avec Nous aux luttes et aux triomphes, aux douleurs et aux joies du ministère des Pasteurs. Non, elles ne s'évanouiront jamais de Notre mémoire, les nombreuses et remarquables preuves de religieuse vénération que vous Nous avez prodiguées au cours de Notre Pontificat, et que vous multipliez encore avec une émulation pleine de tendresse dans les circonstances présentes. Intimement uni à vous déjà par Notre devoir et par Notre amour paternel, ces témoignages de votre dévouement, extrêmement chers à Notre cœur, Nous y ont attaché

encore, moins pour ce qu' ils avaient de personnel en ce qui Nous regarde, que pour l'attachement inviolable qu'ils dénotaient à ce Siège Apostolique, centre et soutien de tous les austres sièges de la catholicité. S' il a toujours été nécessaire qu'aux divers degrés de de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique tous les enfants de l'Eglise se tinssent jalousement unis dans les liens d'une charité réciproque et dans la poursuite des mêmes desseins, de manière à ne former qu'un cœur et qu' une âme, cette union est devenue de nos temps plus indispensable que jamais. Qui peut ignorer en effet l'immense conjuration de forces hostiles qui vise aujourd'hui à ruiner et à faire disparaître la grande œuvre de Jésus-Christ, en essayant, avec un acharnement que ne connaît plus de limites, dans l'ordre intellectuel, de ravir à l'homme le trésor des vérités célestes, et, dans l'ordre social, de déraciner les plus saintes, les plus salutaires institutions chrétiennes? Mais tout cela, vous en êtes, vous-mêmes, frappés, tous les jours, vous qui Nous avez plus d'une fois exprimé vos préoccupations et vos angoisses, en déplorant la multitude de préjugés, de faux systèmes et d'erreurs qu'on sème impunément au milieu des foules. Que de pièges ne tend-on point de tous côtés aux âmes croyantes? Que d'obstacles ne multiplie-t-on pas pour affaiblir et, autant que possible, pour annihiler la bienfaisante action de l'Eglise? Et, en attendant, comme pour ajouter la dérision à l'injustice, c'est l'Eglise elle-même qu' on accuse de ne pas savoir recouvrer sa vertu antique, et d'être impuissante à endiguer le torrent de passions débordées qui menace de tout emporter!

Nous voudrions bien vous entretenir, Vénérables Frères, d'un sujet moins triste et qui fût en harmonie plus grande avec l'heureuse circonstance qui Nous incline à vous parler. Mais rien ne comporte un pareil langage, ni les graves épreuves de l'Eglise, qui appellent avec instance un prompt secours, ni les conditions de la société contemporaine qui, déjà fortement travaillée au point de vue moral et matériel, s'achemine vers des destinées encore pires par l'abandon des grandes traditions chrétiennes: une loi de la Providence, confirmée par l'histoire, prouvant qu'on ne peut pas porter atteinte aux grands principes religieux, sans ébranler en même temps les bases de l'ordre et de la prospérité sociale. Dans ces circonstances, pour permettre aux âmes de reprendre haleine, pour les réapprovisionner de foi et de courage, il Nous paraît opportun et utile de considérer attentivement, dans son origine, dans ses causes, dans ses formes multiples, l'implacable guerre, que l'on fait à l'Eglise, et, en dénonçant les funestes conséquences, d'en assigner les remèdes. Que Notre parole résonne donc bien haut, quoiqu'elle doive rappeler des vérités affirmées d'autres fois déjà; qu'elle soit entendue non seulement par les fils de l'unité catholique, mais encore par les dissidents

et même par les infortunés qui n'ont plus la foi ; car ils sont tous enfants du même Père, tous destinés au même bien suprême, qu'elle soit accueillie enfin comme le testament qu' à la faible distance où Nous sommes des portes de l'éternité Nous voulons laisser aux peuples comme un présage du salut que Nous désirons pour tous.

De tout temps, la Sainte Eglise du Christ a eu à combattre et à souffrir pour la vérité et pour la justice. Instituée par le divin Rédempteur lui-même pour propager dans le monde le règne de Dieu, elle doit conduire, aux clartés de la loi évangélique, l'humanité déchue vers ses immortelles destinées c'est-à-dire la faire entrer en possession des biens sans fin que Dieu nous a promis, à la hauteur desquels, nos seules forces ne nous permettent pas de monter : céleste mission dans l'accomplissement de laquelle elle ne pouvait que se heurter aux innombrables passions reçues de l'antique déchéance et de la corruption qu'elle a engendrée, orgueil, cupidité, amour effréné des jouissances matérielles, vices et désordres qui en découlent et qui ont tous rencontré dans l'Eglise le frein le plus puissant.

Le fait de ces persécutions ne doit pas nous étonner ; ne nous ont elles pas été prédites par le Divin Maître et ne savons-nous pas qu'elles dureront autant que le monde ? Que dit en effet le Sauveur à ses disciples, lorsqu'il les envoya porter le trésor de sa doctrine à toutes les nations ? Personne ne l'ignore : "Vous serez poursuivis de ville en ville, à cause de mon nom, vous serez haïs, méprisés, vous serez traduits devant les tribunaux et condamnés aux derniers des châtiments." Et pour les encourager à supporter de telles épreuves il se donna lui-même en exemple : "Si le monde vous hait, sachez qu'il m'a haï avant vous, tout le premier." "Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit." (Io. xv., 18.) Voilà les joies, voilà les récompenses qu'ici-bas le Divin Sauveur nous promet.

Quiconque juge sainement et simplement des choses ne pourra jamais découvrir la raison d'une pareille haine. Qui donc le divin Redempteur avait-il jamais offensé, ou en quoi avait-il démérité ? Descendu sur cette terre sous l'impulsion d'une charité infinie, Il y avait enseigné une doctrine sans tache, consolatrice et on ne peut mieux faite pour unir fraternellement tous les hommes dans la paix et dans l'amour. Il n'avait convoité ni les grandeurs de ce monde, ni ses honneurs et n'avait usurpé sur le droit de personne : bien au contraire, on l'avait vu infiniment compatissant pour les faibles, pour les malades, pour les pauvres, pour les pécheurs et pour les opprimés ; en sorte qu'Il n'avait passé dans la vie que pour semer à pleines mains parmi les hommes ses divins bienfaits. Ce fut donc un pur excès de malice de la part de ces hommes, excès d'autant plus lament-

able qu'il était plus injuste, et suivant la prophétie de Siméon, le Sauveur devint le signe de la contradiction sur cette terre "Signum cui contradicetur." (Luc. ii., 34.)

Faut-il s'étonner dès lors si l'Eglise catholique qui est la continuatrice de la mission divine de Jésus-Christ et l'incorruptible gardienne de sa vérité, n'a pas pu échapper au sort du Maître? Le monde ne change pas; à côté des enfants de Dieu, se trouvent toujours les séides du grand ennemi du genre humain, de celui qui, rebelle au Très-Haut dès le principe, est appelé dans l'Evangile la prince de ce monde. Et voilà pourquoi, en face de la loi divine et de qui la lui présente au nom de Dieu, ce monde sent bouillonner et se soulever en lui, dans un orgueil sans mesure, un esprit d'indépendance auquel il n'a aucun droit! Ah! que de fois, avec une cruauté inouïe, avec une impudente injustice et pour la perte évidente de toute la société, que de fois, dans les époques les plus agitées, les ennemis de l'Eglise ne se sont-ils pas formés en colonnes profondes pour renverser l'œuvre divine!

Un genre de persécution restait-il sans succès? ils essayaient d'un autre. Pendant trois grands siècles, l'Empire romain, abusant de la force brutale, parsema toutes ses provinces des cadavres de nos martyrs et empourpra de leur sang chacune des mottes de terre de cette ville sacrée. Puis l'hérésie, tantôt sous un masque et tantôt le visage à découvert, recourut aux sophismes et à des artifices perfides, afin de briser l'harmonie de l'Eglise et son unité. Comme une tempête dévastatrice, se déchainèrent ensuite, du nord les barbares, et du midi l'Islamisme, laissant partout derrière elle des ruines dans un immense désert. Ainsi se transmettait de siècle le triste héritage de haine sous lequel l'Epouse du Christ était accablée. Alors vint un césarisme, soupçonneux autant que puissant, jaloux de la grandeur d'autrui, quelque développement qu'il eut d'ailleurs donné à la sienne, et qui se reprit à livrer d'incessants assauts à l'Eglise pour faire main basse sur des droits et pour fouler aux pieds sa liberté. Le cœur saigne à voir cette Mère si souvent assiégée par les angoisses et par d'inexprimables douleurs! Cependant, triomphant de tous les obstacles, de toutes les violences et de toutes les tyrannies, elle plantait toujours, de plus en plus largement ses tentes pacifiques, elle sauvait du désastre le glorieux patrimoine des arts, de l'histoire, des sciences et des lettres, et, en faisant, pénétrer profondément l'esprit de l'Evangile dans toute l'étendue du corps social, elle créait de toutes pièces la civilisation chrétienne, cette civilisation à qui les peuples, soumis à sa bienfaisante influence, doivent l'équité des lois, la douceur des mœurs, la protection des faibles, la piété pour les pauvres et pour les malheureux, le respect des droits et de la dignité de tous les hommes et, par là même, autant du moins que

cela est possible au milieu des fluctuations humaines, ce calme dans la vie sociale qui dérive d'un accord sage entre la justice et la liberté.

Ces preuves de la bonté intrinsèque de l'Eglise sont aussi éclatantes et sublimes qu'elles ont eu de durée. Et cependant, comme au moyen-âge et durant les premiers siècles, dans des temps plus voisins du nôtre, nous voyons cette Eglise assaillie, d'une certaine façon au moins, plus durement et plus douloureusement que jamais. Par suite d'une série de causes historiques bien connues, la prétendue Réforme leva au XVI^e siècle l'étendard de la révolte, et, résolue à frapper l'Eglise en plein cœur, elle s'en prit audacieusement à la Papauté; elle rompit le lien si précieux de foi et d'autorité, qui, centuplant bien souvent la force, le prestige, la gloire, grâce à la poursuite harmonieuse des mêmes desseins, réunissait tous les peuples sous une seule houlette et un seul pasteur, et elle introduisit ainsi dans les rangs chrétiens un principe funeste de lamentable désagrégation.

Ce n'est pas que Nous prétendions affirmer par là que dès le début même du mouvement on eût en vue de bannir le principe du christianisme du sein de la société; mais, en refusant d'une part de reconnaître la suprématie due au Siège de Rome, cause effective et lien de l'unité, et en proclamant de l'autre le principe du libre examen, on ébranlait, jusque dans ses derniers fondements, le divin édifice et on ouvrait la voie à des variations infinies, aux doutes et aux négations sur les matières les plus importantes, si bien que les prévisions des novateurs eux-mêmes furent dépassées.

Le chemin était ouvert: alors surgit le philosophisme orgueilleux et railleur du XVIII^e siècle, et il va plus loin. Il tourne en dérision le recueil sacré des Ecritures et rejette en bloc toutes les vérités divinement révélées, dans le but d'en arriver finalement à déraciner de la conscience des peuples toute croyance religieuse et à y étouffer jusqu'au dernier souffle l'esprit chrétien. C'est de cette source que découlèrent le rationalisme et le panthéisme, le naturalisme et le matérialisme; systèmes funestes et délétères qui réinstaurèrent, sous de nouvelles apparences, des erreurs antiques déjà victorieusement réfutées par les Pères et par les Docteurs de l'Eglise, en sorte que l'orgueil des siècles modernes, par un excès de confiance dans ses propres lumières, fut frappé de cécité et, comme le paganisme, ne se nourrit plus que de rêveries, même en ce qui concerne les attributs de l'âme humaine et les immortelles destinées qui constituent son privilège glorieux.

La lutte contre l'Eglise prenait ainsi un caractère de gravité plus grande que par le passé, non moins à cause de la véhémence des attaques qu'à cause de leur universalité. L'incrédulité contemporaine ne se borne pas en effet à révoquer en doute ou à nier telle ou

telle vérité de foi. Ce qu'elle combat, c'est l'ensemble même des principes que la révélation consacre et que la vraie philosophie soutient; principes fondamentaux et sacrés qui apprennent à l'homme le but suprême de son passage dans la vie, qui le maintiennent dans le devoir, qui versent dans son âme le courage et la résignation et qui, en lui promettant une incorruptible justice et une félicité parfaite au delà de la tombe, le forment à subordonner le temps à l'éternité, la terre au ciel. Or, que mettait-on à la place de ces préceptes, réconforts incomparables fournis par la foi! Un effroyable scepticisme qui glace les cœurs et qui étouffe dans la conscience toutes les aspirations magnanimes.

Des doctrines aussi funestes n'ont que trop passé comme vous le voyez, ô Vénérables Frères, du domaine des idées dans la vie extérieure et dans les sphères publiques. De grands et puissants états vont sans cesse les traduisant dans la pratique, et ils s'imaginent ainsi faire œuvre de civilisation et prendre la tête du progrès. Et comme si les pouvoirs publics ne devaient pas ramasser en eux-mêmes et refléter tout ce qu'il y a de plus sain dans la vie morale ils se sont tenus pour affranchis du devoir d'honorer Dieu publiquement, et il n'advient que trop souvent qu'en se vantant de rester indifférents en face toutes les religions, de fait ils font la guerre à seule religion instituée par Dieu.

Ce système d'athéisme pratique devait nécessairement jeter, et de fait a jeté une perturbation profonde dans le domaine de la morale; car, ainsi que l'ont entrevu les sages les plus fameux de l'antiquité païenne, la religion est le fondement principal de la justice et de la vertu. Quand on rompt les liens qui unissent l'homme à Dieu, Législateur souverain et Juge universel, il ne reste plus qu'un fantôme de morale: morale purement civile, ou, comme on l'appelle, indépendante, qui, faisant abstraction de toute raison éternelle et des lois divines, nous entraîne inévitablement et par une pente fatale à cette conséquence dernière d'assigner l'homme à l'homme comme sa propre loi. Incapable dès lors de s'élever sur les ailes de l'espérance chrétienne jusque vers les biens supérieurs, cet homme ne cherche plus qu'un aliment matériel dans l'ensemble des jouissances et des commodités de la vie; en lui s'allument la soif des plaisirs, la cupidité des richesses, l'âpre désir des gains rapides et sans mesure, doive la justice en souffrir; en lui s'enflamment en même temps toutes les ambitions et je ne sais quelle avidité fiévreuse et frénétique de les satisfaire, même d'une manière illégitime; en lui enfin s'établissent en maîtres le mépris des lois et de l'autorité publique et une licence de mœurs qui, en devenant générale, entraîne avec soi un véritable déclin de la société.

Mais peut-être, exagérons-nous les tristes conséquences des trou-

bles douloureux dont nous parlons? Non, car la réalité est là, à notre portée et elle ne confirme que trop nos deductions. Il est manifeste en effet que, si on ne les raffermir pas au plus tôt les bases mêmes de la société vont chanceler et qu'elles entraîneront dans leur chute les grands principes du droit et de la morale éternelle.

C'est de là que proviennent les graves préjudices qu'ont eu à souffrir toutes les parties du corps social à commencer par la famille. Car, l'état laïque, sans se souvenir de ses limites, ni du but essentiel de l'autorité qu'il détient, a porté la main sur le lien conjugal pour le profaner, en le dépouillant de son caractère religieux; il a entrepris autant qu'il le pouvait sur le droit naturel qu'ont les parents en ce qui concerne l'éducation des enfants; et dans plusieurs endroits, il a détruit la stabilité du mariage, en donnant à la licencieuse institution du divorce une sanction légale. Or, chacun sait les fruits que ces empiètements ont protégés: ils ont multiplié au delà de toute expression des mariages ébauchés seulement par de monteuses passions et par suite se dissolvant à bref délai, ou dégénérant, tantôt en luttes tragiques, tantôt en scandaleuses infidélités! Et Nous ne disons rien des enfants, innocente descendance qu'on néglige, ou qui se pervertit, ici au spectacle des mauvais exemples des parents, et là sous l'effet au spectacle des mauvais exemples des parents, et là sous l'effet du poison que l'état, devenu officiellement laïque, lui verse tous les jours.

Avec la famille l'ordre social et politique est, lui aussi, mis en danger, surtout pas les doctrines nouvelles, qui, assignant à la souveraineté une fausse origine, en ont corrompu par là même la véritable idée. Car si l'autorité souveraine découle formellement du consentement de la foule et non pas de Dieu, principe suprême et éternel de toute puissance, elle perd aux yeux des sujets son caractère le plus auguste, et elle dégénère en une souveraineté artificielle qui a pour assiette des bases instables et changeantes, comme la volonté des hommes dont on la fait dériver. Ne voyons-nous pas aussi les conséquences de cette erreur dans les lois? Trop souvent en effet, au lieu d'être la *raison écrite*, ces lois n'expriment plus que la puissance du nombre et la volonté prédominante d'un parti politique. C'est ainsi qu'on caresse les appétits coupables des foules et qu'on lâche les rênes aux passions populaires, même lorsqu'elles troublent la laborieuse tranquillité des citoyens, sauf à recourir ensuite, dans les cas extrêmes, à des répressions violentes où l'on voit couler le sang.

Les principes chrétiens répudiés, ces principes qui sont si puissamment efficaces pour sceller la fraternité des peuples et pour réunir l'humanité tout entière dans une sorte de grande famille, peu à peu prévalu dans l'ordre international un système d'égoïsme jaloux, par

suite duquel les nations se regardent mutuellement, sinon toujours avec haine, du moins certainement avec la défiance qui anime des rivaux. Voilà pourquoi dans leurs entreprises elles sont facilement entraînées à laisser dans l'oubli les grands principes de la moralité et de la justice, et la protection des faibles et des opprimés. Dans le désir qui les aiguillonne d'augmenter indéfiniment la richesse nationale, les nations ne regardent plus que l'opportunité des circonstances, l'utilité de la réussite et la tentante fortune des faits accomplis, sûres que personne ne les inquiètera, ensuite au nom du droit, et du respect qui lui est dû. Principes funestes, qui ont consacré, la force matérielle, comme la loi suprême du monde, et à qui l'on doit imputer cet accroissement progressif et sans mesure des préparatifs militaires, ou cette paix armée comparable aux plus désastreux effets de la guerre, sous bien des rapports au moins.

Cette confusion lamentable dans le domaine des idées a fait germer au sein des classes populaires l'inquiétude, le malaise et l'esprit de révolte, de là une agitation et des désordres fréquents qui préludent à des tempêtes plus redoutables encore. La misérable condition d'une si grande partie du menu peuple, assurément bien digne de relèvement et de secours, sert admirablement les desseins d'agitateurs pleins de finesse, et en particulier ceux des factions socialistes, qui, en prodiguant aux classes les plus humbles de folles promesses, s'acheminent vers l'accomplissement des plus effrayants desseins.

Qui s'engage sur une pente dangereuse roule forcément jusqu'au fond de l'abîme. Avec une logique qui a vengé les principes, s'est donc organisée une véritable association de criminels. D'instincts tout à fait sauvages, dès ses premiers coups, elle a consterné le monde. Grâce à sa constitution solide et à ses ramifications internationales, elle est déjà en mesure de lever partout sa main scélérate, sans craindre aucun obstacle et sans reculer devant aucun forfait. Ses affiliés, répudiant toute union avec la société, et rompant cyniquement avec les lois, la religion et la morale, ont pris le nom d'*anarchistes*; ils se proposent de renverser de fond en comble la société actuelle, en employant tous les moyens qu'une passion aveugle et sauvage peut suggérer. Et, comme la société reçoit l'unité et la vie de l'autorité qui la gouverne, c'est contre l'autorité tout d'abord que l'anarchie dirige ses coups. Comment ne pas frémir d'horreur, autant que d'indignation et de pitié, au souvenir des nombreuses victimes tombées dans les dernières années, empereurs, impératrices, rois, présidents de républiques puissantes, dont l'unique crime consistait dans le pouvoir suprême dont ils étaient investis?

Devant l'immensité des maux qui accablent la société et des périls qui la menacent, Notre devoir exige que Nous avertissions une fois encore les hommes de bonne volonté, surtout ceux qui occupent

les situations les plus hautes, et que Nous les conjurons, comme Nous le faisons en ce moment, de réfléchir aux remèdes que la situation exige et, avec une prévoyante énergie, de les appliquer sans retard.

Avant tout, il faut se demander quel sont ces remèdes et en scruter la valeur. La liberté et ses bienfaits, voilà d'abord ce que Nous avons entendu porter jusques aux nues ; en elle, on exaltait le remède souverain, un incomparable instrument de paix féconde et de prospérité, Mais les faits ont lumineusement démontré qu'elle ne possédait pas l'efficacité qu'on lui prêtait. Des conflits économiques, des luttes de classes s'allument et font éruption de tous les côtés, et l'on ne voit pas même briller l'aurore d'une vie publique où le calme régnerait. Du reste, et chacun peut le constater, telle qu'on l'entend aujourd'hui, c'est à dire indistinctement accordée à la vérité et à l'erreur, au bien et au mal, la liberté n'aboutit qu'à rabaisser tout ce qu'il y a de noble, de saint, de généreux, et à ouvrir plus largement la voie au crime, au suicide et à la tourbe abjecte des passions.

On a soutenu aussi que le développement de l'instruction, en rendant les foules plus polies et plus éclairées, suffirait à les prémunir contre leurs tendances malsaines et à les retenir dans les limites de la droiture et de la probité. Mais une dure réalité ne nous fait-elle pas toucher du doigt chaque jour à quoi sert une instruction que n'accompagne pas une solide instruction religieuse et morale ? Par suite de leur inexpérience et de la fermentation des passions, l'esprit des jeunes gens subit la fascination des doctrines perverses. Il se prend surtout aux erreurs qu'un journalisme sans frein ne craint pas de semer à pleines mains et qui, en dépravant à la fois l'intelligence et la volonté, alimentent dans la jeunesse cet esprit d'orgueil et d'insubordination, qui trouble si souvent la paix des familles et le calme des cités.

On avait mis aussi beaucoup de confiance dans les progrès de la science. De fait, le siècle dernier en a vu de bien grands, de bien inattendus, de bien merveilleux assurément. Mais est-il si vrai que ces progrès nous aient donné l'abondance de fruits, pleine et réparatrice, que le désir d'un si grand nombre d'hommes en attendait ? Sans doute, le vol de la science a ouvert de nouveaux horizons à notre esprit, il a agrandi l'empire de l'homme sur les forces de la matière et la vie dans ce monde s'en est trouvée adoucie à bien des égards. Néanmoins tous sentent, et beaucoup confessent que la réalité n'a pas été à la hauteur des espérances. On ne peut pas le nier, quand on prend garde à l'état des esprits et des mœurs, à la statistique criminelle, aux sourdes rumeurs qui montent d'en bas et à la prédominance de la force sur le droit. Pour ne point parler encore des foules qui sont la proie de la misère, il suffit de jeter un

coup d'œil, même superficiel, sur le monde, pour constater qu'une indéfinissable tristesse pèse sur les âmes et qu'un vide immense existe dans les cœurs. L'homme a bien pu s'assujettir la matière, mais la matière n'a pas pu lui donner ce qu'elle n'a pas, et aux grandes questions qui ont trait à nos intérêts les plus élevés, la science humaine n'a pas donné de réponse; la soif de vérité, de bien, d'infini, qui nous dévore, n'a pas été étanchée, et ni les joies et les trésors de la terre, ni l'accroissement des aises de la vie n'ont pu endormir l'angoisse morale au fond des cœurs. N'y a-t'il donc qu'à dédaigner ou à laisser de côté les avantages qui découlent de l'instruction, de la science, de la civilisation et d'une sage et douce liberté? Non certes; il faut au contraire les tenir en haute estime, les conserver et les accroître comme un capital de prix; car ils constituent des moyens qui de leur nature sont bons, voulus par Dieu lui-même et ordonnés par l'infinie sagesse au bien de la famille humaine et à son profit. Mais il faut en subordonner l'usage aux intentions du Créateur et faire en sorte qu'on ne les sépare jamais de l'élément religieux, dans lequel réside la vertu, qui leur confère, avec une valeur particulière leur véritable fécondité. Tel est le secret du problème. Quand un être organique dépérit et se corrompt, c'est qu'il a cessé d'être sous l'action des causes qui lui avaient donné sa forme et sa constitution. Pour le refaire sain et florissant, pas de doute qu'il ne faille le soumettre de nouveau à l'action vivifiante de ces mêmes causes. Or la société actuelle, dans la folle tentative qu'elle a faite pour échapper à son Dieu, a rejeté l'ordre surnaturel et la révélation divine; elle s'est soustraite ainsi à la salutaire efficacité du Christianisme, qui est manifestement la garantie la plus solide de l'ordre, le lien le plus fort de la fraternité et l'inépuisable source des vertus privées et publiques.

De cet abandon sacrilège est né le trouble qui la travaille actuellement. C'est donc dans le giron du Christianisme que cette société dévoyée doit rentrer, si son bien-être, son repos et son salut lui tiennent au cœur.

De même que le Christianisme ne pénètre pas dans une âme sans l'améliorer, de même il n'entre pas dans la vie publique d'un peuple sans l'ordonner. Avec l'idée d'un Dieu qui régit tout, qui est sage, infiniment bon et infiniment juste, il fait pénétrer dans la conscience humaine le sentiment du devoir, il adoucit la souffrance, il calme les haines et il engendre les héros. S'il a transformé la société païenne, et cette transformation fut une résurrection véritable, puisque la barbarie disparut à proportion que le Christianisme s'étendit, il saura bien de même, après les terribles secousses de l'incrédulité remettre dans le véritable chemin et réinstaurer dans l'ordre les Etats modernes et les peuples contemporains.

Mais tout n'est point là : le retour au Christianisme ne sera pas un remède efficace et complet, s'il n'implique pas le retour et un amour sincère à l'Eglise une, sainte, catholique et apostolique. Le Christianisme s'incarne en effet dans l'Eglise catholique, il s'identifie avec cette société spirituelle et parfaite, souveraine dans son ordre, qui est le corps mystique Jésus-Christ, et qui a pour chef visible le Pontife Romain, successeur du Prince des Apôtres. Elle est la continuatrice de la mission du Sauveur, la fille et l'héritière de sa rédemption ; elle a propagé l'Evangile et elle l'a défendu au prix de son sang ; et, forte de l'assistance divine et de l'immortalité qui lui ont été promises, ne pactisant jamais avec l'erreur, elle reste fidèle au mandat qu'elle a reçu de porter la doctrine de Jésus-Christ à travers ce monde et, jusqu'à la fin des siècles, de l'y garder dans son inviolable intégrité.

Légitime dispensatrice des enseignements de l'Evangile, elle ne se révèle pas seulement à nous comme la consolatrice et la rédemptrice des âmes ; elle est encore l'éternelle source de la justice et de la charité, et la propagatrice en même temps que la gardienne de la liberté véritable et de la seule égalité qui soit possible ici-bas. En appliquant la doctrine de son divin Fondateur, elle maintient un sage équilibre et trace de justes limites entre tous les droits et tous les privilèges dans la société. L'égalité qu'elle proclame ne détruit pas la distinction des différentes classes sociales ; elle la veut intacte, parce qu'évidemment la nature même les requiert. Pour faire obstacle à l'anarchie de la raison émancipée de la foi et abandonnée à elle-même, la liberté qu'elle donne ne lèse ni les droits de la vérité, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux du nombre et de la force, ni les droits de Dieu, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux de l'humanité.

Au foyer domestique, l'Eglise n'est pas moins féconde en bons effets. Car non seulement elle résiste aux artifices que l'incrédulité met en œuvre pour attenter à la vie de la famille, mais elle prépare encore et elle sauvegarde l'union et la stabilité conjugale, dont elle protège et développe l'honneur, la fidélité, la sainteté. Elle soutient en même temps et elle cimente l'ordre civil et politique, en apportant d'une part une aide efficace à l'autorité, et de l'autre, en se montrant favorable aux sages réformes et aux justes aspirations des sujets ; en imposant le respect des Princes et l'obéissance qui leur est due et en défendant les droits imprescriptibles de la conscience humaine, sans jamais se lasser. Et c'est ainsi que grâce à elle les peuples soumis à son influence n'ont rien eu à craindre de la servitude, parce qu'elle a retenu les princes sur les pentes de la tyrannie.

Parfaitement conscient de cette efficacité divine, dès le commencement de Notre Pontificat, Nous Nous sommes soigneusement appliqué à mettre en pleine lumière et à faire ressortir les bienfaits

desseins de l'Eglise et à étendre le plus possible, avec le trésor de ses doctrines, le champ de son action salutaire.

Tel a été le but principaux actes de Notre Pontificat, notamment des Encycliques sur *philosophie chrétienne*, sur la *liberté humaine*, sur le *mariage chrétien*, sur la *franc-maçonnerie*, sur les *pouvoirs publics*, sur la *constitution chrétienne des Etats*, sur le *socialisme*, sur la *question ouvrière*, sur les *devoirs des citoyens chrétiens* et sur d'autres sujets analogues. Mais le vœu ardent de Notre âme n'a pas été seulement d'éclairer les intelligences; Nous avons voulu encore remuer et purifier les cœurs, en appliquant tous nos efforts à faire refleurir au milieu des peuples vertus chrétiennes. Aussi ne cessons-nous pas de prodiguer les encouragements et les conseils pour elever les esprits jusqu'aux biens impérissables et pour les mettre ainsi à même de subordonner le corps à l'âme, le pèlerinage terrestre à la vie céleste et l'homme à Dieu.

Bénie par le Seigneur, Notre parole a pu contribuer à raffermir les convictions d'un grand nombre d'hommes, à les éclairer davantage au milieu des difficultés des questions actuelles, à stimuler leur zèle et à promouvoir les œuvres les plus variées. C'est surtout pour le bien des classes déshéritées que ces œuvres ont surgi et continuent à surgir encore dans tous les pays, parce qu' on a vus'y raviver cette charité chrétienne qui a toujours trouvé au milieu du peuple son champ d'action le plus aimé. Si la moisson n'a pas été plus abondante, Vénérables Frères, adorons Dieu, mystérieusement juste, et supplions-le en même temps d'avoir pitié de l'aveuglement de tant d'âmes auxquelles peut malheureusement s'appliquer l'effrayante parole de l'apôtre: "Deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infidelium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriae Christi." (II. Cor. iv., 4.)

Plus l'Eglise Catholique donne d'extension à son zèle pour le bien moral et matériel des peuples, plus les enfants des ténèbres se lèvent haineusement contre elle et recourent à tous les moyens, afin de ternir sa beauté divine et de paralyser son action de vivifiante réparation. Que de sophismes ne propagent-ils pas, et que de calomnies! Un de leurs artifices les plus perfides consiste à redire sans cesse aux foules ignorantes et aux gouvernements envieux que l'Eglise est opposée aux progrès de la science, qu'elle est hostile à la liberté, que l'Etat voit ses droits usurpés par elle et que la politique est un champ qu' elle envahit à tout propos. Accusations insensées, qu'on a mille fois répétées et qu'ont mille fois réfutées aussi la saine raison, l'histoire et avec elles, tous ceux qui ont un cœur honnête et ami de la vérité.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la science et de l'instruction? Ah! sans doute elle est la vigilante gardienne du dogme révélé; mais c'est

cette vigilance elle-même qui l'incline à protéger la science et à favoriser la saine culture de l'esprit ! Non ! en ouvrant son intelligence aux révélations du Verbe, vérité suprême de qui émanent originairement toutes les vérités, l'homme ne compromettra jamais, ni en aucune manière, ses connaissances rationnelles. Bien au contraire les rayonnements qui lui viendront du monde divin donneront toujours plus de puissance et de clarté à l'esprit humain, parce qu'ils le préserveront dans les questions les plus importantes, d'angoissantes incertitudes et de mille erreurs. Du reste dix-neuf siècles d'une gloire, conquise par le catholicisme dans toutes les branches du savoir, suffisent amplement à réfuter cette calomnie. C'est à l'Eglise catholique qu'il faut faire remonter le mérite d' avoir propagé et défendu la sagesse chrétienne, sans laquelle le monde serait encore gisant dans la nuit des superstitions païennes et dans une abjecte barbarie. A elle, d'avoir conservé et transmis aux générations les précieux trésors des lettres et des sciences antiques ; à elle, d' avoir ouvert les premières écoles pour le peuple et d' avoir créé des Universités qui existent encore et dont le renom s' est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours. A elle enfin, d'avoir inspiré la littérature la plus haute, la plus pure et la plus glorieuse, en même temps qu' elle rassemblait sous ses ailes protectrices les artistes du génie le plus élevé.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la liberté ? Ah ! comme on travestit l'idée de liberté, qui a pour objet un des dons les plus précieux de Dieu, quand on exploite son nom pour en justifier l'abus et l'excès ! Par liberté, que faut-il entendre ? L'exemption de toutes les lois, la délivrance de tous les freins, et, comme corollaire, le droit de prendre le caprice pour guide dans toutes les actions ? Cette liberté, l'Eglise la réprouve certainement, et tous les cœurs honnêtes la réprouvent avec elle. Mais salue-t-on dans la liberté la faculté rationnelle de faire le bien, largement, sans entrave et suivant les règles qu'a posées l'éternelle justice ? Cette liberté, qui est la seule digne de l'homme et la seule utile à la société, personne ne la favorise, ne l'encourage et ne la protège plus que l'Eglise. Par la force de sa doctrine et l'efficacité de son action, c'est cette Eglise en effet qui a affranchi l'humanité du joug de l'esclavage, en prêchant au monde la grande loi de l'égalité et de la fraternité humaine. Dans tous les siècles, elle a pris en mains la défense des faibles et des opprimés contre l'arrogante domination des forts ; elle a revendiqué la liberté de la conscience chrétienne en versant à flots le sang de ses martyrs ; elle a restitué à l'enfant et à la femme la dignité et les prérogatives de leur noble nature, en les faisant participer, au nom du même droit, au respect et à la justice, et elle a largement concouru ainsi à introduire et à maintenir la liberté civile et politique au sein des nations.

L'Eglise, usurpatrice des droits de l'Etat, l'Eglise, envahissant le

domaine politique? Mais l'Eglise sait et enseigne que son divin Fondateur a ordonné de rendre à César ce qui est à César et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu et qu'il a ainsi sanctionné l'immuable principe de la perpétuelle distinction des deux pouvoirs, tous les deux souverains dans leur sphère respective : distinction féconde et qui a si largement contribué au développement de la civilisation chrétienne. Etrangère à toute pensée hostile, dans son esprit de charité, l'Eglise ne vise donc qu'à marcher parallèlement aux pouvoirs publics pour travailler sans doute sur le même sujet, qui est l'homme, et sur la même société, divine. Plût à Dieu que son action fut accueillie sans défiance et mais par les voies et dans le dessein élevé que lui assigne sa mission sans soupçon : car les innombrables bienfaits dont nous avons parlé plus haut ne feraient que se multiplier. Accuser l'Eglise de visées ambitieuses, ce n'est donc que répéter une calomnie que ses puissants ennemis ont plus d'une fois employée du rest comme prétexte pour masquer eux-mêmes leur propre tyrannie. Et loin d'opprimer, l'histoire l'enseigne clairement, quand on l'étudie sans préjugés, l'Eglise, comme son divin Fondateur, a été le plus souvent au contraire la victime de l'oppression et de l'injustice. C'est que sa puissance réside, non pas dans la force des armes, mais dans la force de la pensée et dans celle de la vérité.

C'est donc sûrement dans une intention perverse qu'on lance contre l'Eglise de semblables accusations. Œuvre pernicieuse et déloyale, dans la poursuite de laquelle va, précédant tous les une secte ténébreuse, que la société porte depuis de longues années dans ses flancs et qui, comme un germe mortel y contamine le bien-être, la fécondité et la vie. Personnification permanente de la révolution, elle constitue une sorte de société retournée, dont le but est d'exercer une suzeraineté occulte sur la société reconnue et dont la raison d'être consiste entièrement dans la guerre à faire à Dieu et à son Eglise. Il n'est pas besoin de la nommer, car à ces traits, tout le monde a reconnu la franc-maçonnerie, dont Nous avons parlé d'une façon expresse dans Notre Encyclique "*Humanum genus*" du 20 avril 1884, en denonçant ses tendances délétères, ses doctrines erronées et son œuvre néfaste. Embrassant dans ses immenses filets la presque totalité des nations et se reliant à d'autres sectes qu'elle fait mouvoir par des fils cachés, attirant d'abord et retenant ensuite ses affiliés par l'appât des avantages qu'elle leur procure, pliant les gouvernants à ses desseins, tantôt par ses promesses et tantôt par ses menaces, cette secte est parvenue à s'infiltrer dans toutes les classes de la société. Elle forme comme un état invisible et irresponsable dans l'état légitime. Pleine de l'esprit de Satan qui, au rapport de l'Apôtre, sait au besoin se transformer en ange de lumière (II. Cor. ix., 14), elle met en avant un but humanitaire mais

elle sacrifie tout à ses projets sectaires; elle proteste qu'elle n' a aucune visée politique, mais elle exerce en réalité l'action la plus profonde dans la vie législative et administrative des états; et tandis qu'elle professe en paroles le respect de l'autorité et de la religion elle-même, son but suprême (ses propres statuts en font foi) est l'extermination de la souveraineté et du sacerdoce, en qui elle voit des ennemis de la liberté.

Or, il devient de jour en jour plus manifeste que c'est à l'inspiration et à la complicité de cette secte qu'il faut attribuer en grande partie les continuelles vexations dont on accable l'Eglise et la recrudescence des attaques qu'on lui a livrées tout récemment. Car, la simultanéité des assauts dans la persécution qui a soudainement éclaté en ces derniers temps, comme un orage, dans un ciel serein, c'est-à-dire sans cause proportionnée à l'effet; l'uniformité des moyens mis en œuvre pour préparer cette persécution, campagne de presse, réunions publiques, productions théâtrales; l'emploi dans tous les pays des mêmes armes, calomnies et soulèvements populaires, tout cela trahit bien vraiment l'identité dessein et le mot d'ordre parti d'un seul et même centre de direction. Simple épisode du reste qui se rattache à un plan arrêté d'avance et qui se traduit en actes sur un théâtre de plus en plus large, afin de multiplier les ruines que nous avons énumérées précédemment. Ainsi veut-on surtout restreindre d'abord, exclure complètement ensuite l'instruction religieuse, en faisant des générations d'incrédules ou d'indifférents; combattre par la presse quotidienne la morale de l'Eglise, ridiculiser enfin ses pratiques et profaner ses fêtes sacrées.

Rein de plus naturel dès lors que le sacerdoce catholique qui a précisément pour mission de prêcher la religion et d'administrer ses sacrements, soit attaqué avec un particulier acharnement: en le prenant pour point de mire, la secte veut diminuer aux yeux du peuple son prestige et son autorité. Déjà, son audace croissant d'heure en heure et en proportion de l'impunité dont elle se croit assurée, elle interprète malignement tous les actes du clergé, elle le soupçonne sur les moindres indices et elle l'accable des plus basses accusations. Ainsi de nouveaux préjugés s'ajoutent à ceux dont ce clergé souffre déjà, tant à cause du tribut qu'il doit payer au service militaire, grand obstacle à sa préparation sacerdotale, que par suite de la confiscation du patrimoine ecclésiastique que les fidèles avaient librement constitué dans leur pieuse générosité.

Quant aux Ordres religieux et aux Congrégations religieuses, la pratique des conseils évangéliques faisait d'eux la gloire de la société autant que la gloire de la religion: ils n'en ont paru que plus coupables aux yeux des ennemis de l'Eglise, et on les a implacablement dénoncés au mépris et à l'animosité de tous. Ce Nous est

ici une douleur immense que de devoir rappeler les mesures odieuses, imméritées et hautement condamnées par tous les cœurs honnêtes dont tout récemment encore les religieux ont été les victimes. Rien n'a pu les sauver, ni l'intégrité de leur vie restée inattaquable même pour leurs ennemis ; ni le droit naturel qui autorise l'association contractée dans un but honnête, ni le droit constitutionnel qui en proclame hautement la liberté ; ni la faveur des peuples, pleins de reconnaissance pour les services précieux rendus aux arts, aux sciences, à l'agriculture, et pour une charité qui déborde sur les classes les plus nombreuses et les pauvres de la société. Et c'est ainsi que des hommes, des femmes, issus du peuple, qui avaient spontanément renoncé aux joies de la famille pour consacrer, au bien de tous, dans de pacifiques associations, leur jeunesse, leurs talents, leurs forces, leur vie elle-même, traités en malfaiteurs comme s'ils avaient constitué des associations criminelles, ont été exclus du droit commun et proscrits, en un temps où partout on ne parle que de liberté !

Il ne faut pas s'étonner que les fils les plus aimés soient frappés, quand le Père lui-même, c'est-à-dire le Chef de la catholicité, le Pontife Romain, n'est pas mieux traité. Les faits sont bien connus. Dépouillé de la souveraineté temporelle et privé par le fait même de l'indépendance qui lui est nécessaire pour accomplir sa mission universelle et divine, forcé dans cette Rome elle-même qui lui appartient de se renfermer dans sa propre demeure, parce qu'un pouvoir ennemi l'y assiège de tous les côtés, il été réduit, malgré des assurances dérisoires de respect et des promesses de liberté bien précaires, à une condition anormale, injuste, et indigne de son haut ministère. Pour Nous, Nous ne savons que trop les difficultés qu'on lui suscite à chaque instant, en travestissant ses intentions et en outrageant sa dignité. Aussi la preuve est-elle faite et elle devient de jour en jour plus évidente : c'est la puissance spirituelle du Chef de l'Eglise elle-même que peu à peu on a voulu détruire, quand on a porté la main sur le pouvoir temporel de la Papauté. Ceux qui furent les vrais auteurs de cette spoliation n'ont du reste pas hésité à le confesser.

A en juger par les conséquences, ce fait est non seulement un fait impolitique, mais encore une sorte d'attentat antisocial ; car les coups qu'on inflige à la religion sont comme autant de coups portés au cœur même de la société.

En faisant de l'homme un être destiné à vivre avec ses semblables, Dieu dans sa Providence avait aussi fondé l'Eglise et, suivant l'expression biblique, il l'avait établie sur la montagne de Sion, afin, qu'elle y servit de lumière et qu'avec ses rayons féconds elle fit circuler le principe de la vie dans les multiples replis de la société humaine, en lui donnant des règles d'une sagesse céleste, grâce

auxquelles celle-ci pourrait s'établir dans l'ordre qui lui conviendrait le mieux. Donc, autant la société se de l'Eglise, part considérable de sa force, autant elle déchoit ou voit les ruines se multiplier dans son sein, en séparant ce que Dieu a voulu uni.

Quant à Nous, Nous ne Nous sommes jamais lassé, toutes les fois que l'occasion nous en a été offerte, d'inculquer ces grandes vérités, et Nous avons voulu le faire une fois encore et d'une manière expresse dans cette circonstance extraordinaire. Plaise à Dieu que les fidèles s'en trouvent encouragés et instruits à faire converger plus efficacement vers le bien commun tous leurs efforts et que, mieux éclairés, nos adversaires comprennent l'injustice qu'ils commettent, en persécutant la mère la plus aimante et la bienfaitrice la plus fidèle de l'humanité.

Nous ne voudrions pas que le souvenir des douleurs présentes abattît dans l'âme des fidèles la pleine et entière confiance qu'ils doivent avoir dans l'assistance divine : car Dieu assurera à son heure et par ses voies mystérieuses le triomphe définitif. Quant à Nous, quelque grande que soit la tristesse qui remplisse Notre cœur, Nous ne tremblons pas néanmoins pour les immortelles destinées de l'Eglise. Comme Nous l'avons dit en commençant la persécution est son partage, parce qu'en éprouvant et en purifiant ses enfants par elle, Dieu en retire des biens plus hauts et plus précieux. Mais en abandonnant l'Eglise à ces luttes, il manifeste sa divine assistance sur elle, car il lui ménage des moyens nouveaux et imprévus, qui assurent le maintien et le développement de son œuvre, sans que les forces conjurées contre elle parviennent à la ruiner. Dix-neuf siècles d'une vie écoulée dans le flux et le reflux des vicissitudes humaines nous apprennent que les tempêtes passent, sans avoir atteint les grands fonds.

Nous pouvons d'autant plus demeurer inébranlables dans la confiance, que le présent lui-même renferme des symptômes bien faits pour nous empêcher de nous troubler. Les difficultés sont extraordinaires, formidables, on ne saurait le nier : mais d'autres faits, qui se déroulent sous nos regards, témoignent en même temps que Dieu remplit ses promesses avec une sagesse admirable et avec bonté. Pendant que tant de forces conspirent contre l'Eglise et qu'elle s'avance, privée de tout secours, de tout appui humain, ne continue-t-elle pas en effet à poursuivre dans le monde son œuvre gigantesque et n'étend-elle pas son action parmi les nations les plus différentes et sous tous les climats ? Non, chassé qu'il en a été par Jésus-Christ, l'antique prince de ce monde ne pourra plus y exercer sa domination altière comme jadis, et les efforts de Satan nous susciteront bien des maux sans doute, mais ils n'aboutiront pas à leur fin. Déjà une tranquillité surnaturelle, due à l'Esprit Saint

qui couvre l'Eglise de ses ailes et qui vit dans son sein, règne, non pas seulement dans l'âme des fidèles, mais encore dans l'ensemble de la catholicité; tranquillité qui se développe avec sérénité, grâce à l'union toujours de plus en plus étroite et dévouée de l'Episcopat avec ce siège apostolique et qui forme un merveilleux contraste avec l'agitation, les dissensions et la fermentation continuelle des sectes qui troublent la paix de la société. Féconde en innombrables œuvres de zèle et de charité, cette union harmonieuse existe aussi entre les Evêques et leur clergé. Elle se retrouve enfin entre le clergé et les laïques catholiques, qui, plus serrés et plus affranchis de respect humain généreuse, afin de défendre la cause sainte de la religion. Oh! c'est bien là l'union que Nous avons recommandée si souvent et que Nous recommandons de nouveau encore, et Nous la bénissons, afin qu'elle se développe de plus en plus largement et qu'elle s'oppose, comme un mur invincible, à la fougueuse violence des ennemis du nom divin.

Rien de plus naturel dès lors, que, semblables aux surgeons qui germent au pied de l'arbre, renaissent, se fortifient et se multiplient les innombrables associations que Nous voyons avec joie fleurir de nos jours dans le sein de l'Eglise. On peut dire qu'aucune forme de la piété chrétienne n'a été laissée de côté qu'il s'agisse de Jésus-Christ lui-même et de ses adorables mystères ou de sa divine Mère, ou des Saints dont les vertus insignes ont le plus brillé. En même temps, aucune des variétés de la charité n'a été oubliée, et c'est de tous les côtés qu'on a rivalisé de zèle, pour instruire chrétiennement la jeunesse, pour assister les malades, pour moraliser le peuple et pour voler au secours des classes les moins favorisées. Avec quelle rapidité ce mouvement se propagerait et combien ne porterait-il pas des fruits plus doux, si on ne lui opposait pas les dispositions injustes et hostiles auxquelles il va si souvent se heurter!

Le Dieu qui donne à l'Eglise une vitalité si grande dans les pays civilisés où elle est établie depuis de longs siècles déjà, veut bien nous consoler par d'autres espérances encore. Ces espérances, c'est au zèle des missionnaires que nous les devons. Sans se laisser décourager par les périls qu'ils courent, par les privations qu'ils endurent et par les sacrifices de tout genre qu'ils doivent s'imposer, ils se multiplient et conquièrent à l'Evangile et à la civilisation des pays entiers. Rien ne peut abattre leur constance, quoiqu'à l'exemple du Divin Maître ils ne recueillent souvent que des accusations et des calomnies pour prix de leurs infatigables travaux.

Les amertumes sont donc tempérées par des consolations bien douces et, au milieu des luttes et des difficultés qui sont Notre partage, Nous avons de quoi refaîchir Notre âme et espérer. C'est là un fait qui devrait suggérer d'utiles et sages réflexions à quiconque

observe le monde avec intelligence et sans se laisser aveugler par la passion. Car il prouve que, comme Dieu n'a pas fait l'homme indépendant en ce qui regarde la fin dernière de la vie et comme il lui a parlé, ainsi il lui parle encore aujourd'hui dans son Eglise, visiblement soutenue par son assistance divine, et qu'il montre clairement par là où se trouvent le salut et la vérité. Dans tous les cas, cette éternelle assistance remplira nos cœurs d'une espérance invincible : elle nous persuadera qu' à l'heure marquée par la Providence et dans un avenir qui n' est pas très éloigné la vérité, déchirant les brumes sous lesquelles on cherche à la voiler, resplendira plus brillante et que l'esprit de l'Evangile versera de nouveau la vie au sein de notre société corrompue et dans ses membres épuisés.

En ce qui Nous concerne, Vénérables Frères, afin de hâter l'avènement du jour des miséricordes divines, Nous ne manquerons pas, comme d' ailleurs Notre devoir Nous l'ordonne, de tout faire pour défendre et développer le règne de Dieu sur la terre. Quant à vous, votre sollicitude pastorale Nous est trop connue pour que Nous vous exhortions à faire de même. Puisse seulement la flamme ardente qui brûle dans vos cœurs se transmettre de plus en plus dans le cœur de tous vos prêtres ! Ils se trouvent en contact immédiat avec le peuple : ils connaissent parfaitement ses aspirations, ses besoins, ses souffrances, et aussi les pièges et les séductions qui l'entourent. Si, pleins de l'esprit de Jésus-Christ et se maintenant dans une sphère supérieure aux passions politiques, ils coördonnent leur action avec la vôtre, ils réussiront sous la bénédiction de Dieu à accomplir des merveilles : par la parole ils éclaireront les foules, par la douceur des manières ils gagneront tous les cœurs, et en secourant avec charité ceux qui souffrent, ils les aideront à améliorer peu à peu leur condition.

Le Clergé sera fermement soutenu lui-même par l'active et intelligente collaboration de tous les fidèles de bonne volonté. Ainsi, les enfants qui ont savouré les tendresses maternelles de l'Eglise l'en remercieront dignement, en accourant vers elle pour défendre son honneur et ses gloires. Tous peuvent contribuer à ce devoir si grandement méritoire : les lettrés et les savants, en prenant sa défense dans les livres ou dans la presse quotidienne, puissant instrument dont nos adversaires abusent tant ; les pères de familles et les maîtres, en donnant une éducation chrétienne aux enfants ; les magistrats et les représentants du peuple, en offrant le spectacle de la fermeté des principes et de l'intégrité du caractère, tous en professant leur foi sans respect humain. Notre siècle l'élévation des sentiments, la générosité des desseins et l'exacte observance de la discipline. C'est surtout par une soumission parfaite et confiante aux directions du Saint Siège que cette discipline devra s'affirmer. Car

elle est le moyen le meilleur pour faire disparaître ou pour atténuer le dommage que causent les opinions de parti lorsqu'elles divisent, et pour faire converger tous les efforts vers un but supérieur, le triomphe de Jésus-Christ dans son Eglise.

Tel est le devoir des catholiques. Quant au succès final, il dépend de Celui qui veille avec sagesse et amour sur son épouse immaculée et dont il a été écrit : "Jesus Christus heri, et hodie ipse et in saecula" (Ad Hebr. xiii., 8).

C'est donc vers Lui qu'en ce moment Nous laissons monter encore Notre humble et ardente prière ; vers Lui qui, aimant d'un amour infini l'errante humanité, a voulu s'en faire la victime expiatoire dans la sublimité du martyre ; vers Lui qui assis, quoique invisible, dans la barque mystique de son Eglise peut seul apaiser la tempête, en commandant au déchaînement des flots et des vents mutinés.

Sans aucun doute Vénérables Frères, vous supplierez volontiers ce divin Maître avec Nous, afin que les splendeurs de la lumière céleste éclairent ceux qui, plus peut-être par ignorance que par malice haïssent et persécutent la religion de Jésus-Christ, et aussi, afin que tous les hommes de bon vouloir s'unissent étroitement et saintement pour agir : Puisse le triomphe de la vérité et de la justice être ainsi hâte dans ce monde, et sur la grande famille humaine se lever doucement des jours meilleurs, des jours de tranquillité et de paix.

Qu'en attendant, gage des faveurs divines les plus précieuses, descende sur Vous, et sur tous les fidèles confiés à vos soins la bénédiction que Nous Vous donnons de grand cœur.

Donné à Rome, près Saint Pierre, le 19 Mars de l'année 1902, de Notre Pontificat la vingt-cinquième.

LEON XIII PAPE.

APOSTOLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE
LEO XIII.TO ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS AND
BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

LEO XIII., POPE.

Venerable Brothers, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

HAVING come to the twenty-fifth year of our Apostolic Ministry, and being astonished ourselves at the length of the way which we have traveled amidst painful and continual cares, we are naturally inspired to lift our thoughts to the ever blessed God, who, with so many other favors, has deigned to accord us a Pontificate the length of which has scarcely been surpassed in history. To the Father of all mankind, therefore; to Him who holds in His hands the mysterious secret of life, ascends, as an imperious need of the heart, the canticle of our thanksgiving. Assuredly the eye of man cannot pierce all the depths of the designs of God in thus prolonging our old age beyond the limits of hope: here we can only be silent and adore. But there is one thing which we do well understand; namely, that as it has pleased Him, and still pleases Him, to preserve our existence, a great duty is incumbent on us—to live for the good and the development of His immaculate spouse, the holy Church; and far from losing courage in the midst of cares and pains, to consecrate to Him the remainder of our strength unto our last sigh.

After paying a just tribute of gratitude to our Heavenly Father, to whom be honor and glory for all eternity, it is most agreeable to us to turn our thoughts and address our words to you, Venerable Brothers, who, called by the Holy Ghost to govern the appointed portions of the flock of Jesus Christ, share thereby with us in the struggle and triumph, the sorrows and joys, of the ministry of pastors. No, they shall never fade from our memory, those frequent and striking testimonials of religious veneration which you have lavished upon us during the course of our Pontificate, and which you still multiply with emulation full of tenderness in the present circumstances. Intimately united with you already by our duty and our paternal love, we are more closely drawn by those proofs of your devotedness, so dear to our heart, less for what was personal in them in our regard than for the inviolable attachment which they denote to this Apostolic See, centre and mainstay of all the Sees of Catholicity. If it has always been necessary, that, according to the different

grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, all the children of the Church should be sedulously united by the bonds of mutual charity and by the pursuit of the same objects, so as to form but one heart and one soul, this union is become in our day more indispensable than ever. For who can ignore the vast conspiracy of hostile forces which aims to-day at destroying and making disappear the great work of Jesus Christ, by endeavoring, with a fury which knows no limits, to rob man, in the intellectual order of the treasure of heavenly truth, and, in the social order, to obliterate the most holy, the most salutary Christian institutions. But by all this you yourselves are impressed every day. You who, more than once, have poured out to us your anxieties and anguish, deploring the multitude of prejudices, the false systems and errors which are disseminated with impunity amongst the masses of the people. What snares are set on every side for the souls of those who believe! What obstacles are multiplied to weaken, and if possible to destroy the beneficent action of the Church! And, meanwhile, as if to add derision to injustice, the Church herself is charged with having lost her pristine vigor, and with being powerless to stem the tide of overflowing passions which threaten to carry everything away.

We would wish, Venerable Brothers, to entertain you with subjects less sad, and more in harmony with the great and auspicious occasion which induces us to address you. But nothing suggests such tenor of discourse—neither the grievous trials of the Church which call with insistence for prompt remedies; nor the conditions of contemporary society which, already undermined from a moral and material point of view, tend toward a yet more gloomy future by the abandonment of the great Christian traditions; a law of Providence, confirmed by history, proving that the great religious principles cannot be renounced without shaking at the same time the foundations of order and social prosperity. In those circumstances, in order to allow souls to recover, to furnish them with a new provision of faith and courage, it appears to us opportune and useful to weigh attentively, in its origin, causes and various forms, the implacable war that is waged against the Church; and in denouncing its pernicious consequences to indicate a remedy. May our words, therefore, resound loudly, though they but recall truths already asserted; may they be hearkened to, not only by the children of Catholic unity, but also by those who differ from us, and even by the unhappy souls who have no longer any faith; for they are all children of one Father, all destined for the same supreme good: may our words, finally, be received as the testament which, at the short distance that separates us from eternity, we would wish to leave to the people as a presage of the salvation which we desire for all.

During the whole course of her history the Church of Christ has

had to combat and suffer for truth and justice. Instituted by the Divine Redeemer Himself to establish throughout the world the Kingdom of God, she must, by the light of the Gospel law, lead fallen humanity to its immortal destinies; that is, to make it enter upon the possession of the blessings without end which God has promised us, and to which our unaided natural power could never rise—a heavenly mission, in the pursuit of which the Church could not fail to be opposed by the countless passions begotten of man's primal fall and consequent corruption—pride, cupidity, unbridled desire of material pleasures: against all the vices and disorders springing from those poisonous roots the Church has ever been the most potent means of restraint. Nor should we be astonished at the persecutions which have arisen, in consequence, since the Divine Master foretold them; and they must continue as long as this world endures. What words did He address to His disciples when sending them to carry the treasure of His doctrines to all nations? They are familiar to us all: "You will be persecuted from city to city: you will be hated and despised for My Name's sake: you will be dragged before the tribunals and condemned to extreme punishment." And wishing to encourage them for the hour of trial, He proposed Himself as their example: "If the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated Me before you." (St. John xv., 18.)

Certainly, no one, who takes a just and unbiased view of things, can explain the motive of this hatred. What offense was ever committed, what hostility deserved by the Divine Redeemer? Having come down amongst men through an impulse of Divine charity, He had taught a doctrine that was blameless, consoling, most efficacious to unite mankind in a brotherhood of peace and love; He had coveted neither earthly greatness nor honor; He had usurped no one's right; on the contrary, He was full of pity for the weak, the sick, the poor, the sinner and the oppressed: hence His life was but a passage to distribute with munificent hand His benefits amongst men. We must acknowledge, in consequence, that it was simply by an excess of human malice, so much the more deplorable because unjust, that, nevertheless, He became, in truth, according to the prophecy of Simeon, "a sign to be contradicted."

What wonder, then, if the Catholic Church, which continues His Divine mission, and is the incorruptible depositary of His truths, has inherited the same lot? The world is always consistent in its way. Near the sons of God are constantly present the satellites of that great adversary of the human race, who, a rebel from the beginning against the Most High, is named in the Gospel the prince of this world. It is on this account that the spirit of the world, in the presence of the law and of him who announces it in the name of God, swells with the measureless pride of an independence that ill befits

it. Alas, how often, in more stormy epochs, with unheard-of cruelty and shameless injustice, and to the evident undoing of the whole social body, have the adversaries banded themselves together for the foolhardy enterprise of dissolving the work of God! And not succeeding with one manner of persecution, they adopted others. For three long centuries the Roman Empire, abusing its brute force, scattered the bodies of martyrs through all its provinces, and bathed with their blood every foot of ground in this sacred city of Rome; while heresy, acting in concert, whether hidden beneath a mask or with open effrontery, with sophistry and snare, endeavored to destroy at least the harmony and unity of faith. Then were set loose, like a devastating tempest, the hordes of barbarians from the north, and the Moslems from the south, leaving in their wake only ruins in a desert. So has been transmitted from age to age the melancholy heritage of hatred by which the Spouse of Christ has been overwhelmed. There followed a Cæsarism as suspicious as powerful, jealous of all other power, no matter what development it might itself have thence acquired, which incessantly attacked the Church, to usurp her rights and tread her liberties under foot. The heart bleeds to see this mother so often oppressed with anguish and woes unutterable. However, triumphing over every obstacle, over all violence and all tyrannies, she pitched her peaceful tents more and more widely; she saved from disaster the glorious patrimony of arts, history, science and letters; and imbuing deeply the whole body of society with the spirit of the Gospel, she created Christian civilization—that civilization to which the nations, subjected to its beneficent influence, owe the equity of their laws, the mildness of their manners, the protection of the weak, pity for the afflicted and the poor, respect for the rights and dignity of all men, and, thereby, as far as it is possible amidst the fluctuations of human affairs, that calm of social life which springs from the just and prudent alliance between justice and liberty.

Those proofs of the intrinsic excellence of the Church are as striking and sublime as they have been enduring. Nevertheless, as in the Middle Ages and during the first centuries, so in those nearer our own, we see the Church assailed more harshly, in a certain sense at least, and more distressingly than ever. Through a series of well-known historical causes, the pretended Reformation of the sixteenth century raised the standard of revolt; and, determining to strike straight into the heart of the Church, audaciously attacked the Papacy. It broke the precious link of the ancient unity of faith and authority, which, multiplying a hundredfold, power, prestige and glory, thanks to the harmonious pursuit of the same objects, united all nations under one staff and one shepherd. This unity being broken, a pernicious principle of disintegration was introduced amongst all ranks of Christians.

We do not, indeed, hereby pretend to affirm that from the beginning there was a set purpose of destroying the principle of Christianity in the heart of society; but by refusing, on the one hand, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See, the effective cause and bond of unity, and by proclaiming, on the other, the principle of private judgment, the divine structure of faith was shaken to its deepest foundations and the way was opened to infinite variations, to doubts and denials of the most important things, to an extent which the innovators themselves had not foreseen. The way was opened. Then came the contemptuous and mocking philosophism of the eighteenth century, which advanced farther. It turned to ridicule the sacred canon of the Scriptures and rejected the entire system of revealed truths, with the purpose of being able ultimately to root out from the conscience of the people all religious belief and stifling within it the last breath of the spirit of Christianity. It is from this source that have flowed rationalism, pantheism, naturalism and materialism—poisonous and destructive systems which, under different appearances, renew the ancient errors triumphantly refuted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church; so that the pride of modern times, by excessive confidence in its own lights, was stricken with blindness; and, like paganism, subsisted thenceforth on fancies, even concerning the attributes of the human soul and the immortal destinies which constitute our glorious heritage.

The struggle against the Church thus took on a more serious character than in the past, no less because of the vehemence of the assault than because of its universality. Contemporary unbelief does not confine itself to denying or doubting articles of faith. What it combats is the whole body of principles which sacred revelation and sound philosophy maintain; those fundamental and holy principles which teach man the supreme object of his earthly life, which keep him in the performance of his duty, which inspire his heart with courage and resignation, and which in promising him incorruptible justice and perfect happiness beyond the tomb, enable him to subject time to eternity, earth to heaven. But what takes the place of these principles which form the incomparable strength bestowed by faith? A frightful skepticism, which chills the heart and stifles in the conscience every magnanimous aspiration.

This system of practical atheism must necessarily cause, as in point of fact it does, a profound disorder in the domain of morals, for, as the greatest philosophers of antiquity have declared, religion is the chief foundation of justice and virtue. When the bonds are broken which unite man to God, who is the Sovereign Legislator and Universal Judge, a mere phantom of morality remains; a morality which is purely civic and, as it is termed, independent, which, abstracting from the Eternal Mind and the laws of God,

descends inevitably till it reaches the ultimate conclusion of making man a law unto himself. Incapable, in consequence, of rising on the wings of Christian hope to the goods of the world beyond, man will seek a material satisfaction in the comforts and enjoyments of life. There will be excited in him a thirst for pleasure, a desire of riches and an eager quest of rapid and unlimited wealth, even at the cost of justice. There will be enkindled in him every ambition and a feverish and frenzied desire to gratify them even in defiance of law, and he will be swayed by a contempt for right and for public authority, as well as by licentiousness of life which, when the condition becomes general, will mark the real decay of society.

Perhaps we may be accused of exaggerating the sad consequences of the disorders of which we speak. No; for the reality is before our eyes and warrants but too truly our forebodings. It is manifest that if there is not some betterment soon, the bases of society will crumble and drag down with them the great and eternal principles of law and morality.

It is in consequence of this condition of things that the social body, beginning with the family, is suffering such serious evils. For the lay State, forgetting its limitations and the essential object of the authority which it wields, has laid its hands on the marriage bond to profane it and has stripped it of its religious character; it has dared as much as it could in the matter of that natural right which parents possess to educate their children, and in many countries it has destroyed the stability of marriage by giving a legal sanction to the licentious institution of divorce. All know the result of these attacks. More than words can tell they have multiplied marriages which are prompted only by shameful passions, which are speedily dissolved and which, at times, bring about bloody tragedies, at others the most shocking infidelities. We say nothing of the innocent offspring of these unions, the children who are abandoned or whose morals are corrupted on one side by the bad example of the parents, on the other by the poison which the officially lay State constantly pours into their hearts.

Along with the family, the political and social order is also endangered by doctrines which ascribe a false origin to authority, and which have corrupted the genuine conception of government. For if sovereign authority is derived formally from the consent of the people and not from God, who is the supreme and Eternal Principle of all power, it loses in the eyes of the governed its most august characteristic and degenerates into an artificial sovereignty which rests on unstable and shifting bases, namely, the will of those from whom it is said to be derived. Do we not see the consequences of this error in the carrying out of our laws? Too often these laws instead of being sound reason formulated in writing are but the

expression of the power of the greater number and the will of the predominant political party. It is thus that the mob is cajoled in seeking to satisfy its desires; that a loose rein is given to popular passion, even when it disturbs the laboriously acquired tranquillity of the State, when the disorder in the last extremity can only be quelled by violent measures and the shedding of blood.

Consequent upon the repudiation of those Christian principles which had contributed so efficaciously to unite the nations in the bonds of brotherhood, and to bring all humanity into one great family, there has arisen little by little in the international order, a system of jealous egoism, in consequence of which the nations now watch each other, if not with hate, at least with the suspicion of rivals. Hence, in their great undertakings they lose sight of the lofty principles of morality and justice and forget the protection which the feeble and the oppressed have a right to demand. In the desire by which they are actuated to increase their national riches, they regard only the opportunity which circumstances afford, the advantages of successful enterprises and the tempting bait of an accomplished fact, sure that no one will trouble them in the name of right or the respect which right can claim. Such are the fatal principles which have consecrated material power as the supreme law of the world and to them is to be imputed the limitless increase of military establishments, and that armed peace, which in many respects, is equivalent to a disastrous war.

This lamentable confusion in the realm of ideas has produced restlessness among the people, outbreaks and the general spirit of rebellion. From these have sprung the frequent popular agitations and disorders of our times which are only the preludes of much more terrible disorders in the future. The miserable condition, also, of a large part of the poorer classes, who assuredly merit our assistance, furnishes an admirable opportunity for the designs of scheming agitators, and especially of socialist factions, which hold out to the humbler classes the most extravagant promises and use them to carry out the most dreadful projects.

Those who start on a dangerous descent are soon hurled down in spite of themselves into the abyss. Prompted by an inexorable logic, a society of veritable criminals has been organized, which, at its very first appearance, has, by its savage character, startled the world. Thanks to the solidarity of its construction and its international ramifications, it has already attempted its wicked work, for it stands in fear of nothing and recoils before no danger. Repudiating all union with society, and cynically scoffing at law, religion and morality, its adepts have adopted the name of Anarchists, and propose to utterly subvert the actual conditions of society by making use of every means that a blind and savage passion can suggest.

And as society draws its unity and its life from the authority which governs it, so it is against authority that anarchy directs its efforts. Who does not feel a thrill of horror, indignation and pity at the remembrance of the many victims that of late have fallen beneath its blows, Emperors, Empresses, Kings, Presidents of powerful republics, whose only crime was the sovereign power with which they were invested?

In presence of the immensity of the evils which overwhelm society and the perils which menace it, our duty compels us to again warn all men of good will, especially those who occupy exalted positions, and to conjure them as we now do, to devise what remedies the situation calls for and with prudent energy to apply them without delay.

First of all, it behooves them to inquire what remedies are needed, and to examine well their potency in the present needs. We have extolled liberty and its advantages to the skies, and have proclaimed it as a sovereign remedy and an incomparable instrument of peace and prosperity which will be most fruitful in good results. But facts have clearly shown us that it does not possess the power which is attributed to it. Economic conflicts, struggles of the classes are surging around us like a conflagration on all sides, and there is no promise of the dawn of the day of public tranquillity. In point of fact, and there is no one who does not see it, liberty as it is now understood, that is to say, a liberty granted indiscriminately to truth and to error, to good and to evil, ends only in destroying all that is noble, generous and holy, and in opening the gates still wider to crime, to suicide and to a multitude of the most degrading passions.

The doctrine is also taught that the development of public instruction, by making the people more polished and more enlightened, would suffice as a check to unhealthy tendencies and to keep man in the ways of uprightness and probity. But a hard reality has made us feel every day more and more of how little avail is instruction without religion and morality. As a necessary consequence of inexperience, and of the promptings of bad passion, the mind of youth is enthralled by the perverse teachings of the day. It absorbs all the errors which an unbridled press does not hesitate to sow broadcast and which depraves the mind and the will of youth and foment in them that spirit of pride and insubordination which so often troubles the peace of families and cities.

So also was confidence reposed in the progress of science. Indeed the century which has just closed has witnessed progress that was great, unexpected, stupendous. But is it true that it has given us all the fullness and healthfulness of fruitage that so many expected from it? Doubtless the discoveries of science have opened new horizons to the mind; it has widened the empire of man over the forces of matter and human life has been ameliorated in many ways through

its instrumentality. Nevertheless, every one feels and many admit that the results have not corresponded to the hopes that were cherished. It cannot be denied, especially when we cast our eyes on the intellectual and moral status of the world as well as on the records of criminality, when we hear the dull murmurs which arise from the depths, or when we witness the predominance which might has won over right. Not to speak of the throngs who are a prey to every misery, a superficial glance at the condition of the world will suffice to convince us of the indefinable sorrow which weighs upon souls and the immense void which is in human hearts. Man may subject nature to his sway, but matter cannot give him what it has not, and to the questions which most deeply affect our gravest interests human science gives no reply. The thirst for truth, for good, for the infinite, which devours us, has not been slaked, nor have the joys and riches of earth, nor the increase of the comforts of life ever soothed the anguish which tortures the heart. Are we then to despise and fling aside the advantages which accrue from the study of science, from civilization and the wise and sweet use of our liberty? Assuredly not. On the contrary, we must hold them in the highest esteem, guard them and make them grow as a treasure of great price, for they are means which of their nature are good, designed by God Himself, and ordained by the Infinite Goodness and Wisdom for the use and advantage of the human race. But we must subordinate the use of them to the intentions of the Creator, and so employ them as never to eliminate the religious element in which their real advantage resides, for it is that which bestows on them a special value and renders them really fruitful. Such is the secret of the problem. When an organism perishes and corrupts, it is because it had ceased to be under the action of the causes which had given it its form and constitution. To make it healthy and flourishing again it is necessary to restore it to the vivifying action of those same causes. So society in its foolhardy effort to escape from God has rejected the divine order and revelation; and it is thus withdrawn from the salutary efficacy of Christianity which is manifestly the most solid guarantee of order, the strongest bond of fraternity and the inexhaustible source of public and private virtue.

This sacrilegious divorce has resulted in bringing about the trouble which now disturbs the world. Hence it is the pale of the Church which this lost society must reënter, if it wishes to recover its well-being, its repose and its salvation.

Just as Christianity cannot penetrate in the soul without making it better, so it cannot enter into public life without establishing order. With the idea of a God who governs all, who is infinitely wise, good and just, the idea of duty seizes upon the consciences of men. It assuages sorrow, it calms hatred, it engenders heroes. If it has

transformed pagan society—and that transformation was a veritable resurrection—for barbarism disappeared in proportion as Christianity extended its sway, so, after the terrible shocks which unbelief has given to the world in our days, it will be able to put that world again on the true road, and bring back to order the states and peoples of modern times. But the return to Christianity will not be efficacious and complete if it does not restore the world to a sincere love of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. In the Catholic Church Christianity is incarnate. It identifies itself with that perfect, spiritual, and, in its own order, sovereign society, which is the mystical body of Jesus Christ and which has for its visible head the Roman Pontiff, successor of the Prince of the Apostles. It is the continuation of the mission of the Saviour, the daughter and the heiress of His redemption. It has preached the Gospel, and has defended it at the price of its blood, and strong in the Divine assistance, and of that immortality which have been promised it, it makes no terms with error, but remains faithful to the commands which it has received to carry the doctrine of Jesus Christ to the uttermost limits of the world and to the end of time and to protect it in its inviolable integrity. Legitimate dispensatrix of the teachings of the Gospel it does not reveal itself only as the consoler and redeemer of souls, but it is still more the internal source of justice and charity, and the propagator as well as the guardian of true liberty, and of that equality which alone is possible here below. In applying the doctrine of its Divine Founder, it maintains a wise equilibrium and marks the true limits between the rights and privileges of society. The equality which it proclaims does not destroy the distinction between the different social classes. It keeps them intact, as nature itself demands, in order to oppose the anarchy of reason emancipated from faith, and abandoned to its own devices. The liberty which it gives in no wise conflicts with the rights of truth, because those rights are superior to the demands of liberty. Nor does it infringe upon the rights of justice, because those rights are superior to the claims of mere numbers or power. Nor does it assail the rights of God because they are superior to the rights of humanity.

In the domestic circle, the Church is no less fruitful in good results. For not only does it oppose the nefarious machinations which incredulity resorts to in order to attack the life of the family, but it prepares and protects the union and stability of marriage, whose honor, fidelity and holiness it guards and develops. At the same time it sustains and cements the civil and political order by giving on one side most efficacious aid to authority, and on the other by showing itself favorable to the wise reforms and the just aspirations of the classes that are governed; by imposing respect for rulers and enjoining whatever obedience is due to them, and by defending un-

waveringly the imprescriptible rights of the human conscience. And thus it is that the people who are subject to her influence have no fear of oppression because she checks in their efforts the rulers who seek to govern as tyrants.

Fully aware of this divine power, we, from the very beginning of our Pontificate, have endeavored to place in the clearest light the benevolent designs of the Church and to increase as far as possible, along with the treasures of her doctrine the field of her salutary action. Such has been the object of the principal acts of our Pontificate, notably in the Encyclicals on *Christian Philosophy*, on *Human Liberty*, on *Christian Marriage*, on *Freemasonry*, on *The Powers of Government*, on *The Christian Constitution of States*, on *Socialism*, on the *Labor Question*, and the *Duties of Christian Citizens* and other analogous subjects. But the ardent desire of our soul has not been merely to illumine the mind. We have endeavored to move and to purify hearts by making use of all our powers to cause Christian virtue to flourish among the peoples. For that reason we have never ceased to bestow encouragement and counsel in order to elevate the minds of men to the goods of the world beyond; to enable them to subject the body to the soul; their earthly life to the heavenly one; man to God. Blessed by the Lord, our word has been able to increase and to strengthen the convictions of a great number of men; to throw light on their minds in the difficult questions of the day; to stimulate their zeal and to advance the various works which have been undertaken.

It is especially for the disinherited classes that these works have been inaugurated, and have continued to grow in every country, as is evident from the increase of Christian charity which has always found in the midst of the people its favorite field of action. If the harvest has not been more abundant, Venerable Brothers, let us adore God who is mysteriously just and beg Him, at the same time, to have pity on the blindness of so many souls, to whom unhappily the terrifying word of the Apostle may be addressed: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine to them." II. Corinthians iv., 4.

The more the Catholic Church devotes itself to extend its zeal for the moral and material advancement of the peoples, the more the children of darkness arise in hatred against it and have recourse to every means in their power to tarnish its divine beauty and paralyze its action of life-giving reparation. How many false reasonings have they not made and how many calumnies have they not spread against it! Among their most perfidious devices is that which consists in repeating to the ignorant masses and to suspicious governments that the Church is opposed to the progress of science, that it

is hostile to liberty, that the rights of the state are usurped by it and that politics is a field which it is constantly invading. Such are the mad accusations that have been a thousand times repudiated and a thousand times refuted by sound reason and by history and, in fact, by every man who has a heart for honesty and a mind for truth.

The Church the enemy of knowledge and instruction! Without doubt she is the vigilant guardian of revealed dogma, but it is this very vigilance which prompts her to protect science and to favor the wise cultivation of the mind. No! in submitting his mind to the revelation of the Word, who is the supreme truth from whom all truths must flow, man will in no wise contradict what reason discovers. On the contrary, the light which will come to him from the Divine Word will give more power and more clearness to the human intellect, because it will preserve it from a thousand uncertainties and errors. Besides, nineteen centuries of a glory achieved by Catholicism in all the branches of learning amply suffice to refute this calumny. It is to the Catholic Church that we must ascribe the merit of having propagated and defended Christian philosophy, without which the world would still be buried in the darkness of pagan superstitions and in the most abject barbarism. It has preserved and transmitted to all generations the precious treasure of literature and of the ancient sciences. It has opened the first schools for the people and crowded the universities which still exist, or whose glory is perpetuated even to our own days. It has inspired the loftiest, the purest and the most glorious literature, while it has gathered under its protection men whose genius in the arts has never been eclipsed.

The Church the enemy of liberty! Ah, how they travesty the idea of liberty which has for its object one of the most precious of God's gifts when they make use of its name to justify its abuse and excess! What do we mean by liberty? Does it mean the exemption from all laws; the deliverance from all restraint, and as a corollary, the right to take man's caprice as a guide in all our actions? Such liberty the Church certainly reproves, and good and honest men reprove it likewise. But do they mean by liberty the rational faculty to do good, magnanimously, without check or hindrance and according to the rules which eternal justice has established? That liberty which is the only liberty worthy of man, the only one useful to society, none favors or encourages or protects more than the Church. By the force of its doctrine and the efficaciousness of its action the Church has freed humanity from the yoke of slavery in preaching to the world the great law of equality and human fraternity. In every age it has defended the feeble and the oppressed against the arrogant domination of the strong. It has demanded liberty of

Christian conscience while pouring out in torrents the blood of its martyrs; it has restored to the child and to the woman the dignity and the noble prerogatives of their nature in making them share by virtue the same right that reverence and justice which is their due, and it has largely contributed, both to introduce and maintain civil and political liberty in the heart of the nations.

The Church the usurper of the rights of the State! the Church invading the political domain! Why, the Church knows and teaches that her Divine Founder has commanded us to give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to God what is God's, and that He has thus sanctioned the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between those two powers which are both sovereign in their respective spheres, a distinction which is most pregnant in its consequences and eminently conducive to the development of Christian civilization. In its spirit of charity it is a stranger to every hostile design against the State. It aims only at making these two powers go side by side for the advancement of the same object, namely, for man and for human society, but by different ways and in conformity with the noble plan which has been assigned for its divine mission. Would to God that its action was received without mistrust and without suspicion. It could not fail to multiply the numberless benefits of which we have already spoken. To accuse the Church of ambitious views is only to repeat the ancient calumny, a calumny which its powerful enemies have more than once employed as a pretext to conceal their own purposes of oppression.

Far from oppressing the State, history clearly shows when it is read without prejudice, that the Church like its Divine Founder has been, on the contrary, most commonly the victim of oppression and injustice. The reason is that its power rests not on the force of arms but on the strength of thought and of truth.

It is therefore assuredly with malignant purpose that they hurl against the Church accusations like these. It is a pernicious and disloyal work, in the pursuit of which above all others a certain sect of darkness is engaged, a sect which human society these many years carries within itself and which like a deadly poison destroys its happiness, its fecundity and its life. Abiding personification of the revolution, it constitutes a sort of retrogressive society whose object is to exercise an occult suzerainty over the established order and whose whole purpose is to make war against God and against His Church. There is no need of naming it, for all will recognize in these traits the society of Freemasons, of which we have already spoken, expressly in our Encyclical, *Humanum Genus* of the 20th of April, 1884. While denouncing its destructive tendency, its erroneous teachings and its wicked purpose of embracing in its far-reaching grasp almost all nations, and uniting itself to other sects which its secret influences

puts in motion, directing first and afterwards retaining its members by the advantages which it procures for them, bending governments to its will, sometimes by promises and sometimes by threats, it has succeeded in entering all classes of society, and forms an invisible and irresponsible state existing within the legitimate state. Full of the spirit of Satan who, according to the words of the Apostle, knows how to transform himself at need into an angel of light, it gives prominence to its humanitarian object, but it sacrifices everything to its sectarian purpose and protests that it has no political aim, while in reality it exercises the most profound action on the legislative and administrative life of the nations, and while loudly professing its respect for authority and even for religion, has for its ultimate purpose, as its own statutes declare, the destruction of all authority as well as of the priesthood, both of which it holds up as the enemies of liberty.

It becomes more evident day by day that it is to the inspiration and the assistance of this sect that we must attribute in great measure the continual troubles with which the Church is harassed, as well as the recrudescence of the attacks to which it has recently been subjected. For the simultaneousness of the assaults in the persecutions which have so suddenly burst upon us in these later times, like a storm from a clear sky, that is to say without any cause proportionate to the effect; the uniformity of means employed to inaugurate this persecution, namely, the press, public assemblies, theatrical productions; the employment in every country of the same arms, to wit, calumny and public uprisings, all this betrays clearly the identity of purpose and a programme drawn up by one and the same central direction. All this is only a simple episode of a prearranged plan carried out on a constantly widening field to multiply the ruins of which we speak. Thus they are endeavoring by every means in their power first to restrict and then to completely exclude religious instruction from the schools so as to make the rising generation unbelievers or indifferent to all religion; as they are endeavoring by the daily press to combat the morality of the Church, to ridicule its practices and its solemnities. It is only natural, consequently, that the Catholic priesthood, whose mission is to preach religion and to administer the sacraments, should be assailed with a special fierceness. In taking it as the object of their attacks this sect aims at diminishing in the eyes of the people its prestige and its authority. Already their audacity grows hour by hour in proportion as it flatters itself that it can do so with impunity. It puts a malignant interpretation on all the acts of the clergy, bases suspicion upon the slenderest proofs and overwhelms it with the vilest accusations. Thus new prejudices are added to those with which the clergy are already overwhelmed, such for example as their subjection to military service,

which is such a great obstacle for the preparation for the priesthood, and the confiscation of the ecclesiastical patrimony which the pious generosity of the faithful had founded.

As regards the religious orders and religious congregations, the practice of the evangelical counsels made them the glory of society and the glory of religion. These very things rendered them more culpable in the eyes of the enemies of the Church and were the reasons why they were fiercely denounced and held up to contempt and hatred. It is a great grief for us to recall here the odious measures which were so undeserved and so strongly condemned by all honest men by which the members of religious orders were lately overwhelmed. Nothing was of avail to save them, neither the integrity of their life, which their enemies were unable to assail, nor the right which authorizes all natural associations entered into for an honorable purpose, nor the right of the constitutions which loudly proclaimed their freedom to enter into those organizations, nor the favor of the people who were so grateful for the precious services rendered in the arts, in the sciences and in agriculture, and for the charity which poured itself out upon the most numerous and poorest classes of society. And hence it is that these men and women who themselves had sprung from the people and who had spontaneously renounced all the joys of family to consecrate to the good of their fellowmen, in those peaceful associations, their youth, their talent, their strength and their lives, were treated as malefactors as if they had formed criminal associations, and have been excluded from the common and prescriptive rights at the very time when men are speaking loudest of liberty. We must not be astonished that the most beloved children are struck when the father himself, that is to say, the head of Catholicity, the Roman Pontiff, is no better treated. The facts are known to all. Stripped of the temporal sovereignty and consequently of that independence which is necessary to accomplish his universal and divine mission; forced in Rome itself to shut himself up in his own dwelling because the enemy has laid siege to him on every side, he has been compelled in spite of the derisive assurances of respect and of the precarious promises of liberty to an abnormal condition of existence which is unjust and unworthy of his exalted ministry. We know only too well the difficulties that are each instant created to thwart his intentions and to outrage his dignity. It only goes to prove what is every day more and more evident that it is the spiritual power of the head of the Church which little by little they aim at destroying when they attack the temporal power of the Papacy. Those who are the real authors of this spoliation have not hesitated to confess it.

Judging by the consequences which have followed, this action was not only impolitic, but was an attack on society itself; for the as-

saults that are made upon religion are so many blows struck at the very heart of society.

In making man a being destined to live in society, God in His providence has also founded the Church, which as the holy text expresses it, He has established on Mount Zion in order that it might be a light which, with its lifegiving rays, would cause the principle of life to penetrate into the various degrees of human society by giving it divinely inspired laws, by means of which society might establish itself in that order which would be most conducive to its welfare. Hence in proportion as society separates itself from the Church, which is an important element in its strength, by so much does it decline, or its woes are multiplied for the reason that they are separated whom God wished to bind together.

As for us, we never weary as often as the occasion presents itself to inculcate these great truths, and we desire to do so once again and in a very explicit manner on this extraordinary occasion. May God grant that the faithful will take courage from what we say and be guided to unite their efforts more efficaciously for the common good; that they may be more enlightened and that our adversaries may understand the injustice which they commit in persecuting the most loving mother and the most faithful benefactress of humanity.

We would not wish that the remembrance of these afflictions should diminish in the souls of the faithful that full and entire confidence which they ought to have in the Divine assistance. For God, in His own hour and in His mysterious ways, will bring about a certain victory. As for us, no matter how great the sadness which fills our heart, we do not fear for the immortal destiny of the Church. As we have said in the beginning, persecution is its heritage, because in trying and in purifying its children, God thereby obtains for them greater and more precious advantages. And in permitting the Church to undergo these trials He manifests the Divine assistance which He bestows upon it, for He provides new and unlooked for means of assuring the support and the development of His work, while revealing the futility of the powers which are leagued against it. Nineteen centuries of a life passed in the midst of the ebb and flow of all human vicissitudes teach us that the storms pass by without ever affecting the foundations of the Church. We are able all the more to remain unshaken in this confidence, as the present time affords indications which forbid depression. We cannot deny that the difficulties that confront us are extraordinary and formidable, but there are also facts before our eyes which give evidence, at the same time, that God is fulfilling His promises with admirable wisdom and goodness.

While so many powers conspire against the Church and while she is progressing on her way deprived of all human help and assistance,

is she not in effect carrying on her gigantic work in the world and is she not extending her action in every clime and every nation? Expelled by Jesus Christ, the prince of this world can no longer exercise his proud dominion as heretofore; and although doubtless the efforts of Satan may cause us many a woe they will not achieve the object at which they aim. Already a supernatural tranquillity due to the Holy Ghost who provides for the Church and who abides in it reigns not only in the souls of the faithful but also throughout Christianity; a tranquillity whose serene development we witness everywhere, thanks to the union ever more and more close and affectionate with the Apostolic See; a union which is in marvelous contrast with the agitation, the dissension and the continual unrest of the various sects which disturb the peace of society. There exists also between bishops and clergy a union which is fruitful in numberless works of zeal and charity. It exists likewise between the clergy and laity who more closely knit together and more completely freed from human respect than ever before, are awakening to a new life and organizing with a generous emulation in defense of the sacred cause of religion. It is this union which we have so often recommended and which we recommend again, which we bless that it may develop still more and may rise like an impregnable wall against the fierce violence of the enemies of God.

There is nothing more natural than that like the branches which spring from the roots of the tree, these numberless associations which we see with joy flourish in our days in the bosom of the Church should arise, grow strong and multiply. There is no form of Christian piety which has been omitted whether there is question of Jesus Christ Himself, or His adorable mysteries, or His Divine Mother, or the saints whose wonderful virtues have illumined the world. Nor has any kind of charitable work been forgotten. On all sides there is a zealous endeavor to procure Christian instruction for youth; help for the sick; moral teaching for the people and assistance for the classes least favored in the goods of this world. With what remarkable rapidity this movement would propagate itself and what precious fruits it would bear if it were not opposed by the unjust and unfriendly efforts with which it finds itself so often in conflict.

God, who gives to the Church such great vitality in civilized countries where it has been established for so many centuries, consoles us besides with other hopes. These hopes we owe to the zeal of Catholic missionaries. Not permitting themselves to be discouraged by the perils which they face; by the privations which they endure; by the sacrifices of every kind which they accept, their numbers are increasing and they are gaining whole countries to the Gospel and to civilization. Nothing can diminish their courage, although after

the manner of their Divine Master they receive only accusations and calumnies as the reward of their untiring labors.

Thus our sorrows are tempered by the sweetest consolations, and in the midst of the struggles and the difficulties which are our portion we have wherewith to refresh our souls and to inspire us with hope. This ought to suggest useful and wise reflections to those who view the world with intelligence, and who do not permit passions to blind them; for it proves that God has not made man independent in what regards the last end of life, and just as He has spoken to him in the past so He speaks again in our day by His Church which is visibly sustained by the Divine assistance and which shows clearly where salvation and truth can be found. Come what may, this eternal assistance will inspire our hearts with an incredible hope and persuade us that at the hour marked by Providence and in a future which is not remote, truth will scatter the mists in which men endeavor to shroud it and will shine forth more brilliantly than ever. The spirit of the Gospel will spread life anew in the heart of our corrupted society and in its perishing members.

In what concerns us, Venerable Brethren, in order to hasten the day of divine mercy we shall not fail in our duty to do everything to defend and develop the Kingdom of God upon earth. As for you, your pastoral solicitude is too well known to us to exhort you to do the same. May the ardent flame which burns in your hearts be transmitted more and more to the hearts of all your priests. They are in immediate contact with the people. If full of the spirit of Jesus Christ and keeping themselves above political passion, they unite their action with yours they will succeed with the blessing of God in accomplishing marvels. By their word they will enlighten the multitude; by their sweetness of manners they will gain all hearts, and in succoring with charity their suffering brethren, they will help them little by little to better the condition in which they are placed.

The clergy will be firmly sustained by the active and intelligent coöperation of all men of good will. Thus the children who have tasted the sweetness of the Church will thank her for it in a worthy way, viz., by gathering around her to defend her honor and her glory. All can contribute to this work which will be so splendidly meritorious for them; literary and learned men, by defending her in books or in the daily press, which is such a powerful instrument now made use of by her enemies; fathers of families and teachers, by giving a Christian education to children; magistrates and representatives of the people, by showing themselves firm in the principles which they defend as well as by the integrity of their lives and in the profession of their faith without any vestige of human respect. Our age exacts lofty ideals, generous designs, and the exact observ-

ance of the laws. It is by a perfect submission to the directions of the Holy See that this discipline will be strengthened, for it is the best means of causing to disappear or at least of diminishing the evil which party opinions produce in fomenting divisions; and it will assist us in uniting all our efforts for attaining that higher end, namely, the triumph of Jesus Christ and His Church. Such is the duty of Catholics. As for her final triumph she depends upon Him who watches with wisdom and love over His immaculate spouse, and of whom it is written, "Jesus Christ, yesterday, to-day and forever." (Heb. xiii., 8.)

It is therefore to Him, that at this moment we should lift our hearts in humble and ardent prayer, to Him who loving with an infinite love our erring humanity has wished to make Himself an expiatory victim by the sublimity of His martyrdom; to Him who seated although unseen in the mystical bark of His Church can alone still the tempest and command the waves to be calm and the furious winds to cease. Without doubt, Venerable Brethren, you with us will ask this Divine Master for the cessation of the evils which are overwhelming society, for the repeal of all hostile law; for the illumination of those who more perhaps through ignorance than through malice, hate and persecute the religion of Jesus Christ; and also for the drawing together of all men of good will in close and holy union.

May the triumph of truth and of justice be thus hastened in the world, and for the great family of men may better days dawn; days of tranquillity and of peace.

Meanwhile as a pledge of the most precious and Divine favor may the benediction which we give you with all our heart, descend upon you and all the faithful committed to your care.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, 19th March, 1902, in the twenty-fifth year of our Pontificate.

LEO XIII.

Scientific Chronicle.

THE NEW THEORY OF ELECTRICITY.

In an editorial comment in the *Electrical World and Engineer* for April 5th last we read the following: "There is already evidence of the recrudescence of the emission theory of light, and it would not in the least surprise us to see within the next year or two the whole wave hypothesis openly attacked. The late Professor Rowland used often to exclaim: 'Who will be the Kepler of the molecule?' We do not know, but we feel reasonably certain that he has not yet appeared. We are far from desiring to cross swords with so doughty a leader as Lord Kelvin, but we earnestly wish that the next man who invokes an electrically charged atom, electron or electran to explain physical phenomena, would kindly preface his hypothesis with a definite and consistent explanation of what he connotes by the expression electric charge.' If half the energy had been spent in the last few years in investigating the dynamics of electrical stresses that has been put upon hypotheses derived from them, we would know more about the constitution of matter. At the present the electron needs explanation just as badly as the atom or the molecule, and the whole subject is open to the charge that it is degenerating into metaphysics."

While we agree with the editor that in the new theory there is a great want of definiteness in stating what an electric charge is, still we must object to his regarding the discussion of the hypothesis based on recent facts furnished by physics as a degeneration into metaphysics. Hypotheses are the logical deductions drawn from the facts furnished by experimental science, and the deductions, if they are to lay claim to credence, must be according to the correct rules of reasoning. This is the province of metaphysics, and instead of it being a degradation to have these deductions discussed according to the laws of metaphysics, the only sanction they can have for a claim to respectability when presented to a reasonable man is the approval of metaphysics that they are in conformity with the rules of right reasoning. Had this remark not been an editorial comment of a prominent electrical journal we might have let it pass, but it must be remembered that the theories of science have only that probability which they derive from the probability of the premises from which they are logically deduced. Greater mutual respect between the metaphysician and the physicist each in his respective

sphere will tend to a more speedy solution of many of the problems that now confront both.

With regard to the new theory, it does not seem that the wave theory is to be discarded or that there is to be a return to the old emission theory, at least in the light of the discussions published up to the present. Suppose that a theory should be dropped because a better explanation of observed phenomena is at hand, this is not a loss for science, but an incentive to new lines of investigation. Nothing certain has been given up, if so it would not have been a theory. As Professor Fleming says in his article on the new theory in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May: "Each physical hypothesis serves as a lamp to conduct us a certain stage on the journey. It illuminates a limited portion of the path, throwing a light before and behind for some distance, but it has to be discarded and exchanged at intervals because it has become exhausted and its work is done."

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for May Professor Trowbridge says: "The great Maxwellian theory of the electro-magnetic nature of this to-and-fro motion (radiant energy) has been considered, until lately, in what may be termed its large aspect; that is, the motions of the ether were calculated without reference to the motions of extremely small particles of matter, much as if we should fix our minds on the motion of ocean waves and disregard the ripples produced in the water by rapidly moving fishes. There were inconsistencies in the theory which could not be reconciled until we took into account the motions of the smallest particles of matter." This is an admission that the wave theory does not explain all the phenomena. On this point the remark of Professor Fleming in the article above referred to is pertinent: "We must bear in mind, however, that scientific hypotheses as to the underlying causes of phenomena are subject to the law of evolution and have their birth, maturity and decay. Theory necessarily succeeds theory, and whilst no one hypothesis can be looked upon as expressing the whole truth, neither is any likely to be destitute of all truth if it sufficiently reconciles a large number of observed facts." Professor Fleming further says: "Maxwell's theory that electric and magnetic effects are due to strains and stresses in the ether rendered an intelligible account of electric phenomena, so to say, in empty space, and its verification by Hertz placed on a firm basis the theory that the agencies we call electric and magnetic force are affections of the ether. But the complications introduced by the presence of matter in the electric and magnetic fields presented immense difficulties which Maxwell's theory was not able to overcome." The truth is as far as can be gathered from what has appeared up to the present that the wave theory will stand and that the true explanation will be found in a compromise or reconciliation of the wave theory and the old emission theory.

Twenty-five years ago Sir William Crookes deduced from his beautiful experiments on what he called "radiant matter" that in a tube in which there was a high vacuum and through which an electric discharge was sent there was a shower of matter, "radiant matter," thrown off from the negative or kathode pole, and that this matter traveled in straight lines and with immense velocity, and that, moreover, these particles were charged with negative electricity. He showed that this radiant matter possessed inertia, for it bombarded the walls of the glass tube producing phosphorescence, rendered metal sheets that it struck red hot, turned little windmills, etc. He showed, moreover, that this material shower, in virtue of the fact that the particles were charged with electricity, acted as an electric current and could be deflected by a magnet.

The study of X-ray phenomena, as well as the nature of the radiations from radio-active substances, led to the conclusion that these could be explained by the radiation of matter in a very finely divided state. As soon as this notion was impressed on the minds of investigators they sought in this direction for an explanation of the phenomena. Naturally they turned their attention to the action of an electric current in breaking up an electrolyte.

Going back to the explanations of electrolysis, we find the hypothesis of Grothüss, which is the practically accepted explanation of the phenomena. According to this hypothesis every binary compound is made up of elements that are electro-positive and electro-negative. When a current of electricity passes through such a solution, the electrolytic action consists in a successive decomposition and recomposition of a row of adjacent molecules from pole to pole, and the terminal molecules alone are so broken up that the parts do not recombine and hence remain free at the poles and there effect the decomposition of the compound. Hence it seems from electrolysis that electricity can travel through a liquid conductor only by being carried on these atoms or groups of atoms into which the electrolyte is broken up. These atoms or groups of atoms have received the name of ions, that is, wanderers.

Dr. Johnstone Stoney gave to the quantity of electricity carried by a hydrogen or other monad atom the name electron. This name was given to the quantity of electricity on the monad ion, irrespective of what the nature of electricity might be. It was considered the natural unit of electricity, and other atoms, according to their valency, would carry two, three or more electrons or units of electricity. What is the size of this ion that carries the electron of electricity?

The atom, the chemical unit, was until the last few years regarded as the limit of the divisibility of matter. But during these years there has been a discussion as to the nature of the radiation from

the kathode pole in a high vacuum tube. Is this radiation a wave motion or is it a material substance? The experiments of Sir William Crookes and others fully justify the conclusion that we are face to face with a radiation that has the inertia quality of matter. In the case of radio-active substances it is even more clearly proved that there is radiation of matter. The next step, then, was to measure the size of the material particles making up this material shower.

Professor Thomson, by measuring the amount of bending of a stream of this "radiant matter" under the influence of a known magnetic force, has determined a ratio between the mass of a radiant particle which he calls a "corpuscle" and the electric charge which it carries. His determination gives a charge of one electron on a corpuscle that has a mass of about the one-thousandth part of the mass of a hydrogen atom. A similar estimate was made by studying the doubling and trebling of the yellow sodium line in the spectrum when sodium vapor was generated between the poles of a powerful electro-magnet. This phenomenon was the predicted result of a theory elaborated by Weber, a German physicist, on the basis of the movement of small particles of charged matter. Professor Thomson and other physicists admit that we have arrived at a subdivision of matter which gives us an ultimate particle which has a mass of only the one thousandth part of the mass of the smallest chemist's unit. It is, moreover, admitted that Crookes' "radiant matter," "kathode rays" and Thomson's "corpuscles" are one and the same thing, and consist of chips broken off from the chemical atom.

A corpuscle of the thousandth part of an atom broken off must leave behind the greater part of the atom. The corpuscle is negatively charged and the part that remains is positively charged. So far in the case of the corpuscle there are two things to be distinguished, the mass of matter in it and the electric charge that it carries. No physicist claims that these two things are the same. What, then, is the electric charge? Just here there is lack of definiteness in the new theory. All we seem to have for certain at present is that an electron charge cannot be separated from the corpuscle any more than momentum can from a moving body, except by a mental concept. Hence it has become common to drop all distinction between the corpuscle and its electron charge and to apply the name electron to the charged corpuscle. It must be remembered, however, that this electron is negatively electrified; positively charged corpuscles have not hitherto been isolated. A positive charge so far is confined to the larger masses known as atoms.

From this a new theory of electricity has arisen, known as the

Electronic Theory. According to the new theory the electron constitutes what is called electricity. An atom of matter in its neutral condition is assumed to consist of an outer shell of negative electrons and a core of matter oppositely electrified. If an electron is withdrawn from an atom, what is left is positively charged; so that the electron is the natural unit of negative electricity, and the neutral atom, minus the electron, is the unit of positive natural electricity. The former is sometimes called a negative ion and the latter a positive ion. It is clear that this assumption does not explain what electricity is or what constitutes an electric charge, but simply on the supposition made states how we may have small portions of matter with opposite charges of electricity.

To explain the action of a conductor according to this theory, a fundamental principle is established that an electric current is a movement of electrons. Hence a conductor is a substance in which there are electrons free to move. Therefore the supposition is that in the metals and good conductors the atoms are easily broken up into electrons and the residue of the atom called coelectrons, and it is conceived that along the conductor there is a continuous and successive decomposition and recombination of the neutral atoms until the electron is finally freed at the end of the conductor. This explanation clearly resembles the theory of electrolysis explained above. To account for the difference between conductors and non-conductors it is stated that as the conductors are usually the metals they are of a more simple molecular structure than the chemically complex nonconductors, and therefore the electron is more easily freed.

The same theory has been applied to the explanation of electrification by friction. It states that, probably due to the tendency of air and glass to combine chemically, there is on the surface of a glass rod and on the layer of air next it an electronization resulting in the formation of a double layer of positive and negative electrons. The same thing occurs between silk and air, and when the silk and glass are rubbed together the electrons get mixed up and an excess of one kind is on the glass and of the opposite kind on the silk or they are oppositely electrified.

Ingeniously, too, is this theory applied to explain other electrical phenomena. But no matter how dexterously it may be manipulated, it always remains true that it has not as yet explained what an electric charge is. But why look to it for an explanation? Does it not but point out to us a new source for ether stresses and strains and ether waves where the ether is encumbered with gross matter? Will not the study of the kinetics of the emitted corpuscles throw light upon the dark places in the great Maxwellian hypothesis and illustrate the fact that the old corpuscular theory had in it an amount

of truth which is now reduced by the refining process of modern investigation.

This is intimated by Professor Fleming in his article when he says: "The electronic theory of electricity, which is an expansion of an idea originally due to Weber, does not invalidate the ideas which lie at the base of Maxwell's theory, but it supplements them by a new conception, viz., that of the electron or electric particle as the thing which is moved by electric force and which in turn gives rise to magnetic force as it moves."

The views of Professor Trowbridge are in the same direction: "It was soon realized that such discharges through gases resembled the phenomena of the passage of electricity through solutions; there were active and passive ions. Maxwell's hypothesis was reinvestigated from the point of view of the possible magnetic effect of rapidly moving extremely small particles of matter carrying electric charges; and it was seen that where Maxwell's large hypothesis failed to be upheld by facts, the theory of the magnetic effect of small particles carrying electric charges led to a more consistent view of electricity. It was necessary to study the small undulations in the ether produced by the rapid motion and the impact of these particles; in other words, the motion of the small fishes in the large waves became all-important. It seemed as if we were returning to a corpuscular theory of light, or rather to a combination of this hypothesis with the undulatory theory; we were coming also to the conception of a motion from particle to particle, and were strengthening our conviction that there was no such thing as action at a distance. We were forming a picture of waves started in the ether by the blows of very small charged bodies, called electrons, which moved with a velocity of many thousand miles a second and which, by their impact against solid bodies, sent out waves which we can picture to ourselves as similar to the waves excited in the air by the impact of a projectile against a plate or the fall of a stone into water."

THE ERUPTION OF MONT PELEE.

The news of the appalling catastrophe following the eruption of Mont Pelee, on the island of Martinique, which involved the destruction of St. Pierre with over 25,000 of its inhabitants, has, now that the first shock is over, turned attention to the causes that give rise to such volcanic phenomena.

The old theory of the constitution of the earth as a fluid mass enclosed in a thin, solid crust has been abandoned on account of the

serious difficulties that arise in explaining the rotation of the earth on its axis and accounting for the permanence of the containing crust under the tremendous force of the tidal waves that would be generated by the attraction of the sun and moon on the liquid core. Although the temperature of the earth increases one degree for about every fifty feet of descent, and the temperature would thus soon be high enough to fuse the materials of the earth under ordinary conditions of pressure, still the pressure to which these materials are subjected within the earth increases at a greater rate than the temperature does and raises the fusion point, so that the materials cannot be in a molten condition at the high temperatures of the interior of the earth.

When this theory was abandoned the conditions of volcanoes seemed to demand the permanent presence of liquid matter in the interior of the earth, and so the presence of a liquid zone between a solid centre and a solid crust was proposed. The volcano was nothing but an opening into this zone or a vertical tube leading to the liquid mass below, the crater forming the top of the tube. The law for liquids in communicating vessels requires that under the same external pressures the liquid must stand at the same level in all the communicating vessels. This law was, however, flatly contradicted by the new theory, for according to it Mauna Loa and Kilauea are two tubes, thirty-five miles apart, reaching down to the same liquid reservoir below; still, contrary to the laws of hydrostatics, the same liquid lava stands in the tube at Mauna Loa at a level of over 13,000 feet above the sea, while at Kilauea it stands at a level of only 4,000 feet above the sea. Such conditions forced the abandonment of this supposition and the formulation of another, which postulated the existence in isolated pockets of the molten liquid which reached the surface through the crater of the volcano. This supposition, like the two former, has been generally abandoned.

The view that at present is received with most favor is that the rigid crust of the earth is fractured on account of shrinkage due to the cooling of the inner mass. Along these fractures or fissures the pressure is removed from the intensely hot materials beneath and the temperature being high enough to liquefy them when the pressure is removed, they are at once liquefied. The pressure of the contracting crust forces the liquid up through the fissure and as it rises it comes in contact with water-charged rocks, converting the water into steam, which is the chief force that disrupts the earth's crust and hurls such immense quantities of rock and lava with destructive violence and to such great distances.

The source of supply of this water has been a matter of dispute for a long time. At one time it was thought that the water found its way down to the heated regions either by its own weight or by

capillary attraction. This supposition has been abandoned, for long before the water could reach the heated regions it would be converted into steam and forced back through the same channels. According to the present views the water that plays such an important part in the destructive work of the volcano is the water that has been taken up by the rocks during their process of formation and is known as the water of crystallization. When the molten matter from the interior rises to the level at which it meets the rocks containing this water of crystallization the water is converted into steam and the expansive force of this steam is the power that causes the upheaval. Of course there are other gases resulting from the chemical action, that necessarily occurs, that play an important part in the eruption.

The first warnings of the eruption of Mont Pelee were given on the morning of May 3, when dense clouds of smoke arose from the volcano. On the 4th hot ashes covered the city of St. Pierre, and at noon on the 5th a river of hot mud ran down the mountain side to the sea, making, it is said, the distance of five miles in three minutes. On the 6th cable communication was interrupted with Martinique, and the next news filled the world with horror. On Thursday, May 8, at about 7.50 A. M., a deafening explosion was followed by a rush of sulphurous gases that withered everything they came in contact with. It is said that the whole top of the mountain was blown off and fell in a rain of hot dust and rock upon the city. The entire population was suffocated by the hot poisonous gases and the destruction was the work of a few seconds.

Important topographical changes are the result of this eruption. The height of Mont Pelee is considerably reduced and the ocean bed in the vicinity of Martinique considerably modified. In grappling for the broken cable a depth of 4,000 feet was found where formerly there was only 1,000. An interesting item is communicated by Professor Robert T. Hill, in charge of an expedition sent to Martinique by the National Geographical Society. He states that at 7 o'clock Monday evening he witnessed from a point near St. Pierre one of the last frightful explosions of Mont Pelee. He says that salvos of detonations were followed by the emission of gigantic mushroom-shaped columns of smoke and cinders. They spread out in a black sheet towards the south. Through this sheet, which was about ten miles long, lightning-like flashes succeeded each other with great frequency. They were not in a vertical direction, but in a horizontal one, and gave every indication that they were due to explosions following on the oxidation of the gases as they came from the crater. This observation gives some indication of the terrific power of the eruption, and is a new addition to the results of observation in volcanic eruptions.

SCIENCE AND A HOLY RELIC.

Interesting articles have lately appeared in the *Lancet* and *La Nature* descriptive of the results obtained from a scientific study of the "holy shroud" or winding sheet in which the sacred body of our Lord was wrapped when placed in the tomb. This shroud is preserved at Turin and has on it in brown color a remarkable impression of the body of the dead Christ.

The skeptical, scoffing at the credulity of the faithful, have attributed the impression to fraud, claiming that it was the work of a mediæval painter. On this point the writer in *La Nature* says: "We regret that we cannot give here an abstract of the powerful arguments that tend to prove that the image on the 'holy shroud' is formed not by a painting made by the hand of man, as has been asserted, but by a sort of staining due to peculiar conditions—a brown stain reproducing the body and features of Christ as a negative, that is to say, with dark shades for the reliefs, light ones for the hollows and half-tints for the intermediate parts. We will simply say that those who have not seen the careful reproduction as a positive can have no idea of the striking impression of sweetness and majesty that is produced by the image."

On this same point the *Lancet* says: "Any idea of fraud need not be considered, for no one has touched this winding sheet since 1353, and no painter at that date had the skill to reproduce such an exact drawing. The impression of the head is excellent. The wounds produced by the crown of thorns and the marks of the blood drops are quite obvious. The wound in the side and even the marks of the stripes produced on the back by the flagellation are also quite evident. Each of these stripes has at its end an enlargement such as would be produced by a cord with a ball of lead at the end. It is well known that this form of scourge was employed by the Roman soldiers, and such a one has been found at Pompeii. Finally, the marks of the nails in the arms are not in the palm of the hand, but show that the nails were driven through at the level of the wrist."

The scientists, Professors Delage, Vignon and Colson, who described to the Academy of Sciences at Paris the results of their investigations, came to the conclusion that the marks on the shroud are due to some natural photographic action of the body on the chemicals with which the shroud was impregnated.

Such a photographic action might be explained by radiation from a body in the presence of a suitable sensitive film that would be effected by the radiations. From the physical point of view it is impossible to conceive of these radiations from the body of Christ in the tomb, and the shroud did not present a proper film to be acted

upon by such radiations did they exist. The investigators turned their attention to the study of the effects of vapors on suitable substances and the condition under which a body possessing points of relief and depression and giving forth vapor could produce an image on a screen of proper material.

On a plaster relief representing the head of Christ Mr. Colson deposited some freshly powdered zinc and placed the relief on a photographic plate in a hermetically sealed box. Two days later, on developing the plate, a negative image of the relief was obtained in which the parts that had been in contact with the plate were represented by deep shades and the others by lighter tints, as the separation was greater. M. Vignon obtained like results in experimenting with a medal covered with powdered zinc and placed under the sensitive plate. By these and other experiments it was proved that it was possible to obtain the impression of a body in relief by means of its vapor.

The next step was to study the case of the "holy shroud" and see whether the two necessary elements, vapors and sensitive layer, were present, and the conclusion reached was in the affirmative. From *La Nature* we give the results: "M. Vignon, from a study of the details of the image on the shroud by means of photographic reproductions, and M. Colson, from experiments on the action of ammoniacal vapors on aloes and from a study of the conditions of Christ's burial as told in the Latin and Greek texts of the Gospels, came to the following interesting conclusions:

"As time was lacking, for it was the eve of the Jewish Sabbath, the burial was but temporary, and the body must have been placed, without washing or anointing, in a large linen cloth soaked in a mixture of aloes, myrrh and olive oil. This cloth, which is rather a cerement and which is called in France the 'holy shroud,' enveloped the body in its entire length, passing over the head.

"Then the ammoniacal vapors from the urea that must have been present in the sweat and in the blood in large proportion, after suffering such as that on the cross, began to act on the powdered aloes of the shroud and determined its oxidation, changing it brown in different degrees according to distance and producing a negative image as in the case of the vapor of zinc. The oil also plays a part. It is acted upon by the alkaline vapors and solidifies, forming a mordant that incorporates the brown color with the fiber of the linen. M. Vignon has reproduced the conditions with a model."

On this same point the *Lancet* remarks in an editorial comment: "In the case of the sheet in which tradition says that the dead Christ was wrapped we have the analogue probably of a photographic plate or sensitized film. The cloth was impregnated with

oils and aloes. It is well known that fixed oils are sensitive to oxidation and aloes contain constituents, allied to the pyrogallic series, which would probably turn brown in the presence of an oxidizing process. The action by which, therefore, the image of the dead Christ was recorded on the cloth would appear to be due to chemical change rather than to the effect of light. On this explanation an exact image even to minute details such as wounds produced by the thorns and the marks of the blood drops and of the flagellation by whips of a definite kind is not by any means beyond the bounds of probability."

This is an interesting and remarkable instance of the way in which the latest development of scientific research corroborates as far as it can and in its own sphere the genuineness of a relic which religion has held dear. From the point of view of natural science the fact that the Redeemer utilized the forces of nature, His own creation, to leave the impress of His sacred body on the winding sheet does not destroy the fact that it is a true impression and therefore a relic of Christ worthy of the respect and veneration which the faithful have shown it.

WHO IS THE INVENTOR OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY?

Quite a lively controversy has been carried on for some time, especially in the daily press, about the question of priority in the invention of wireless telegraphy. This is rather unfortunate and apparently useless, since so many distinct elements, the work of separate investigators, are involved in the commercial wireless telegraph. An impartial summary of the historical data in the controversy is given in the *Electrical World and Engineer* for April 19, from which we extract the following about signalling with etheric waves:

"The first name that deserves to be associated with wireless telegraphy is surely that of Hertz, who first demonstrated experimentally the existence of ether waves and devised a means of detecting them. The great step, however, as we know, in the direction of wireless telegraphy was made in the discovery of the filings detector for ether waves.

"This was first done by Professor Onesti, in 1884, and independently by Professor Branly in 1890. The former showed that certain electric disturbances had the effect of reducing the resistance of the copper filings that he used and that the resistance could be restored by shaking the filings. Beyond the observation of this fact the Italian professor does not seem to have gone.

In 1890 Professor Branly read a paper before the French Academy of Sciences, in which he described the coherer as it exists to-day, and from this description the art of wireless telegraphy seems to date. Professor Crookes, in 1892, not knowing of the Branly coherer, made the following speculative statement in speaking of Hertian rays: "On a properly constructed instrument, and by concerted signals, messages in the Morse code can thus pass from one operator to another."

In 1894 Lodge arranged an electric bell and relay in a circuit with a Branly tube, which he called a coherer, and received signals at a distance of forty yards, but suggested that "something more like a half mile was nearer the limit of sensitiveness." This experiment does not seem to have had any effect upon the development of wireless telegraphy. Professor Lodge, moreover, in a letter to Branly disclaims any right to the invention of the coherer.

The first practical application of the Branly tube or coherer was suggested by Popoff in 1895, in connection with meteorological observations. His arrangement of the tube resembles that employed by Marconi; one end of the tube was connected with antennae or air wires and the other with the earth. The tube was in a circuit with an instrument for recording electrical discharges in the atmosphere and a relay in the circuit worked a tapping hammer to decohere the filings.

The next worker who appears in the field of wireless telegraphy is Marconi. He began in Italy in 1895 and made his first public appearance in England in 1896. Since that time the rapid strides he has made in making wireless telegraphy a commercial success are well known to the public. The Marconi patent was applied for in 1896 and fully describes non-syntonic wireless telegraphy in all the details that make it a commercial success. His inventive genius consists in the coördination of many parts, some new but most of them old, into a successful method of communicating without wires even across the Atlantic.

The claims of the rival inventors seem to be solely in regard to the invention of syntonic telegraphy. As yet Marconi has not given his method of synchronizing the transmitter and receiver to the world. Whether it is entirely of his own devising or borrowed from others can be determined only when he makes known his method. Whatever the future will bring to light on this point, it will ever remain true that Marconi created the art of non-syntonic wireless telegraphy.

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Book Notices.

APPLETON'S UNIVERSAL CYCLOPÆDIA AND ATLAS.

Our cyclopædias need revision, not only to bring them up to date, but also to correct many misleading and even false statements that have escaped the attention of the editors in the original volumes. This applies to our American cyclopædias, and it is particularly true of their articles on Catholic doctrine, history and discipline. By the very fact that of late years the publishers usually emphasize in their prospectuses the employment of Catholics as associate editors, they admit, what they have been hitherto slow to acknowledge, that their readers have a right to expect the truth about Catholics and their religion as well as about other topics. Unfortunately the editors of some of our cyclopædias seem to think that they have done their duty to Catholics when they have permitted one of our religion to contribute articles on certain subjects which are manifestly in his province, and that they can allow the non-Catholic writers of other articles, in which we are interested as well as Protestants, to ignore, misrepresent and even abuse our Church. They imagine that the name of some distinguished Catholic in their list of editors should be for us a sufficient guarantee of the fairness or accuracy of all who contribute or revise the articles for their cyclopædias. In other words, if they permit a Catholic to write on such topics as Canonization, Celibacy, Confession and others similar to these, they are not responsible for anything that may be said against our religion, howsoever unfair or unscholarly it may be, under such titles as Image Worship, Reformation, Monachism, Theology.

The haste with which the revision of a cyclopædia is usually made adds little or no assurance that it will be properly made. Rivalry among the different publishing houses and the employment of newspaper methods of the cheapest sort naturally result in a rushing process of producing encyclopædias which make it impossible to treat serious subjects with accuracy or fairness. Even some German publishers are attempting to "rush" their encyclopædias, as one of their critics terms it, Brockhaus & Meyer reproducing their "Konversationes-Lexikons" at the rate of seven volumes a year, faster than the contributors can provide the articles, which must therefore be crowded into a supplementary volume. Nor is haste the only abuse in this matter. The London *Tablet* for May 17 directed our attention to a serious and obvious blunder on Anglican Orders in the *Times* supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," complaining

that the entire article was not only obscure and bitterly partisan, but positively misleading.

With the latest edition of "Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas" before us we may well deplore that its readers have not what they are entitled to get—at least a fair presentation of the arguments on both sides of controverted questions. It is difficult to account for such a defect in a work like this. One would imagine that publishers would consult their own interests, and that the Appletons especially should have learned by their experience with Catholics some thirty years ago when they were issuing the "American Cyclopædia." One would think that in these days, when men affect to make light of their religious differences, editors would be ashamed to stand for anything that savors of bias or unscholarliness. The domain of knowledge is so vast nowadays, and the well ascertained facts in every department of it are so numerous, that on purely economic principles scholarly editors can give no time, and prudent publishers no space, to what is purely theoretical or speculative, much less to whatever is purely controversial, or partisan, misleading and false. Every display of inaccuracy, partiality or ignorance in the treatment of religious topics naturally throws discredit on the entire cyclopædia, and justifies the suspicion that its editors may have shown the same spirit in treating political and scientific questions. Were these defects found but rarely, or in a treatment of more recondite topics, one might perhaps overlook them in a work of such magnitude; but it is otherwise when they occur frequently throughout the cyclopædia, and in matters in which ignorance of the real facts is inexcusable.

It is inexcusable, for instance, to say: "Bellarmine's autobiography, which had been suppressed by the Jesuits and had become very scarce, was republished by Döllinger & Reusch with a German translation (Bonn, 1887)," when the fact is that it was printed for private circulation in 1675, in 1753, and published at Ferrara in 1762, and, in the same year, in Germany, together with a German translation. Döllinger himself says: "The autobiography, though repeatedly printed, is little known."

It is certainly very partial on the part of the editors to devote fully seven columns to the account of Protestant, and but one to Catholic, Missions, giving elaborate lists of the various Protestant missionary works, with statistics of the same, and a bibliography which makes no mention of the *Missiones Catholice*, Werner, Henrion or Marshall, or of the many Catholic missionary periodicals. We are not surprised therefore to read under "Missions:" "The Roman Catholic Church Missions of the Middle Ages took their start from Ireland, and included in their scope England, Scotland and

Northern Europe;" and to hear that the statistics of the Roman Catholic missionaries are "vague and unsatisfactory." If one were to depend upon this cyclopædia for a knowledge of what it chooses to call the "modern or post-reformation" missions, he would conclude that comparatively little was done in the missionary field since the seventeenth century except by Jesuits.

For one who knows anything about the history of education there is a hopeless ignorance manifested in a sentence like this under "Froebel:" "The reform of education begun by Rousseau, and carried on by Fichte, Pestalozzi and Diesterweg, finally culminated in Froebel's discovery of the method, as well as principle, of educating the human being in its first years purely by means of its own spontaneous activities." Indeed, we can recommend this cyclopædia as a veritable store-house of errors in this matter of education. Under the name itself (Vol. III., 588) we are treated to this bit of philosophy by assumption:

"Essential changes in modes of human thought have always been followed by corresponding changes in education; and a new philosophy which profoundly affects the religious nature necessarily gives rise to a new education. As the Reformation wrought a radical change in men's religious philosophy and practice, there is eminent propriety in speaking of the general system of education in vogue before the Reformation as the Old, and of the system that had its rise at that period as the New. There was not an abrupt cessation of the old order of things, for what was essential and true necessarily passed into the new order of things. The old education was based essentially on authority; the child was mainly a passive recipient, and his warrant for believing the truth of what he was taught was the authority of the book or of the master. The one great principle of learning was to believe and take for granted, to assume the accuracy of authorized statements without asking questions and without mental unrest. It is not difficult to see how such a conception of teaching and learning resulted from a system of education based on a religion in which dogma played a very large part. Again, the older system of education was addressed almost to the memory, and learning was little more than memorizing a text or a formula verbatim. In this particular the influence of religious training is also manifest. Not only was the thought or content of a text held sacred, but so also was the form of words in which it was embodied; and the effectual way to lodge the truth in the soul was to lodge the verbal expression of it in the memory.

"The later system of education embodies a reaction against the abuses of authority and memory. It appeals to free inquiry, and involves the exercise of the learner's own powers of thought and

discovery. A thing is true, not because some one has declared it to be true, but because it has the sanction of one's own reason and experience. The modern teacher therefore addresses the pupil's powers of observation, reflection and reason, rather than his memory; and learning becomes a process of discovery rather than a servile following of authority. The product of the teacher's art is not to be a disciple, docile and reverent, but an independent thinker, capable of reaching his own conclusions."

Unfounded as all this is, it throws a flood of light on the evils of the educational system in vogue in many of our colleges and schools to-day. This cyclopædia abounds in such luminous and significant passages. Take, for instance, what we read in volume VII., page 469, about the "Theories of the Origin of Man:"

"The belief formerly entertained was that man and the other species of animals were the results of acts of special creation by the Divine Will acting upon inanimate matter. When the laws of change in organic forms came to be more closely studied, it became evident that such a view is consistent neither with the highest conception of divinity nor with observed facts. A universe requiring such constant interferences would be inferior to one acting under grand and eternal laws, just as any machine is less perfect the more frequently it requires the attention of its designer. In some form, therefore, the theory of the evolution or transformation of one organic form into another is alone that which at once satisfies the reason and elevates religious thought."

But it is useless to quote further. If any one wishes to know how unreliable this cyclopaedie is, not only from a Catholic, but also from a scientific, point of view, abundant evidences will be found in the articles entitled a Becket, Adrian VI., Albigenses, Anthropology, Antiochian, Apostolic, Auricular Confession, Feigned Diseases, German Theology, Gunpowder Plot, Humanism, Image Worship or Iconolatry, Indulgences (as treated under the titles Albert of Magdeburg, Luther, Tetzel) Malachy, Mariolatry, The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Middle Ages, Miracle Plays, Monachism, Mortmain, Nicolas de Cusa, Patrick, Philippines, Reformation, Religion, Sixtus V., Schools, Teutons, Theology, Torture, Wolsey.

After examining all or even some of these articles no one can question the truth of our charge that the writers are grossly inaccurate, partial and ignorant of Catholic doctrine, history and discipline.

Considering the mischief wrought by such a publication as this, the ignorance it perpetuates and the prejudices it inspires and confirms, one cannot help expressing the wish to have in English a truly Catholic cyclopædia; such, for instance, as our German brethren

have in the Kirchen-Lexicon, which may be better known to some in the French translation of its first edition edited by Goshler. Why should not some Catholic publisher undertake to translate the great work of Wetzer and Welte, or even the Staatslexikon, edited by Bachem; or again, Vacant's "New Dictionary of Theology?" To be more practical, since an enterprise of this kind requires great labor and expense, why cannot Catholics, clergy and laity, of means and ability unite together their resources for the production of a work so necessary and useful?

THE DOLPHIN. An Ecclesiastical Review for Educated Catholics. Issued monthly in connection with the *Ecclesiastical Review*. Designed to supply systematic information regarding the Religious Life, the Ecclesiastical Arts and Sciences and Practical Church Work. Vol. I., January to June, 1902. 8vo., pp. 772. Indexed. *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, 825 Arch street. New York, 3 East Fourteenth street.

The Dolphin has been a success from the beginning, but this success is emphasized by the completion of the first volume. Most enterprises of this kind are experiments and speculations in the business sense of the word. Those who launch them are not quite sure of the waters in which they wish to sail, and the ports in which they intend to trade. The draft of the ship, the construction, the crew are questions causing much anxiety. The location of the channel, the shallows and the rocks are real dangers.

The Dolphin was neither an experiment nor a speculation. The learned and experienced creator and editor of the *Ecclesiastical Review*, who has made that magazine for the clergy the best of its kind in the English language, and without a peer in any language, planned and perfected the *Dolphin*. It is a younger sister of the *Ecclesiastical*. It will do for the laity what the latter does for the clergy. The *Ecclesiastical* was to some extent an experiment, because it was the first serious attempt on this side of the ocean to make a first-class ecclesiastical magazine. The attempt has been preëminently successful, and the merits of the work are recognized throughout the world. The laity reap the fruit of this success at once. The clergy have seen their magazine developing and expanding, until it has reached its maturity, and have noted with pride that the lines laid down in the beginning have never been departed from; but the *Dolphin* comes forth from the side of the *Ecclesiastical*, like another Eve, beautiful and mature. The *Dolphin* is the *Ecclesiastical* edited for the laity. All the good qualities of the one are reflected in the other, and secure for it the same love and respect.

The *Dolphin* would have been welcome at any time, but it is doubly welcome now because it appears at a time singularly opportune.

We are living in a reading age. The numberless schools in our midst; the opportunities for all classes to attend them, because they are free, and they are open at all hours and all seasons, for we have day school and night school, winter school and summer school; the multiplication of free libraries, and the almost infinite production of newspapers and magazines, make us a reading people.

We boast of this as if it were a virtue, but any thinking person who examines the text-books used in our schools, colleges and universities, and notes the absence from them of all things pertaining to faith and morals, and the presence in them of misrepresentations concerning Catholic history and practice, must acknowledge that reading in itself is not a virtue. Knowledge is truth, and ignorance is better than falsehood. The newspapers are made up to a very great extent of suppositions, falsehoods, calumnies and scandals. These are served up in such attractive form as to scandalize the young and harden the old. Our free libraries are filled with novels which deal very generally with stories of disobedience, sensuality, hasty marriage, marital infidelity, divorce, murder and suicide. Boys and girls of tender years may be seen going in and out, hugging this printed poison to their breasts, and carrying it home to devour it. Young women who toil all day in the store or factory begin and end the day with the same poisonous food. How is this evil to be corrected, for it is a great evil, which threatens the individual, the family, the State and the Church? The last named institution has been divinely appointed to teach men faith and morals, but she must have agents; she must use channels through which she can reach all classes.

The *Dolphin* is such an agent. It will bring to the Christian individual and the Christian family each month the truth about the principles of Christianity, the Bible, the ceremonies of the Church, the history of the church, Christian art and Christian morality. It will show the relation of all these things to the various conditions of life in which men live and the obligations which they beget. It will teach the truth about literature and sift the good from the bad in its monthly book reviews and analysis of current novels. In a word, it will supply a long felt want and bring many blessings into the household into which it enters.

It is published especially for educated Catholics, and we earnestly hope that this class will show immediate appreciation. It has been noticed that fair-minded Protestants are unusually earnest at this time in their search for light. We can assist them very much with helps like the *Dolphin*.

For instance, an educated convert recently told the writer of this review that before he became a Catholic he thought that Catholic

literature was made up entirely of the catechism and a few other paper books about as humble in appearance. The *Dolphin* will enlighten him.

Another convert asked about the Index of Prohibited Books and its binding force in this country. The *Dolphin* answered the question most satisfactorily. These are but illustrations of the broad, fruitful field that awaits this unexcelled magazine, and the admirable manner in which it is doing the work.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY. An Explanatory Narrative, By Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D., Author of "Studies in Church History," "Some Lies and Errors of History," etc. Vol. I., Ancient History. From the Creation of Man until the Fall of the Roman Empire. 8vo., pp. xiv. and 624. The Author: Yonkers, N. Y.

All lovers of true history will be glad to know that Dr. Parsons has completed the first volume of his universal history. When the announcement was first made that he had begun this work, it was received with joy by all students, irrespective of creed or party. All students worthy of the name understand the importance of history. Very few have the time or opportunity to go to original sources or to compare conflicting authorities in such a way as to be able to arrive at the truth. The majority must rely on the properly equipped, studious, indefatigable, fearless and truthful writer, who will do this work faithfully, and sum up in a book of reasonable dimensions the result of his labors. Such persons are rare, and hence such works are rare, especially in the English language. This is particularly true of history from the Catholic point of view. There are many writers of English history, and some of them seem to try to be fair, but the case is hopeless.

This is being illustrated very strikingly at the present time by a discussion between the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and D. Appleton & Co. concerning the latter's new Cyclopædia. A writer in the *Messenger*, under the heading, "Poisoning the Wells," shows conclusively that from beginning to end, almost at every step, when anything Catholic is touched, it is treated unfairly. Hence historical facts are distorted, rites and ceremonies are made ludicrous and doctrines are misrepresented. And yet this book furnishes a very fair sample of the histories that are generally used, for the writers for this Cyclopædia quote authorities for most of their remarkable declarations.

It is useless to talk of non-sectarian historians, as it is useless to talk of anything else non-sectarian. The term is misleading. In order to correct this evil of misrepresentation we must have history written from a Catholic standpoint. Dr. Parsons takes this

view of history, and his remarks on the subject are worthy of reproduction. He says:

"While inditing the following 'Explanatory Narrative of Universal History' the author did not intend to produce a work which might be welcomed as 'unsectarian.' A careful study of the so-called 'unsectarian' lucubrations on historical matters, whether those enterprises were of Protestant, Jewish, Rationalistic, agnostic or of frankly infidel authorship, had taught us to distrust every avowedly 'unsectarian' pretension in the line of historical lore. We had found that the qualification of 'sectarian,' in the worst sense of that term, is necessarily descriptive of every historical work which is acclaimed as 'unsectarian.' When it is asserted that a history is 'unsectarian,' the would-be economist implies that the author has conducted his investigations, formed his conclusions and inculcated certain lessons uninfluenced by any religious bias; and therefore the meed of praise is demanded for a teacher who deems no system of morality to be better than another. Were the lauded scribe to decline this garland, he would evince bias; by accepting it, he proclaims his rank Materialism, or at least his complete Indifferentism.

"But is it not possible for a judicious delver into historical sources to furnish a narrative of simple *facts*, eschewing all reflections that can affect the conscience of his readers? No. A purveyor of historical facts cannot banish the odor of some kind of morality which exhales from every morsel that he handles; let the dressing of this morsel be ever so simple, it must affect the religious or irreligious palate of the one who partakes of it. . . .

"Professedly 'unsectarian' histories are a feature of the curriculum which obtains in nearly all of the non-Catholic educational institutions of these United States of North America, especially in those establishments which a prevalent grotesqueness acclaims as 'the bulwark of the Republic.'"

The author gives his personal experience as a boy in a public school in New York where so-called unsectarian history was taught, and assures us that even to the present day the misguidance which he then received threatens to disturb his juridico-historical equilibrium.

His experience was not exceptional, and therefore we are glad to learn that the pages of this Universal History are redolent of the Catholic spirit, and that in it every historical matter is treated from a Catholic point of view.

The book is well arranged, well made and in every way worthy of the subject matter. We trust that it will have the widespread circulation that it deserves, and that the gifted author will be able to complete it.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST. Embracing the Entire Gospel Narrative, embodying the Teachings and the Miracles of Our Saviour. Together with the History of His Foundation of the Christian Church. By *Rev. Walter Elliott*, of the Paulist Fathers. 12mo., pp. x. and 763 and xxv. Illustrated. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange.

The complaint is frequently made that we have too many books, and that it is a mistake to multiply works on the same subject. The life of Christ is an exception. It is an exhaustless subject, ever presenting new aspects, according to the disposition and ability of the author and reader. We have already many excellent lives of Our Divine Lord, from Catholic and Protestant pens, beginning with the primer for the little child, whose mind is just beginning to open to the beautiful lessons of the Stable at Bethlehem and the Home at Nazareth, and ending with the finished treatise for the scholar, answering all those questions of archæology, theology and kindred sciences that are wrapt up so closely with the most important event in all history. Even the scoffer has touched it, only to bring out more clearly, though unintentionally and unmeritoriously, the great truths.

This new "Life of Christ" occupies a middle place. It is for the people, and it is intended especially to excite their devotion. We do not mean that it is not complete, or that it has not literary merit. On the contrary, it exhausts all four Gospels and draws upon the other books of the New Testament for such passages as furnish additional testimony. The style is characteristic of Father Elliott, straightforward, plain, vigorous, and yet full of tenderness and piety. He writes like a man full of his subject, who has an important message to deliver, who believes every word of that message and who wants his readers to believe it.

The preface to the book tells us that it is a contribution to the devotional study of our Redeemer's teaching and example. It engaged the author's best thoughts and endeavors during several years. It is intended to help the reader to a more vivid appreciation of our Lord's life and doctrine, but its main purpose is to move hearts to love him fervently. The Gospel narrative is given verbatim at the beginning of each chapter, and the text is written around it.

The book is profusely illustrated. In addition to many full-page half tones, there are innumerable little cuts set into all parts of the page which almost tell the story alone.

Father Elliott's "Life of Christ" is worthy of the attention of all Christians, but it should be particularly recommended to the heads of Christian households. It is a book for the family. It will interest every reading member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, and that is a singular quality for a book.

Books like this are needed in the family library at the present

time especially, when children learn to read so young, and when so much that is harmful is placed in their way. If we could only get before them in an attractive, interesting form the beautiful scenes from the life of Jesus, with His consoling doctrines and wonderful miracles, their minds would be enlightened and their hearts moved with noble impulses. It can be done with Father Elliott's "Life of Christ."

POEMS, CHARADES, INSCRIPTIONS OF POPE LEO XIII. Including the Revised Compositions of his Early Life in Chronological Order. With English Translations and Notes by H. T. Henry, Overbrook Seminary. 8vo., pp. 321. The Dolphin Press. *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, 825 Arch street. New York, 3 East Fourteenth street.

This is a dainty, scholarly, entertaining book. It is beautiful in face, and form, and substance. It sets before us, face to face, the Latin verses of the venerable head of the Church and the English translation of them by a loyal son and humble subject.

We shall not presume to speak of the literary merit of the originals or the translations; both are beyond question. The verses cover a period of time beginning with 1822 and ending with 1900. The translator thus speaks of them:

"The Pope has been writing Latin verses ever since the year 1822, and has covered well-nigh all the fields of poetic endeavor. Stately odes, sparkling *jeux d'esprit*, charades, heroic hymns, familiar epigrams on and to his friends, quotations, inscriptions—a wealth of outpourings of head and heart. Interesting as all these are because of the sublime dignity of the author, they become, if possible, even more valuable as mirroring the genial, cultured, affectionate, devout soul of the man and the priest. Among the many biographies already published, a volume of the Pope's verse, revealing in his own words the inner heart of the great Pontiff, might well seem indispensable.

"To the educated man who still retains some interest in the classic rhythms of his collegiate study, such a volume should appeal with special force, as it furnishes a splendid illustration of modern themes dressed out in the diction of Virgil and Horace. The Pope has used many metres—hexameters, pentameters, iambicdimeters, hendecasyllibics, Sapphics, Alcaics, the elegiac couplet and Ambrosian quantitative stanzas.

"The poems are arranged chronologically, and thus become a versified commentary, as delightful as it is authentic, on the marvel of the Pope's life and labors. The volume contains an ample appendix and notes—historical, critical, exegetical."

WARNING !

APPLETON'S UNIVERSAL CYCLOPÆDIA AND ATLAS.

In the June number of the *Messenger* Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., showed in an article entitled "Poisoning the Wells" that "Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas" is unreliable; that it ignores, depreciates and misrepresents Catholic doctrine, history and practice. This serious charge was made directly to D. Appleton & Co., and their answer was a list of three or four commendations of the book from Catholic sources. Among them was this alleged quotation from the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*: "Its pages ('Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia') can with confidence be consulted by the busy Catholic editor, or controversialist, or reader in search of reliable data. In every respect this cyclopædia keeps step with the progress of time."

We cannot find this commendation in the *Quarterly*. We wrote to D. Appleton & Co. and asked for number and page, but received no answer. We telegraphed at the last moment before going to press, but got no reply. Therefore we now deny that the *Quarterly* ever published this commendation of the book under consideration. We warn our readers against the book as unreliable and anti-Catholic, and invite them to read our opinion of it, with some grounds for that opinion, in the review in this number.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXVII.—OCTOBER, 1902—No. 108.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA.

AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS.
ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM
CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

DE SANCTISSIMA EUCHARISTIA.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis,
Episcopis Aliisque Locorum Ordinariis Pacem et Communionem cum
Apostolica Sede Habentibus*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

MIRAE caritatis in hominum salutem exempla, quae a Iesu Christo praelucent, Nos quidem pro sanctitate officii inspicere et persequi adhuc studuimus, ad extremumque vitae spiritum, ipso opitulante, studebimus. Nam tempora nacti nimis acriter veritati et iustitiae infensa, quantum erat in Nobis,

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docendo, admonendo, agendo, prout nuperrima ad vos epistola Apostolica confirmavit, nequaquam intermisimus ea late praestare, quae sive ad multiplicem errorum contagionem depellendam, sive ad nervos intendendos christianae vitae aptius conducere viderentur. In his autem duo sunt recentioris memoriae, omnino inter se coniuncta, unde Nosmetipsi opportunae consolationis fructum, tot prementibus aegritudinis causis, recolendo percipimus. Alterum, quum optimum factu censuimus augusto Cordi Christi Redemptoris universitatem humani generis peculiari ritu devoveri; alterum, quum omnes christianum nomen profitentes gravissime hortati sumus, ut Ei ipsi adhaerent, qui vel singulis vel iure sociatis *via, veritas, vita* divinitus est.—Nunc vero eadem ipsa, advigilante in Ecclesiae tempora, Apostolica caritate movemur ac prope impellimur ut aliud quiddam ad ea proposita iam confecta, tamquam perfectionem suam addamus, ut videlicet christiano populo maiorem in modum commendemus sanctissimam Eucharistiam, quippe donum divinissimum ex intimo plane Corde prolatum eiusdem Redemptoris, *desiderio desiderantis* singularem huiusmodi cum hominibus coniunctionem, maximeque factum ad saluberrimos fructus redemptionis eius dilargiendos. Quamquam in hoc etiam rerum genere nonnulla vel antehac Nos auctoritate et studio curavimus. Iucundumque memoratu est inter cetera legitima Nos comprobatione ac privilegiis auxisse Instituta et Sodalitia non pauca, divinae Hostiae perpetua vice adorandae addicta; operam item dedisse ut conventus eucharistici digna cum celebritate parique utilitate haberentur, iisdem praeterea similisque causae operibus patronum caelestem attribuisse Paschalem Baylon, qui mysterii eucharistici cultor extitit insigniter pius.—Itaque, Venerabiles Fratres, de hoc ipso mysterio in quo tuendo illustrandoque constanter tum Ecclesiae sollertia, non sine praeclaris Martyrum palmis, elaboravit, tum praestantissimorum hominum doctrina, eloquentia variaequae artes splendide contenderunt, libet capita quaedam alloquendo complecti; idque ut apertior atque expressior pateat eiusdem virtus, qua maxime parte se dat praesentissimam hisce necessitatibus temporum allevandis. Sane, quandoquidem Christus Dominus sub excessum mortalis cursus istud reliquit caritatis immensae in homines monumentum, idemque praesidium maximum “pro mundi vita” (Ioann. vi., 52), nihil Nobis de vita proxime cessuris optare felicius possumus quam ut liceat excitare in omnium animis atque alere memoris gratiae debitaque religionis affectum erga Sacramentum mirabile, in quo salutis et pacis, sollicitis omnium studiis quaesitae, spem atque efficientiam maxime niti arbitramur.

Quod saeculo, usquequaque perturbato et laboranti tam misere, talibus Nos remediis adiumentisque ducimus praecipue consulen-

dum, non deerunt sane qui demirentur, et fortasse qui dicta Nostra procaci cum fastidio accipiant. Id nempe est potissimum a superbia: quo vitio animis insidente, elanguescat in iis christiana fides, quae obsequium vult mentis religiosissimum, necesse est, atque adeo caligo de divinis rebus tetrius incumbat: ut in multos illud cadat: "Quaecumque ignorant, blasphemant." (Iudae 10.) Iam vero tantum abest ut Nos propterea ab inito avocemur consilio, ut certum sit contentiore potius studio et recte animatis lumen afferre et sancta vituperantibus veniam a Deo, fraterna piorum imploratione, exorare.

Sanctissimae Eucharistiae virtutem integra fide nosse qualis sit, idem enimvero est ac nosse quale sit opus quod humani generis causâ Deus, homo factus, potenti misericordia perfecti. Nam ut est fidei rectae Christum profiteri et colere summum effectorem salutis nostrae, qui sapientia, legibus, institutis, exemplis, fusoque sanguine omnia instauravit; aequae est eundem profiteri colere sic in Eucharistia reapse praesentem, ut verissime inter homines ad aevi perpetuitatem ipse permaneat, iisque partae redemptionis beneficia magister et pastor bonus, peracceptusque deprecator ad Patrem, perenni copia de semetipso impertiat.—Beneficia porro ex Eucharistia manantia qui studiosae religioseque consideret, illud sane praestare atque eminere intelliget quo cetera quaecumque sunt continentur; ex ipsa nempe vitam in homines, quae vere vita est, influere: "Panis, quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita." (Ioann. vi., 52.)—Non uno modo, quod alias docuimus, Christus est *vita*; qui adventus sui inter homines causam professus est eam, ut afferret ipsis certam vitae plus quam humanae ubertatem: "Ego veni ut vitam habeant, et abundantius habeant." (Ioann. x., 10.) Statim namque ut in terris "benignitas et humanitas apparuit Salvatoris nostri Dei" (Tit. iii., 4), nemo quidem ignorat vim quamdam continuo erupisse ordinis rerum prorsus novi procreatricem, eamque in venas omnes societatis civilis et domesticae permanasse. Novas inde homini cum homine necessitudines; nova publice et privatim iura, nova officia; institutis, disciplinis, artibus, novus cursus: quod autem praecipuum, hominum animos et studia ad veritatem religionis sanctitatemque morum traducta; atque adeo vitam homini communicatam, caelestem plane ac divinam. Huc nimirum ea spectant, quae crebro in sacris litteris commemorantur, *lignum vitae*, *verbum vitae*, *liber vitae*, *corona vitae*, nominatimque *panis vitae*.

At vero, quoniam haec ipsa de qua dicimus vita expressam habet similitudinem cum vita hominis naturali, sicut altera cibo alitur atque viget, ita alteram sustentari cibo suo et augeri oportet. Aptè hic facit revocare quo quidem Christus tempore ac modo moverit animos hominum et adduxerit ut panem vivum, quem daturus erat, convenienter probeque exciperent. Ubi enim manavit fama de prodigio

quod ille, multiplicatis panibus in satietatem multitudinis, patrauerat ad litus Tiberiadis, confestim plures ad ipsum confluerunt, si forte par sibi obtingeret beneficium. Tum Iesus, opportunitate arrepta, similiter ac quum feminae Samaritanae, ab haurienda puteali aqua; sitim ipse iniecerat "aquae salientis in vitam aeternam" (Ioann. iv., 14) cupidae multitudinis sic erigit mentes, ut panem alium cupidius appetant "qui permanet in vitam aeternam." (Ioann. vi., 27.) Neque vero huiusmodi panis, instat Iesus admonere, est manna illud caeleste, quod patribus vestris per deserta peregrinantibus praesto fuit; neque ille quidem quem ipsi nuper a me mirabundi accepistis; verum egomet sum panis iste: "Ego sum panis vitae." (Ioann. 48.) Idemque eo amplius suadet omnibus, et invitando et praeci piendo; "Si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane, vivet in aeternum; et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita." (Ioann. 52.) Gravtatem porro praecepti ita ipse convincit: "Amen amen dico vobis, nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis." (Ioann. 54.)—Absit igitur pervagatus ille error perniciosissimus opinantium Eucharistiae usum ad eos fere amandandum esse qui vacui curis angustique animo conquiescere instituant in quodam vitae religiosioris proposito. Ea quippe res, qua nihil sane nec excellentius nec salutaris, ad omnes omnino, cuiuscumque demum muneris praestantiaeve sint, attinet, quotquot velint (neque unus quisquam non velle debet) divinae gratiae in se fovere vitam, cuius ultimum est adeptio vitae cum Deo beatae.

Atque utinam de sempiterna vita recte reputarent et providerent ii potissimum quorum vel ingenium vel industria vel auctoritas tantopere possunt ad res temporum atque hominum dirigendas. At vero videmus deploramusque ut plerique cum fastu existiment se novam veluti vitam eamque prosperam saeculo indidisse, propterea quod ipsum ad omne genus utilia et mirabilia inflammato cursu contendere suo impulso urgeant. Sed enim, quocumque aspexeris, humana societas, si a Deo aliena, potius quam quaesitâ fruatur tranquillitate rerum, perinde angitur et trepidat ut qui feбри aestuque iactatur; prosperitati dum anxie studet eique unice fidit, fugientem sequitur, inhaeret labenti. Homines enim et civitates ut necessario ex Deo sunt, ita in alio nullo vivere, moveri, efficere boni quidquam, nisi in Deo per Iesum Christum queunt; per quem late profluerunt et profluunt optima quaeque et lectissima.—Sed horum omnium fons et caput bonorum est potissimum augusta Eucharistia: quae quum eam alat sustentetque vitam cuius ex desiderio tam vehementer laboramus, tum dignitatem humanam quae tanti nunc fieri videtur, immensum auget. Nam quid maius aut optabilius, quam effici, quoad eius fieri possit, divinae participem consortemque naturae?

At enim hoc nobis Christus praestat in Eucharistia maxime, quae euectum ad divina, gratiae munere, hominem arctius etiam sibi adiungit et copulat. Id enim interest inter corporis cibum et animi, quod ille in nos convertitur, hic nos in se convertit; quae de re Christum ipsum Augustinus loquentem inducit: "Nec tu me in te mutabis sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me." (Conf. l. vii., c. x.)

Ex hoc autem praecellentissimo Sacramento, in quo potissime apparet quemadmodum homines in divinam inseruntur naturam, iidem habent in omni supernarum virtutum genere incrementa maxima. Et primum in fide. Omni quidem tempore fides oppugnatores habuit; nam etsi hominum mentes praestantissimarum rerum cognitione extollit, quia tamen, quae supra naturam esse aperuit, qualia sint celat, eo videtur mentes ipsas deprimere. Sed olim tum hoc tum illud fidei caput oppugnabatur; deinceps multo latius exarsit bellum, eoque iam perventum est ut nihil omnino supra naturam esse affirmetur. Iamvero ad vigorem fervoremque fidei in animis redintegrandum perapte est, ut nihil magis, mysterium Eucharisticum, proprie *mysterium fidei* appellatum: hoc nimirum uno, quaecumque supra naturam sunt, singulari quadam miraculorum copia et varietate, universa continentur: "Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator Dominus, escam dedit timentibus se." (Ps. cx., 4, 5.) Si Deus enim quidquid supra naturam fecit, ad Verbi retulit Incarnationem, cuius beneficio restitueretur humani generis salus, secundum illud Apostoli: "Proposuit . . . instaurare omnia in Christo, quae in caelis, et quae in terra sunt, in ipso" (Eph. i., 9, 10); Eucharistia, Patrum sanctorum testimonio, Incarnationis continuatio quaedam et amplificatio censenda est. Siquidem per ipsam incarnati Verbi substantia cum singulis hominibus copulatur; et supremum in Calvaria sacrificium admirabili modo renovatur; id quod praesignificavit Malachias: "In omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda." (I. 11.) Quod miraculum, unum omnium in suo genere maximum, miracula comitantur innumerabilia; hic enim omnes naturae leges intermissae: tota substantia panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi convertitur; panis et vini species, nulla re subiecta, divina virtute sustentantur; corpus Christi tam multa simul loca nanciscitur, quam multis simul in locis Sacramentum perficitur. Humanae autem rationis quo magis erga tantum Mysterium intendatur obsequium, quasi adiumento suppetunt prodigia, in eiusdem gloriam, veteri memoria et nostra patrata; quorum publica exstant non uno loco eaque insignia monumenta. Hoc igitur Sacramento videmus fidem ali, mentem enutrir, rationalistarum commenta dilui, ordinem rerum quae supra naturam sunt maxime illustrari.

Sed ut divinarum rerum fides languescat, non modo superbia, quod supra attigimus, sed etiam depravatio facit animi. Nam si usu venit ut quo melius quisque est moratus, eo sit ad intelligendum sollertior, corporis autem voluptatibus mentes obtundi ipsa ethnica dispexit prudentia, divina sapientia praemonuit (Sap. I., 4); tanto magis in divinis rebus voluptates corporis obscurant fidei lumen, atque etiam, per iustam Dei animadversionem, extinguunt. Quorum quidem voluptatum insatiabilis hodie cupiditas flagrat, omnesque late tamquam contagio quaedam morbi vel a primis aetatulis inficit. Verum teterrimi huius mali praeclarum in divina Eucharistia praesto est remedium. Nam, omnium primum, augendo caritatem, libidinem coërcet; ait enim Augustinus: "Nutrimentum eius (caritatis) est imminutio cupiditatis; perfectio, nulla cupiditas." (De diversis quaestionibus lxxxiii., quaest. xxxvi.) Praeterea castissima Iesu caro carnis nostrae insolentiam comprimit, ut Cyrillus monuit Alexandrinus: "Christus enim existens in nobis sopit saevientem in nostris membris carnis legem." (Lib. iv., c. 2 in Ioann. vi., 57.) Quin etiam fructus Eucharistiae singularis et iucundissimus est quem significavit propheticum illud: "Quid bonum eius (Christi) est, et quid pulchrum eius, nisi frumentum electorum et vinum germinans virgines?" (Zach. ix., 17) videlicet sacrae virginitatis forte et constans propositum, quod, vel diffuente deliciis saeculo, latius in dies uberiusque in catholica Ecclesia florescit: quanto quidem ubique cum religionis ipsiusque humani convictus emolumento et ornamento est probe cognitum.—Accedit quod huiusmodi Sacramento spes bonorum immortalium, fiducia auxiliorum divinorum, mirifice roboratur. Beatitatis enim studium, quod omnium animis insitum atque innatum est, terrestrium bonorum fallacia, iniusta flagitiosorum hominum vi, ceteris denique corporis animique molestiis magis magisque acuitur. Iam vero augustum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, beatitatis et gloriae causa idem et pignus est, idque non animo tantum sed etiam corpori. Quum enim animos caelestium bonorum copia locupletat, tum iis perfundit suavissimis gaudiis, quae quamlibet hominum aestimationem et spem longe superent; in adversis rebus sustentat, in virtutis certamine confirmat, in vitam custodit sempiternam, ad eamque tamquam instructo viatico perducit. Corpori autem caduco et fluxo Hostia illa divina futuram ingenerat resurrectionem; siquidem corpus immortale Christi semen inserit immortalitatis, quod aliquando erumpat. Utrumque istud et animo et corpori bonum inde obventurum Ecclesia omni tempore docuit, Christo obsecuta affirmanti: "Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternam: et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die." (Ioann. vi., 55.)—Cum re cohaeret magnique interest id considerare,

ex Eucharistia, quippe quae a Christo instituta sit tamquam "passionis suae memoriale perenne" (S. Thomas aquin. Opusc. lvii. Offic. de festo Corp. Christi), christiano homini castigandi salutariter sui denunciari necessitatem. Iesus enim primis illis sacerdotibus suis: "Hoc facite, inquit, in meam commemorationem" (Luc. xxii., 19), idest hoc facite ad commemorandos dolores, aegritudines, angores meos, meam in cruce mortem. Quapropter huiusmodi sacramentum idem et sacrificium assidua est in omne tempus poenitentiae, ac maximi cuiusque laboris adhortatio, itemque voluptatum, quas homines impudentissimi tantopere laudant et efferunt, gravis et severa improbatio: "Quotiescumque manducabitis panem hunc, et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat." (I. Cor. xi., 26.)

Praeter haec, si in praesentium malorum causas diligenter inquiras, ea reperies inde fluxisse, quod hominum inter ipsos caritas, caritate adversus Deum frigescere, deferbuerit. Dei se esse filios atque in Iesu Christo fratres obliti sunt; nihil, nisi sua quisque, curant; aliena non modo negligunt, sed saepe oppugnant in eaque invadunt. Inde crebrae inter civium ordines turbae et contentiones: arrogantia, asperitas, fraudes in potentioribus; in tenuioribus miseriae, invidiae, secessiones. Quibus quidem malis frustra a providentia legum, a poenarum metu, a consiliis humanae prudentiae quaeritur sanatio. Illud est curandum enitendumque, quod plus semel Ipsi fusiusque commonuimus, ut civium ordines mutua inter se concilientur officiorum coniunctione, quae a Deo profecta, opera edat germanum Iesu Christi spiritum et caritatem referentia. Hanc terris Christus intulit, hac omnia inflammari voluit, utpote quae una posset non modo animae sed etiam corpori beatitatis aliquid vel in praesens afferre: amorem enim immoderatum sui in homine compescit et divitiarum cohibet cupiditatem, quae "radix omnium malorum est." (I. Tim. vi., 10.) Quamquam vero rectum est omnes iustitiae partes inter ordines civium convenienter tutari; praecipuo tamen caritatis praesidio et temperamento id demum assequi licebit ut in hominum societate salutaris ea quam Paulus suadebat, "fiat aequalitas" (II. Cor. viii., 14), facta conservetur. Hoc igitur Christus voluit, quum augustum hoc Sacramentum institueret, excitanda caritate in Deum, mutuam inter homines fovere caritatem. Haec enim ex illa, ut perspicuum est, suapte natura existit, et sua veluti sponte effunditur: neque vero fieri potest ut ulla ex parte desideretur, quin immo incendatur et vigeat oportet, si Christi erga ipsos caritatem perpendant in hoc Sacramento; in quo, ut potentiam suam et sapientiam magnifice patefecit, sic "divitias divini sui erga homines amoris velut effudit." (Conc. Trid. sess. xxi., De Euchar. c. ii.) Tam insigni ab exemplo Christi, omnia sua nobis largientis, sane

quantum ipsi inter nos amare atque adiuvere debemus, fraterna necessitudine quotidie arctius devincti! Adde quod vel signa ipsa, quibus huiusmodi constat Sacramentum, peropportuna coniunctionis incitamenta sunt. Qua de re sanctus Cyprianus: "Denique unanimitem christianam firma sibi atque inseparabili caritate connexam etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia declarant. Nam quando Dominus corpus suum panem vocat de multorum granorum adunatione congestum, populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum: et quando sanguinem suum vinum appellat de botris atque acinis plurimis expressum atque in unum coactum, gregem item nostrum significat commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum." (Ep. 69, ad Magnum n. 5 [al. 6.]) Similiter Angelicus Doctor ex Augustini sententia (Tract. xxvi., in Ioann. n. 13, 17) haec habet: "Dominus noster corpus et sanguinem suum in eis rebus commendavit, quae ad unum aliquid rediguntur ex multis; namque aliud, scilicet panis ex multis granis in unum constat, aliud, scilicet vinum in unum ex multis acinis confluit; et ideo Augustinus alibi dicit: O Sacramentum pietatis, o signum unitatis, o vinculum caritatis." (Summa theol. iii. p. q. lxxix., a. 1.) Quae omnia confirmantur Concilii Tridentini sententia, Christum Eucharistiam Ecclesiae reliquisse "tamquam symbolum eius unitatis et caritatis, qua Christianos omnes inter se coniunctos et copulatos esse voluit . . . symbolum unius illius corporis, cuius ipse caput existit, cuique nos, tamquam membra, arctissima fidei, spei et caritatis connexionione adstrictos esse voluit." (Sess. xiii., De Euchar. c. ii.) Idque edixerat Paulus: "Quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus, omnesque de uno pane participamus." (I. Cor. x., 17.) Illud enimvero pulcherrimum ac periucundum est christianae fraternitatis aequalitatisque socialis specimen, promiscue ad sacra altaria circumfunditur patritium et popularem, divitem et pauperem, doctum et indoctum, eiusdem aeque participes convivii caelestis.—Quod si merito in Ecclesiae fastis hoc primordiis eius vertitur propriae laudi quod "multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una" (Act. iv., 32); sane eos tam eximium bonum debuisse consuetudini mensae divinae, obscurum non est; de ipsis enim commemoratum legimus: "Erant perseverantes in doctrina Apostolorum et in communicatione fractionis panis." (Act. ii., 42.)—Mutuae praeterea inter vivos caritatis gratia, cui a Sacramento eucharistico tantum accedit roboris et incrementi, Sacrificii praesertim virtute ad omnes permanat qui in sanctorum communione numerantur. Nihil est enim aliud sanctorum communio, quod nemo ignorat, nisi mutua auxilii, expiationis, precum, beneficiorum communicatio inter fideles vel caelesti patria potitos vel igni piaculari addictos vel adhuc in terris peregrinantes, in unam coalescentes civitatem, cuius caput Christus, cuius forma

caritas. Hoc autem fide est ratum, etsi soli Deo Sacrificium augmentum offerri liceat, tamen etiam honori Sanctorum in caelis cum Deo regnantium, *qui illos coronavit*, celebrari posse ad eorum patrocinium nobis conciliandum atque etiam, ut ab Apostolis traditum, ad labes fratrum abolendas, qui iam in Domino mortui, nondum plane sint expiati.—Sincera igitur caritas quae, in salutem utilitatesque omnium, omnia facere et pati assuevit, prosilit nempe ardetque actiosa ex sanctissima Eucharistia, ubi Christus adest ipse vivus, ubi suo erga nos amoris vel maxime indulget divinaeque impulsus caritatis impetu suum perpetuo sacrificium instaurat. Ita facile apparet undenam hominum apostolicorum ardui labores, unde tam multae variaeque apud catholicos institutae benemerendi de humana familia rationes sua ducant auspicia, vires, constantiam, felicesque exitus.

Haec pauca quidem in re perampla minime dubitamus quin abunde frugifera christiano gregi accendant, si opera vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, sint opportune exposita et commendata. At vero tam magnum et virtute omni affluens Sacramentum nemo satis unquam, proinde ac dignum est, nec eloquendo laudaverit, nec venerando coluerit. Ipsum sive pie mediteris, sive rite adores, sive eo magis, pure sancteque percipias, tanquam centrum existimandum est in quo christiana vita, quanta usquam est, insistit; ceteri quicumque habentur, pietatis modi demum in id ipsum conducunt et desinunt. Atque ea Christi benigna invitatio benigniorque promissio: "Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos" (Matth. xi., 28), in hoc praecipue mysterio evenit et quotidie impletur.—Ipsum denique est velut anima Ecclesiae, ad quod ipsa sacerdotalis gratiae amplitudo per varios ordinum gradus dirigitur. Indidemque haurit habetque Ecclesia omnem virtutem suam et gloriam, omnia divinorum charismatum ornamenta, bona omnia: quae propterea summam curarum in eo collocat ut fidelium animos ad intimam cum Christo coniunctionem per Sacramentum Corporis et Sanguinis eius instruat et adducat: ob eamque rem caeremoniis sanctissimis ipsum ornando facit venerabilius.—Perpetuam hoc etiam in genere providentiam Ecclesiae matris ea praeclarius commendat hortatio, quae in sacro Tridentino Concilio edita est, mirificam quamdam caritatem pietatemque redolens, plane digna quam populus christianus a Nobis accipiat ex integro revocatam: "Paterno affectu admonet Sancta Synodus, hortatur, rogat et obsecrat per viscera misericordiae Dei nostri, ut omnes et singuli, qui christiano nomine censentur, in hoc unitatis signo, in hoc vinculo caritatis, in hoc concordiae symbolo iam tandem aliquando conveniant et concordent, memoresque tantae maiestatis, et tam eximii amoris Iesu Christi Domini nostri qui dilectam animam suam in nostrae salutis pretium, et carnem suam nobis dedit ad manducan-

dum, haec sacra mysteria corporis et sanguinis eius ea fidei constantia et firmitate, ea animi devotione ac pietate et cultu credant et venerentur, ut panem illum supersubstantialem frequenter suscipere possint, et is vere eis sit animae vita et perpetua sanitas mentis; cuius vigore confortati, ex huius miserae peregrinationis itinere ad caelestem patriam pervenire valeant, eundem panem Angelorum, quem modo sub sacris velaminibus edunt, absque ullo velamine manducaturi.” (Sess. xiii., de Euchar. c. viii.)—Porro testis historia est, christianae vitae cultum vulgo floruisse melius, quibus temporibus esset Eucharistiae perceptio frequentior. Contra non minus est exploratum consuevisse, ut quum caelestem panem negligerent homines et veluti fastidirent, sensim elanguesceret christianae professionis vigor. Qui quidem ne prorsus aliquando deficeret, opportune cavit in Concilio Lateranensi Innocentius III., quum gravissime praecepit, ut minimum per solemnias Paschalis nemo christianus a communione Dominici Corporis abstinere. Liqueat vero praeceptum huiusmodi aegre datum, ac postremi remedii loco: semper enim id fuit Ecclesiae in votis, ut cuique sacro adessent fideles divina hac mensa participes. “Optaret sacrosancta Synodus ut in singulis Missis fideles adstantes non solum spirituali affectu, sed sacramentali etiam Eucharistiae perceptione communicarent, quo ad eos sanctissimi huius sacrificii fructus uberius proveniret.” (Conc. Trid. sess. xxii., c. vi.)

Et uberrimam quidem salutis copiam non singulis modo sed universis hominibus paratam hoc habet augustissimum mysterium, ut est Sacrificium: ab Ecclesia propterea *pro totius mundi salute* assidue offerri solitum. Cuius sacrificii, communibus piorum studiis, fieri amplius cum existimatione cultum addecet; hac aetate vel maxime, oportet. Itaque multiplices ipsius virtutes sive latius cognosci sive attentius recoli velimus.—Principia lumine ipso naturae perspicua illa sunt: supremum esse absolutumque in homines, privatim publice, Dei creatoris et conservatoris imperium; quidquid sumus quidquid privatim publiceque habemus boni, id omne a divina largitate profectum: vicissimque a nobis Deo testandam et summam, ut Domino reverentiam, et maximam, ut beneficentissimo, gratiam. Haec tamen officia quotusquisque hodie invenitur, qui qua par est religione colat et observet! Contumaces in Deum spiritus haec; si unquam alia, prae se fert aetas: in qua rursus invalescit adversus Christum ea vox nefaria: “Nolumus hunc regnare super nos” (Luc. xix., 14), nefariumque propositum, “Eradamus eum” (Ier. xi., 19), nec sane quidquam tam vehementi impetu complures urgent, quam ut ex civili atque adeo ex humana omni consortione pulsum segregent Deum. Quo consceleratae dementiae quamquam usquequaque non proceditur, miserabile tamen est quam multos teneat divinae

Maiestatis beneficiorumque eius, partae praesertim a Christo salutis, oblivio. Iamvero hanc tantam vel nequitiam vel socordiam sarciat oportet auctior communis pietatis ardor in cultu Sacrificii eucharistici; quo nihil Deo esse honorabilius, nihil iucundius potest. Nam divina est, quae immolatur hostia; per ipsam igitur tantum augustae Trinitati tribuimus honoris, quantum dignitas eius immensa postulat; infinitum quoque et pretio et suavitate munus exhibemus Patri Unigenitum suum; eo fit ut benignitati eius non modo agamus gratiam, sed plane referamus.—Duplicemque alium ex tanto sacrificio insignem fructum licet et necesse est colligere. Maeret animus reputando, quae flagitiorum colluvies, neglecto, ut diximus, contemptoque Dei numine, usquequaque inundaverit. Omnino humanum genus magnam partem videtur caelestem iram devocare: quamquam ipsa illa quae insidet, malarum rerum seges, continet iustae animadversionis maturitatem. Excitanda igitur in hoc etiam pia fidelium contentio, ut et vindicem scelerum placare Deum, et auxiliorum eius opportunitatem calamitoso saeculo conciliare studeant. Haec autem videant maxime huius ope Sacrificii esse quaerenda. Nam divinae tum iustitiae rationibus satis cumulateque facere, tum clementia large impetrare munera possunt homines sola obitae a Christo mortis virtute. Sed hanc ipsam virtutem sive ad expiandum, sive ad exorandum voluit Christus integram permanere in Eucharistia, quae mortis ipsius non inanis quaedam nudaque commemoratio, sed vera et mirabilis, quamquam incruenta et mystica, renovatio est.

Ceterum, non mediocri Nos laetitia afficimur, libet enim profiteri, quod proximis hisce annis fidelium animi ad amorem atque obsequium erga Eucharistiae Sacramentum renovari coepisse videantur; quod quidem in spem Nos erigit temporum rerumque meliorum. Multa enim id genus et varia, ut initio diximus, sollers induxit pietas, sodalitates praesertim vel eucharisticorum rituum splendori amplificando, vel sacramento augusto dies noctesque assidue venerando, vel illatis eidem contumeliis iniuriisque sarcien dis. In his tamen acquiescere, Venerabiles Fratres, neque Nobis licet neque vobis; etenim multo plura vel provehenda restant vel suscipienda, ut munus hoc omnium divinissimum apud eos ipsos, qui christianae religionis colunt officia, ampliore in luce atque honore versetur, tantumque mysterium quam dignissima veneratione colatur. Quapropter suscepta opera acrius in dies urgenda; prisca instituta, sicubi exoleverint, revocanda, ut sodalitia eucharistica, supplicationes Sacramento augusto ad adorandum proposito, sollemnes eius circumductae pompae, piae ad divina tabernacula salutationes, alia eiusdem generis et sancta et saluberrima; omnia praeterea aggredienda, quae prudentia et pietas ad rem suadeat. Sed in eo prae-

cipue est elaborandum, ut frequens Eucharistiae usus, apud catholicas gentes late reviviscat. Id monent nascentis Ecclesiae, quae supra memoravimus, exempla, id Conciliorum decreta, id auctoritas Patrum et sanctissimorum ex omni aetate virorum; ut enim corpus, ita animus cibo saepe indiget suo; alimoniam autem maxime vitalem praebebat sacrosancta Eucharistia. Itaque praecudicatae adversantium opiniones, inanes multorum timores, speciosae abstinendi causae penitus tollendae; ea enim agitur res, qua nihil fidei populo utilius tum ad redimendum tempus e sollicitis rerum mortalium curis, tum ad christianos revocandos spiritus constanterque retinendos. Huc sane magno erunt momento praestantiorum ordinum hortationes et exempla, maximo autem cleri navitas et industria. Sacerdotes enim, quibus Christus Redemptor Corporis et Sanguinis sui mysteria conficiendi ac dispensandi tradidit munus, nihil profecto melius pro summo accepto honore queant rependere, quam ut Ipsius eucharisticam gloriam omni ope provehant, optatisque sacratissimi Cordis eius obsequendo, animos hominum ad salutiferos tanti Sacramenti Sacrificii fontes invitent ac pertrahant.

Ita fiat, quod vehementer cupimus, ut praecellentes Eucharistiae fructus quotidie uberiores proveniant, fide, spe, caritate, omni denique christiana virtute, feliciter accrescente; idque in sanationem atque emolumentum rei quoque publicae; fiat, ut providentissimae Dei caritatis magis magisque eluceant consilia, qui tale mysterium *pro mundi vita* constituit perpetuum.

Quarum Nos rerum erecti spe, Venerabiles Fratres, auspicem munerum divinorum caritatisque Nostrae testem, Apostolicam benedictionem et singulis vobis et vestro cuiusque clero ac populo peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die xxviii. Maii, in praeludio sollemnitatis Corporis Christi, anno MDCCCCII., Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.

THE MOST HOLY EUCHARIST.

LEO XIII., POPE.

To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and other Ordinaries in peace and communion with the Apostolic See.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,

Health and Apostolic Benediction:

THE wonderful zeal for the salvation of men of which Jesus Christ has given us so bright an example we, in accordance with the sanctity of our office, strive to study and imitate unceasingly, and, with His help, we shall continue to follow the same Divine model as long as life remains in us. As it is our lot to live in times bitterly hostile to truth and justice, we have endeavored to supply abundantly as far as lay in our power, by teaching, admonishing and working, whatsoever might seem likely to avert the contagion of error in its various forms or strengthen the energies of Christian life. In this connection there are two things within the memory of the faithful, intimately connecting one with the other, the accomplishment of which fills us with consolation in the midst of so many sorrows. One is that we declared it most desirable that the whole human race should be consecrated in a special manner to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ the Redeemer; the other that we most earnestly exhorted all bearing the Christian name to adhere steadfastly to Him who by divine authority is for all men the Way, the Truth and the Life.

And now, in truth, watching with vigilance over the fortunes of the Church in these evil days, we are impelled by the same apostolic love to add something which will crown and finish the project we had in mind; namely, to recommend to the Christian world by a special act of our authority the Most Holy Eucharist.

The Blessed Eucharist is the most divine gift, given to us clearly from the inmost heart of the Redeemer, with the desire of one desiring this singular union with man and instituted chiefly for the generous disposal of the fruits of His redemption. In this matter we have hitherto manifested by our authority and zeal not a little solicitude. And it is pleasant to remember, among other things,

that we, by legitimate approval and privileges, largely increased the number of institutes and sodalities devoted to the perpetual adoration of the Divine Host; that we also took care to have Eucharistic congresses held with suitable splendor and corresponding usefulness, and that we made patron of those and similar works, the heavenly Paschal Baylon, who stood out in his day as a most devout worshiper of the Eucharistic mystery.

Therefore, venerable brethren, it is well to fix our minds on certain features of this mystery in defending and illustrating which the zeal of the Church has constantly been manifested and not infrequently crowned by the palm of martyrdom, whilst the doctrine itself has called forth the learning and eloquence of the greatest men and the most noble masterpieces in various arts. Here it will be our duty to point out clearly and expressly the power that is in this mystery to cure the evils and meet the necessities of the present age. And surely, as Christ, at the close of His mortal life, left this sacrament as the great monument of His love for men, as the greatest support "for the life of the world" (St. John vi., 52), so we, who are likewise soon to depart, can desire nothing more eagerly than to excite and nourish in the minds of all men feelings of grateful love and religious devotion towards this most wonderful sacrament, in which, we believe, are to be found the hope and assurance of salvation and peace.

It may be a cause of surprise to some that we should think this age, so universally disturbed and groaning under so great a burden, should be best aided by such remedies and helps, and persons shall not be wanting, perhaps, who will treat our utterances with fastidious indifference. This comes chiefly from pride, and pride is a vice which weakens Christian faith and produces such a terrible darkness about divine things that of many it is said: "Whatever things they know not, they blaspheme." (Judea x.) But so far are we from being averted from the purpose we have in view that we believe more firmly than ever that it will bring light to those who are well disposed and obtain, by the brotherly intercession of the devout, pardon from God for those who revile holy things.

To know with full and perfect faith what is the virtue of the Most Holy Eucharist is to know what God, made Man, accomplished for the salvation of the human race in His infinite mercy. For as it is a duty of true faith to proclaim our belief in Christ and worship the Supreme Author of our salvation, who by His wisdom, laws, example and the shedding of His blood renewed all things, it is a duty of equal obligation to worship Him who is really present in the Eucharist, that so He may abide among men to the end of the world, and by the perennial communication of Himself make them sharers in the blessings of His redemption.

Now, he who studiously and religiously considers the blessings flowing from the Holy Eucharist sees at once that in it are contained in the most eminent degree all other blessings of every kind; for from it that life flows which is truly life: "The bread which I will give is My flesh for the life of the world." Not in one way alone is Christ the life—Christ, who assigned as the cause of His coming among men that He might bring them a sure fullness of life that was more than human: "I come that they may have life, and have it more abundantly." For as soon as "the goodness and compassion of God our Saviour" appeared upon earth, a power at once came forth that almost created a new order of things and influenced every department of civil and domestic society. Thence new relations between man and man; new rights, public and private; new duties; a new direction given to institutions, laws, arts and sciences. The thoughts and studies of men were drawn towards the truth of religion and the sanctity of morals, and hence a life given to men truly heavenly and divine. All this is frequently commemorated in the sacred writings; the tree of life, the word of life, the book of life, the crown of life, and, expressly, the bread of life.

But this life about which we are speaking bears an express resemblance to the natural life of men, and so, just as the one is nourished by food and grows strong, so does the other likewise require to be supported and strengthened by food. And here it is well to recall the time and manner in which Christ moved the minds of men and excited them to receive suitably and righteously the living bread which He was about to give them. For where the fame had spread abroad of the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves which He had wrought on the shore of Tiberias, many people followed Him so that their hunger, too, might be appeased. Then Jesus, seizing the opportunity, just as when He infused into the Samaritan woman at the well a thirst for the water "springing up into life everlasting," similarly disposes the minds of the eager multitude to desire more eagerly another bread, the bread "which endureth unto life everlasting." But this bread, as Jesus continues to show, is not that heavenly manna given to their fathers wandering through the desert, nor is it that which they themselves had lately received from Him in astonishment; but He Himself is the true bread which He gives: "I am the bread of life." He inculcates still further the same lesson both by council and by precept: "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread that I will give is My flesh for the life of the world." And the gravity of the command He thus shows clearly: "Amen, amen, I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you." Away, therefore, with that common and most pernicious

error of those who believe that the Holy Eucharist is only for those who, free from business and troubled in mind, resolve to seek repose in some design of a more religious life. For the Holy Eucharist, than which there is nothing more excellent or salutary, is for all, whatsoever their employment or dignity, who wish (and there is no one who should not wish) to nourish in themselves the life of Divine Grace, of which the ultimate end is the attainment of life eternal.

Would that those whose genius or industry or authority could do so much to guide the men and affairs of the age would think rightly of eternal life and impart the knowledge of it to others. But, alas! we see with regret that most of these arrogantly believe that they have given to the world a life prosperous and almost new, because they urge it forward to strive in its excited course for utilitarian objects and the mere gratification of curiosity. Look where you will, human society, alien though it is from God, far from enjoying that tranquillity of affairs which it seeks, labors in great anguish and trepidation like one tossing in a fever; it strives vainly to obtain that prosperity in which alone it puts its trust, ever vainly pursuing it and clinging desperately to what is slipping from its grasp. For men and states come necessarily from God, and therefore in no other can they live or move or do good but in God through Jesus Christ, from whom men have received and still receive the best and choicest gifts. But the chief source and fountain head of all these gifts is the Holy Eucharist, which, while it nourishes and supports that life for which we strive so ardently, exalts in the highest degree that dignity of human nature which seems to be so highly valued in these days. For what can be greater or more desirable than to be made as far as possible participators and partners in the Divine nature? But this is what Christ does in the Eucharist, raising man up to divine things by the aid of grace and uniting Himself to him by bonds so close. For there is this difference between the food of the body and the food of the soul, that the former is converted into us, but the latter converts us into itself, and it is to this that Augustine refers when he puts the words into the mouth of Christ: "You shall not change Me into thee as food of thy flesh, but thou shalt be changed into Me."

But this most excellent sacrament, which renders men participators of the Divine nature, also enables the soul of man to advance in every class of the higher virtues. And first in faith. At all times faith has had its assailants; for although it exalts the minds of men with knowledge of the most lofty things, yet, while it has revealed that there exist things above nature, it conceals their precise character, and so seems to depress the human mind. Formerly only this or that article of faith was attacked; afterwards war was waged much more widely, until it finally came to be affirmed that there was

nothing at all above nature. Now, for renewing in the mind the vigor and fervor of faith there is nothing more suitable than the mystery of the Eucharist, which is properly called the mystery of faith; for truly in this one mystery, by reason of its wonderful abundance and variety of miracles, is contained the whole supernatural order. "He has made a remembrance of His wonderful works, being a merciful and gracious Lord. He hath given food to them that fear Him." For if God acknowledged what He wrought above nature as due to the incarnation of the word, through whom the salvation of the human race was restored, according to that word of the Apostle: "He hath purposed . . . to reëstablish all things in Christ, that are in heaven and on earth, in Him;" the Eucharist, according to the testimony of the Holy Fathers, is a continuation and an expansion of the incarnation. For by it the substance of the incarnate word is united to men, and the supreme sacrifice of Calvary is renewed in a manner that is full of mystery. This the prophet Malachy signified in the words: "In every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to My name a clean oblation." And this miracle, the greatest of all, is accompanied by innumerable others, for here all the laws of nature are suspended; the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed into the Body and Blood of Christ; the species of bread and wine are sustained without a subject by Divine power; the Body of Christ dwells at the same time in as many places as the sacrament is consecrated. But human reason is enabled the better to reverence so great a mystery by the prodigies which have been performed in its glory in past ages and in our own days, of which, indeed, there still exist renowned and public proofs, and that not in one place merely. We see, therefore, that by this sacrament faith is fostered, the soul nourished, the falsehoods of rationalists dissipated and the whole order of the supernatural made clear to our eyes.

But it is not pride alone, but depravity of mind as well, that makes faith in Divine things grow weak. For if it happens that the better the morals the clearer the intelligence, if even the prudence of the Gentiles perceived that the mind is blunted by the pleasures of the body, as Divine wisdom has already borne testimony, then so much more in Divine things do the pleasures of the body obscure the light of faith, and even extinguish it altogether in God's just punishment. And for these pleasures there is burning in those days an insatiable cupidity, a cupidity which, like the contagion of disease, widely infects all even from their first tender years. There is a remedy for this terrible evil in the Divine Eucharist. For, first of all, by increasing charity it checks voluptuous desire; as Augustine says: "The nourishment (of charity) is the lessening of lust; perfection, no lust."

Besides, the most chaste flesh of Jesus restrains the luxury of our flesh, as Cyril of Alexandria has said: "For Christ existing in us calms the law of the flesh raging in our members." But even more the peculiar and most precious fruit of the Eucharist is that signified in the saying of the prophet: "What is the good thing of Him (Christ), and what is His beautiful thing but the corn of the elect, and wine springing forth virgins?"—namely, the strong and constant resolve of sacred virginity, which, while the age slips away in pleasures, flourishes in the Catholic Church more widely and more fruitfully from day to day, and, indeed, what a great advantage and ornament this is everywhere to religion and even to ordinary human intercourse is well known. Moreover, this sacrament strengthens beyond conception the hope of immortal blessings and the confidence of Divine aid. For the desire of happiness which is in the minds of all is more and more sharpened and strengthened by the emptiness of all earthly goods, by the unjust violence of wicked men and by all the other troubles of mind and body.

Now the august Sacrament of the Eucharist is at once the cause and pledge of happiness and glory not only for the soul, but also for the body. For while it enriches the soul with an abundance of heavenly gifts, it also fills it with joys so sweet that they far surpass every thought and hope of man; in adversity it sustains; in strife of virtue it confirms; it leads to everlasting life as by an open pathway. But to the frail and perishable body that Divine Host gives a future resurrection, for the immortal Body of Christ implants the seed of immortality which is some time to bud forth. This advantage, both to soul and body, the Church has at all times taught, following Christ, who said: "He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day." And here it is of great importance to consider that the Eucharist, being instituted by Christ as a "perennial memorial of His passion," declares to all Christian men the necessity of mortifying themselves. For Jesus said to His first priests: "Do this for a commemoration of Me," that is, do this to commemorate My sorrows, griefs, tortures and death on the cross. Hence this sacrament, which is also a sacrifice, is a ceaseless exhortation, for all time, to penance and every spiritual effort; it is also a solemn and severe reproof of those pleasures which shameless men praise and exalt so highly: "As often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this chalice, you shall show the death of the Lord until He come."

Moreover, if you diligently examine into the causes of the present evils, you will find that they arise from the fact that the charity of men towards one another has grown faint according as the love of God grew cold. They have forgotten that they were sons of God

and brothers in Jesus Christ; they think of nothing but themselves; the rights of others they not only disregard, but attack and invade. Hence the frequent quarrels and contentions among the various classes of citizens; the arrogance, harshness, dishonesty among the more powerful; the misery, envy and spirit of revolt among the weaker. For these evils it is vain to seek a remedy from the enactments of law, the fear of punishment or the plans of human prudence. What must be aimed at, as we ourselves have more than once recommended, is to reconcile the various orders of citizens by a mutual union of duties, a union which would come from God and give birth to works stamped with the true spirit and charity of Christ. This union Christ brought upon earth; by it He wished all things to be inspired, as being the one thing that could bring some happiness, even in the present, not only to the soul, but also to the body, restraining as it does man's immoderate love of himself, and repressing the passion for riches, which is "the root of all evils."

But although it is necessary that all just rights should be well protected, it is nevertheless lawful to establish and preserve in society that salutary "equality" which St. Paul recommended. This, therefore, is what Christ wished in instituting this august sacrament—to excite love toward God and to foster charity among men. For the one flows, as is evident, of its very nature and almost spontaneously, from the other; nor can men live without it at all; nay, it must even burn and flourish in their hearts, if they consider the charity of Christ towards them in this sacrament, in which He has maintained His marvelous power and wisdom, and also "poured forth the riches of His divine love for men." And as Christ has given us such an example of love, how we should love and help each other, bound together as we are still more closely by the needs of our common brotherhood! Moreover, the outward symbols of this sacrament are in a special manner calculated to incite us to union. For St. Cyprian says: "The very sacrifices of redemption themselves proclaim the necessity of Christian concord in the firm and inseparable bonds of charity. For when the Lord calls His body bread which is made up of the union of many grains, He indicates the union of that people whose sins He bore; and when He calls His blood wine which is drawn from many ripe grapes, again He signifies a flock made one by the union of the multitude." Similarly the Angelic Doctor following St. Augustine says: "Our Lord commended His body and blood in those things which are moulded in unity; for the first, the bread, namely, is made one from many grains, and the other, the wine, also becomes one from many grapes." And therefore Augustine elsewhere says: "O Sacrament of piety, O sign of unity, O bond of charity."

All this is confirmed by the declaration of the Council of Trent, that Christ left the Eucharist to the Church "as a symbol of that union and love with which He wished all Christians to be bound together—a symbol of that body of which He is head, and to which He wished us to be united as members by the most firm bonds of faith and hope and charity." And this St. Paul himself had declared: "For we, being many, are one bread, one body, all that partake of one bread." Yes, truly, here is a most beautiful example of Christian brotherhood and of social equality, that all should approach the same altars without distinction; the nobility and the people, the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, are equally sharers in the same heavenly banquet. And if it has been the glory of the Church that, in the first ages, "the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul," it cannot be doubted that such a wonderful blessing was due to the custom of approaching the holy table; for of them we find it recorded, "And they were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of bread." Moreover, the grace of mutual charity among the living, so much strengthened and increased as it is by the Sacrament of the Eucharist, flows out unto all who are in the communion of saints particularly through the power of the Holy Sacrifice. For the communion of saints, as all know, is nothing else than the mutual communication of aid, expiation, prayer and benefits among the faithful, whether in heaven or enduring the expiatory fires of Purgatory, or still abiding upon earth, but all forming one state, whose head is Christ, and whose life-giving principle is love. It is also a matter of faith that while to God alone the Holy Sacrifice may be offered, yet it can also be celebrated in honor of the saints reigning in heaven with God "Who crowned them," to obtain their patronage and protection, and also to blot out the stains of the brethren who had died in the Lord, but who had not yet made full atonement. That true charity, therefore, which is wont to do and endure all things for the salvation and utility of all, leaps and burns into life from the Most Holy Eucharist, in which Christ is really present, in which He gives way to His love for us in the highest form, and under the impulse of His divine love, perpetually renews His sacrifice. It is from this that the arduous labors of apostolic men, as well as the various institutions that have had their origin among Catholics and deserve so well of the human race, derive their influence, strength, constancy and successful results.

These few things written by us on a great subject will, we doubt not, produce much fruit if you, venerable brethren, seasonably expound and commend them to the faithful.

At the same time this sacrament is so great and so abounding in

virtue that no one has ever yet adequately praised it by his eloquence or worshiped it by his adoration. Whether you meditate upon it or rightly worship it, or better still, purely and worthily receive it, it is to be regarded as the great centre round which turns the whole Christian life; to it all other forms of piety lead; in it they end. In the self-same mystery that gracious invitation and still more gracious promise of Christ: "Come to Me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you," are renewed and daily fulfilled. Lastly, it is, as it were, the soul of the Church, towards which is directed the fulness of sacerdotal grace through the various grades of orders. From the very same source does the Church draw all her power and glory, all the ornaments of her Divine ritual, and all the efficacy of her blessings. Therefore, she takes the greatest care to instruct the faithful and lead them to this intimate union with Christ by the Sacrament of His Body and Blood; and for the same reason she adorns it and makes it more worthy of reverence by means of the most sacred ceremonies. The constant care of our Holy Mother the Church in this matter is summed up in the exhortation of the Council of Trent; an exhortation breathing forth wonderful charity and piety, and worthy of being entirely recalled again by us to the Christian world: "With paternal affection the Holy Synod admonishes, exhorts, demands and, by the bowels of God's mercy, entreats all, without exception, who are called Christians, to sometimes meet and find peace in this sign of unity, in this bond of charity, in this symbol of concord; to be mindful of that immense majesty and of that wonderful love of Jesus Christ, our Lord, who gave His life as price of our salvation, and His flesh to be our food; to believe and venerate those sacred mysteries of His Body and Blood with such constancy and firmness of faith, such devotion of mind and piety and zeal, that they may be able to frequently receive that supersubstantial bread, so that He may be truly to them the life of their soul and the perpetual health of their mind, and thus that strengthened by its vigor, they may be able, after the journey of this miserable exile, to reach their heavenly country and eat without any veil upon their eyes the very same bread of angels which they now eat concealed under the sacred species."

Now, history bears witness that Christian life flourished better in the times when the reception of the Blessed Eucharist was more frequent. On the other hand, it is not less certain that when men began to neglect and almost despise this heavenly bread the vigor of the Christian profession sensibly diminished. Lest it should some time pass away altogether, Innocent III., in the Council of Lateran, imposed the most solemn precept that, at the very least, no Christian should abstain at Paschal time from receiving the Body of the

Lord. This precept, however, was imposed with reluctance, and, it is clear, only as the last remedy; for it has been always the wish of the Church that the faithful should approach the holy table at every sacrifice. "The most Holy Synod would wish the faithful attending each Mass to communicate not only spiritually, but even sacramentally, so that they might receive more abundantly the fruits of the sacrifice."

And this most sacred mystery contains as a sacrifice the plenitude of salvation not only for individuals, but for all men; hence the Church is accustomed to offer it unceasingly "for the salvation of the whole world." It is fitting, therefore, that by the common zeal of the devout there should be greater love and esteem for this sacrifice; in this age particularly there is no more pressing necessity. Accordingly, we desire that its efficacy and power should be remembered more widely and even more diligently proclaimed. Principles evident from the very light of reason tell us that God, the creator and preserver of all things, has a supreme and absolute dominion over men, both privately and publicly; that all that we have and are in every sphere has come from His bounty; and that we, in turn, are bound to give Him the highest reverence as our Master and the greatest gratitude as our most generous benefactor. And yet how few are there to-day who fulfil those duties with suitable piety.

This age, if any, surely manifests the spirit of rebellion against God; in it that impious cry against Christ again grows strong: "We will not have this man to reign over us," and that impious resolve, "Let us cut Him off." Nor, indeed, is anything urged more vehemently by very many than this, that they should banish and separate God from all intercourse with men. This criminal madness is not universal, we joyfully admit; yet it is lamentable how many have forgotten the Divine Majesty and His benefits, and the salvation that was obtained chiefly through Christ. Now, this wickedness and folly must be resisted by an increase of general devotion and zeal in the worship of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Nothing could of itself be more full of sweetness and consolation to the Christian soul. For the Victim that is immolated is Divine, and, accordingly, the honor that we render through it to the Holy Trinity is in proportion to its infinite dignity; we offer also to the Father His only-begotten Son—an offering that is infinite in value and infinitely acceptable; hence it is that we not only give Him thanks for His goodness, but even make Him a return. There is also another two-fold and wonderful fruit which may and ought to be derived from this great sacrifice.

The mind grows sad when it reflects on the fearful multitude of

crimes which abounds on all sides, God, as we have said, being neglected and the Divine Majesty despised. The human race in great part seems to call upon the Divine anger, although indeed that harvest of evil which has been reaped contains in itself the ripeness of a just punishment. The zeal of the faithful should be roused to appease God, the avenging Judge of crime, and obtain from Him the reform of a sinful age. This is to be done chiefly by the aid of this holy sacrifice. For it is by virtue alone of Christ's death that men can fully satisfy the demand of Divine justice, and abundantly obtain mercy and pardon. But this power of expiation or of entreaty Christ wished to remain wholly in the Eucharist, which is not a mere commemoration of His death, but a real and wonderful, although unbloody and mystic, renewal of it.

At the same time let us confess we have not a little joy knowing that in those last years the minds of the faithful seem to have been renewed in love and reverence for the Sacrament of the Eucharist; and this gives us a better hope for the future. For, as we said in the beginning, ingenious piety has done much in this direction, especially in sodalities, either by increasing the splendor of our Eucharistic rites, or worshipping the Holy Sacrament constantly by day and night, and making atonement for the insults and injuries it receives. But, venerable brethren, it is not lawful for us or for you to stop here; for yet many more things remain to be done or undertaken, so that this, the most Divine work of all, may be put in a clearer light and held in greater honor among those who practice the duties of the Christian religion, that so great a mystery may be honored in a manner worthy of its greatness. Hence the works that have been undertaken are to be urged on more vigorously from day to day; old institutions, where they have disappeared, are to be renewed, as, for example, the Sodalties of the Eucharist, the supplications poured forth to the holy sacrament exposed for adoration, all the solemnity of pomp with which it was surrounded, the pious salutations before the tabernacles, and other holy and most profitable practices of the same nature; in fine, everything is to be done that prudence and piety could dictate. But, above all, endeavor should be made to revive widely again among Catholic nations the frequent use of the Holy Eucharist. To this the example of the early Church, the decrees of councils, the authority of the fathers and of the holy men in every age exhort us; for as the body needs its own food, so does the soul, and the most life-giving nourishment is given by the Holy Eucharist. Therefore, condemn beforehand the opinions of those who oppose such frequent communions. Banish the idle fears of many and the spacious excuses or reasons for abstaining from the Body of the Lord; for nothing could be more effective in rescuing

the world from its anxiety about perishable things, and in bringing back and perpetually preserving the Christian spirit. Here the exhortations and examples of the higher orders, and still more the zeal and industry of the clergy, will be of great value. For priests to whom Christ, the Redeemer, has given the office of consecrating and administering the mysteries of His Body and Blood, can surely make no greater return for the high honor they have received than to do all in their power to promote His glory in the Eucharist, and by following the desire of His Most Sacred Heart to invite and draw the souls of all to the saving fountains of so great a sacrament and sacrifice.

Thus may the surpassing fruits of the Eucharist become, as we ardently desire, more fruitful from day to day, with abundant growth, also, in faith, hope, charity, and in every virtue; may this revival of piety tend to the peace and advantage of the State, and may the designs of God's most provident love in instituting such a perpetual mystery for the life of the world be made manifest to all men.

Buoyed up with such a hope, venerable brethren, and as a pledge of Divine gifts as well as of our affection, we lovingly impart to each one of you, and to your clergy and people, our Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, near St. Peter's, on this 23d day of May, on the approach of the solemnity of Corpus Christi, in the year 1902, the twenty-fifth of our Pontificate.

LEO XIII., POPE.

THE LAST WORDS OF AN AGNOSTIC.

THE parting words of Mr. Herbert Spencer to a world which he so long undertook to lead and guide could not possibly be without interest. "Facts and Comments"—his latest and "last" work—will, it is true, hardly enhance its author's fame. It is not a learned, or a profound, or a very thoughtful work. It is even lacking in rhetorical interest—usually a pleasing feature in Mr. Spencer's writings, even when his logic lagged. It treats of all manner of subjects from metaphysics to music. It is so filled with the frivolous musings of age, the puerilities, the drivel, the important trifles and chatter of failing powers, that it is but too suggestive of Dogberry's wisdom, "A good old man, sir; he will be talking: as they say, when the age is in the wit is out." Indeed, two famous agnostics have already written each a volume too many; George Eliot her "Impressions of Theophrastus Such," and Herbert Spencer his "Facts and Comments."

And yet the volume is not without its value. Indeed, in some respects it is the most important work which Mr. Spencer has given to the world; for it proclaims in unmistakable language the utter failure of all the teachings for which the name of Mr. Spencer has stood for more than half a century.

Few men have ever set themselves so stupendous a task as that which Mr. Herbert Spencer selected as his life work. He was one of the four men who, in the English-speaking world, began, about the middle of the last century, the vast work of reconstructing human thought. He is now the sole survivor. In the opinion of Messrs. Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley and Spencer, the time had come for a successful revolt against established beliefs. The nineteenth century was in its full noonday splendor. The sciences were at the zenith of their glory. Why then should the opinions of a far-off age be allowed to cloud the brilliancy of an ever-brightening day? Why should primitive beliefs, which, as Professor Huxley said, "should be fossil but were not" be permitted to stalk abroad in open day in an age so gorgeously illuminated with the light of new and advancing science? Why should Jewish lawgivers, and Chaldean sages, and Hebrew prophets and teachers of a bygone age, influence an era that had discovered steam and electricity, and converted our supposed vast globe into a mere toy for infancy? Surely an age which had accomplished so much could well undertake to solve anew for itself the riddle of the universe and fling all the old notions upon this point to the winds of heaven. Let the old sphinx then beware. A new race of men now stood before her. Her riddle which had defied

all the ages and baffled all the prophets must at last yield to the science and the sages of the nineteenth century. The makeshift of revelation and divine interference was to be wholly eliminated. All supernaturalism must be rigidly excluded. Science and human intellect were quite competent and would solve the riddle of existence. A new epoch—the epoch of science and enlightenment—was to be ushered in, and the new heavens and the new earth of scientific glory and enlightenment were to be fashioned and established on the ruins of the old. The work, it is true, was a gigantic one. It meant the entire recasting of all human opinion, the reconstruction of all human thought, the coördination of all knowledge, the unification of all beliefs. The scope was far-reaching. It included everything from suns to microbes. It extended to every crevice of matter and every fold of mind. It meant the creation of new worlds to take the place of those that were to be cast aside as worthless. Science, philosophy, morality, religion—all must be created anew. And then there were the realms of biology, and psychology, and sociology, and politics—all states within states—which must be reconstructed so that each may revolve perfectly in its own sphere and be securely fixed on its own axes. Above all, man must be taught anew—and without interference or interposition on the part of supramundane powers. The new knowledge was to make us all as gods; and “the new wine of science,” as it had been happily styled, was to intoxicate mankind with a happiness of which the haze had never even dreamed.

It were indeed a stolid race that could be indifferent to the results from such wondrous promise, and Mr. Herbert Spencer has conveniently summarized for us these important results. Mr. Spencer is himself “the last of the Romans.” He has given us what he says is his “last” volume. He has been, moreover, the living embodiment of the whole movement. All the others were mere specialists. Mr. Spencer, however, took all knowledge to be his portion. He took the threads from every department of learning, held them firmly in his hand and undertook to weave them all into a warp and woof which would give us the true answer to the sphinx’s riddle. No one then is so capable of giving us an estimate of the success of the movement as Mr. Spencer himself. No one will be inclined to question views on this point emanating from such a source. And fortunately Mr. Spencer has been candid and explicit.

Mr. Spencer and his colleagues had also learned a lesson from the failure of the eighteenth century revolt against revelation and supernaturalism. They were just the men to profit by the experience of that age of failure. The cause of the failure in the preceding cycle was manifestly that the movement offered no substitute for the creed

it would supplant. The scientific movement of the nineteenth century was sure to guard against this error of the eighteenth. The old nail of revealed religion must be driven out with the new nail of science. In science and philosophy former doctrines were to be superseded by the famous theory of evolution; in religion the superstitions of revelation by the new cult of agnosticism. With these substitutes for obsolete philosophies and religions there was little danger of a repetition of the mistakes of the preceding century.

Whether by accident, by arrangement, or by choice, to Mr. Spencer fell the gigantic task of fashioning the new theories. He was, as Darwin had early styled him, the "great philosopher" of the movement. His task it was to grasp the mighty whole within his capacious intellect; to arrange all the facts, to collate, to compare, to coördinate the entire mass of human experience; and from out the vast variety to bring unity and harmony. To vary the metaphor, his task was to fuse all the facts, all the experience, and all the knowledge of all time in one molten mass, fashion it all in one common mould, and thus from the fused mass, fashion the new image of truth. This was Mr. Spencer's task and his alone. Darwin was a specialist whose range did not go beyond organic matter and who labored in the interests of one hobby—natural selection. Tyndall was also a specialist, engaged upon his experiments in light and heat and diamagnetism, and could offer little more than his sympathy and his narrow specialty of science to the work of the great synthesis. Huxley was an ardent and enthusiastic *collaborateur*, it is true. His judgment was valuable. His criticisms were usually keen and sound. As a platform exponent of the new theory he was indeed unsurpassed. But he contributed nothing to the work itself beyond a valuable suggestion now and then; and while his judgments always carried weight, the planning of the vast architectonics of the system with all its various ramifications was the work of Mr. Spencer, the philosopher of evolution and agnosticism. For over half a century he has labored at his mighty task; now we have his own estimate of how much he has accomplished.

How important was the great synthesis of human knowledge which Mr. Spencer undertook, admitted of no question. The magnitude of the undertaking, its vast scope and extent, were duly proclaimed. The world was gravely informed at the outset that Mr. Spencer's "discussions strike down to the profoundest basis of human thought, and involve the deepest questions upon which the intellect of man has entered." It was told that his work not only contained "the prime requisites of the highest education," but also "*a knowledge of the truths which it is most important for man to know.*" The truths furnished by Mr.

Spencer's labors were expected "*to determine correct rules of human action, the principles of private and public justice, and to form a theory of right living.*" These were certainly ambitious aims, and most men would shrink from the task. But Mr. Spencer believed that he had a special mission to enlighten the world, and he never hesitated or faltered. He himself assures us of the "greatness of the question at issue." He realized that the matter was "one which concerns each and all of us more than any other matter whatever." His conclusions, he warned us, must at least indirectly "affect us in all our relations—must determine our conception of the Universe, of Life, of Human Nature—*must influence our ideas of right and wrong, and so modify our conduct.*" Of course such a vast undertaking "must cause a revolution of thought," but this revolution would be "*fruitful in beneficial consequences,*" and consequently "must surely be worth the effort." These were sanguine hopes, and it is worth while to inquire whether Mr. Spencer has reaped their full realization.

One would suppose that a life of such usefulness should pass into the great beyond with unrippled calmness and serenity; that spent in the solution of the world's problems its last days would be brightened by the knowledge it had given to the world and the light it had thrown on these great subjects. What could be more beautiful or more encouraging to the followers of Mr. Spencer and to the whole agnostic world than to behold the bark of their leader and founder glide gently over the surface of the smooth and tranquil deep leaving a sheen of golden glory in its track—the result of the new light which he had shed upon the great problems among which he spent a lifetime? One might, indeed, expect mighty and far-reaching results from a work so big with promise. But alas! in the history of futile endeavor there is nothing sadder than the figure of Mr. Spencer in his old days groping for light on the very questions which he set out to solve and in the very places which he resolutely ignored in life. No one will deny to the agnostic his dying consolations if we may judge by those of the father and founder of the cult. Here is the wail of a dying life without hope, without joy. There is not in all the world anything more dreary, more doleful, more disconsolate. After telling us that

"For years past, when watching the unfolding buds in the spring there has arisen the thought: Shall I ever again see the buds unfold? Shall I ever again be awakened at dawn by the song of the thrush?"

he tells us that out of the folds and recesses of consciousness come other and deeper questions—questions which the "great philosopher" has failed to solve. They come now to haunt him like ghosts, and their persistency increases with advancing age. It would be a great mistake to suppose that a great philosopher who

so jauntily undertook to read the riddle of human life and solve the problems of the universe for all the rest of mankind, who dismissed with a sneer all other solutions of the mystery except that which he himself might give, and who rejected so cavalierly all former views about the first beginning and last end of all things—regarding them as unworthy of consideration—goes down to his grave in untroubled peace and quiet regarding those questions which he so resolutely excluded as illegitimate and unknowable during life, or which undertook to solve anew. Not so. Great philosophers, it appears, have their hopes and fears like lesser men; and it would seem that the great questions of the after life thrust themselves back upon such with a vengeance for being excluded in life from consideration. Mr. Spencer thus answers for himself:

"Now that the end is not likely to be long postponed, there results an increasing tendency to *meditate upon ultimate questions.*"

Nor is this peculiar to Mr. Spencer alone. He possesses it in common with all agnostics. He says:

"It is commonly supposed that those who have relinquished the creed of Christendom occupy themselves exclusively with material activities—thinking nothing of the How and the Why, of the Whence and the Whither."

But no such thing. There are the great and greatly abused questions lying in wait for them at the gates of death.

"It may be so," he says, "with many of the uncultured. In the minds of those intimately known to me the riddle of existence fills spaces far larger than the current conception fills in the minds of men in general."

But why are these questions still a conundrum to Mr. Spencer? Are they not precisely the problems which he set out to solve for the world? Have we not just seen that when "First Principles" was first given to the world it was prefaced with the information that it was to "strike down to the profoundest basis of human thought," that it was to deal with "the deepest questions upon which the intellect of man has entered," and that moreover it was to furnish "a knowledge of the truths which it is most important for man to know?" Can it be that such magnificent promises are to fall short of fulfilment? Nay; did not Mr. Spencer himself unhesitatingly tell us that his vast work was to deal with problems which concern "each and all of us more than any other matter whatever?" Did he not inform us that it would "affect us in all our relations?" Did he not assure us that it would, nay, "*must* determine our conception of the Universe, of Life, of Human Nature" (all of them, too, capitalized), and that it even would and "*must* influence our ideas of right and wrong?" What then means this "increasing tendency to meditate on ultimate questions?" What means this language about the "riddle of existence?" Has not Mr. Spencer solved those questions for

us? Was not this the scope and end of his work? Can it be possible that he has failed to answer them satisfactorily? And can it be that Mr. Spencer—at the end of life—is still seeking for answers to questions which he started out to solve once and forever for the rest of mankind?

But alas! the truth must be confessed. Upon these all-important questions it is, with the agnostic at last—question, perplexity, doubt; and doubt, perplexity, question. Indeed there is not in history so striking or instructive a tableau as that of Mr. Spencer, the “great philosopher” of evolution and the great founder of agnosticism, at the end of life with the volume “Hell Opened to Christians” in his hands, seeking in the despised and discarded creed answers to the questions which he spent his life in solving and which nevertheless continue to perplex his last days. Not Prometheus with the vulture pecking at his liver; not Job seated in his royal misery upon a dung-hill; not the Prodigal vainly trying to suck life’s sustenance from the discarded husks, presents a sadder picture than the “great philosopher” endeavoring in vain to find answers to his questions in the very effervescence of the creed which he so long despised. It seems like another instance of the irony of fate. Of course it would be strange if Mr. Spencer should find the clamors in his mind appeased by the volume he has in hand; for the simple reason that he cannot understand it. He has spent his life in ignoring and depreciating the value of the fundamental doctrines on which the volume is based, to be able now to grasp the meaning of the work.

But in no quarter, search as he may, is the father of agnosticism successful in finding an answer to his riddle. He looks up to heaven; it is not there. He looks to earth; it is not there. He looks to the uttermost bounds of the universe; in vain. He scrutinizes his evolution, he searches his metaphysics and his agnosticism; but there is no answer. He looks to the world of consciousness within him; only silence reigns there. He inquires of the world around him; he finds only the futility of his inquiry as his answer.

“Concerning the outer world,” he muses, “as concerning the inner world, those who have not satisfied themselves with traditional explanations, continually have thrust upon them the same questions—trite questions concerning the origin, meaning and purpose alike of the Universe as a whole and of all its living contents, down to the microscopic forms of which earth, air and water are full. On the agnostic these questions are continually forced; and continually he sees the futility of all efforts to find consistent answers to them.”

This is indeed singular language from one who with unhesitating confidence informed the world over half a century ago that he had already found “consistent answers” to these questions. The “deep-

est questions" of the human intellect were to be made as the pages of an open book. The whole world was to be furnished—without money and without price—with a full "knowledge of the truths which it is most important for man to know." Even the ignorant and wayfaring man was to have determined for him—without danger of error—a proper "conception of the Universe, of Life, of Human Nature." What then, in the name of all the agnostic philosophers, and in the name of all the evolutionary scientists, means Mr. Spencer's present language about "questions concerning the origin, meaning and purpose of the Universe," which "are continually forced on the agnostic," and "the futility" of answering which, he "sees continually?" Mr. Spencer seems to be wholly unmindful of the bow of promise which he set in the agnostic heavens more than fifty years ago, when the doubtful were told by the great agnostic philosopher that the rough ways of knowledge were at last to be made smooth and the crooked straight and plain. Is it not strange that the teachers who have been teaching the world for over half a century, who were to give us a synthesis of thought and a unification of knowledge, should now be asking for answers to the questions which they themselves undertook to solve for mankind? Nothing can show more conclusively the utter worthlessness of agnosticism with its loud boasts and hollow pretensions than the spectacle of its great founder, philosopher, and prophet whining for answers to his own questions at the end of life. But the external world fails to respond to Mr. Spencer's cries for light; and so does the internal.

Regarding the question of existence after death Mr. Spencer's perplexity amounts to a positive dilemma. His musings on this point are amusing, even if doleful. Believing as he does—with his entire school—that consciousness is nothing more than a brain function, the difficulty of the answer is for him insuperable. To those who build philosophy on principles instead of on will-o'-the-wisp experiment the question presents the ordinary metaphysical difficulty. To the agnostic, however, who insists that he should eat his cake and have it too; or what is the same thing, who wants the brain to continue its functions even after death—and will accept no other testimony in the matter—the answer becomes a metaphysical impossibility. Accordingly, finding that he can get no evidence of consciousness without the activity of the brain, Mr. Spencer says he is "obliged to relinquish the thought that consciousness continues after physical organization becomes inactive."

We are not here trying to refute Mr. Spencer. We are simply wondering at his strange perplexities, and the still stranger snares in which men who are wiser than the rest of the world have the faculty of enmeshing themselves. The agnostic finds himself com-

pelled to relinquish the idea of an after life because the dead brain cannot give him any testimony of a thinking principle continued after dispensing with the agency of its material servant. And yet his mind rebels against this conclusion:

"But it seems a strange and repugnant conclusion," he says, "that with the cessation of consciousness at death there ceases to be any knowledge of having existed."

And thus he is perplexed and ill at ease on this question of questions. There is not in all the world a sadder spectacle than to see the old age of a once brilliant youth, wrinkled, shrivelled, and shrunken, like a withered leaf, seated with fixed and hopeless gaze on the problems it fain would solve, searching wistfully for a spark of warmth among the ash heaps of the world, and straining the fast-dimming eyes in every direction for one single ray of light and hope. And then the gloom and hopeless despair which settles down upon the anxious seeker when he finds that on the door of agnosticism are written the words: "All hope abandon you who enter here;" and when in woe-begone accents he murmurs to himself with Mr. Spencer: "With his last breath it becomes to each the same thing as though he had never lived." The only inference Mr. Spencer can draw from his own crude guesses is that the individual man at death "lapses into the Infinite and Eternal whence they were derived." We are but bubbles, then, on the surface of the great river and sink back again into its bosom, and are henceforth as if we had never been.

But even these views he broaches with doubt, dread and uncertainty. Had the aged prophet of agnosticism borne his conclusions with equanimity and fortitude, had he clung tenaciously to his own views of life, had he been steadfast to the end in his rejection of current beliefs, had he been consistent even in his wretched negations, or had he remained firm in his doubt and unwavering in his denial, there might have been at least some example of constancy left to his followers. But tossed about on the treacherous billows of human fancy he has not been able to point out a single meaning in man's existence. He fails utterly to find a purpose or end in life. He has not left to the world one single uplifting or ennobling thought, not a page or a word that might enhance man's dignity in his own eyes. He thinks that man's days are but as grass and quite as profitless—yet even of this he is not certain—and he now ignominiously returns at the end of life to seek some light in views and opinions which he spent a lifetime in deriding. He now busies himself in searching for answers to questions which he had hoped to be able to answer off-hand, or which he said were not worthy of consideration.

But if those questions are important at the end of life, why are

they not important also during life? If important during life, why did Mr. Spencer ignore them? Why were they so persistently kept in the background? And if they were important and Mr. Spencer undertook to answer them, why does he not now give the world his answer? And why, above all, does he present to the world the spectacle of old age groping and seeking for knowledge in the creeds he labored so hard to villify and discredit during life? Surely it was when his intellect was at high noon that he should have examined the merits of the answers which he so disdainfully rejected and which he now seems disposed to reconsider.

But if the founder of agnosticism has failed to find a meaning and purpose in human life as well as in the universe, his failure on this point must be regarded as success when compared with the result of his efforts in the region of morals. Here was the realm in which Mr. Spencer had hoped to reap the rich harvest of all his labors. After all, what did it matter whether he solved the sphinx's riddle, provided he could serve humanity by giving it a proper basis for its morality! Of the need and importance of a new foundation for the moral world Mr. Spencer was thoroughly convinced. We shall best understand what has been the extent of the failure or success of his efforts in the moral sphere by comparing his present opinions on the subject with the sanguine views which spurred him on to his extensive labors in this particular domain. It will be remembered that Mr. Spencer sketched for himself a precise programme in his colossal work of coördinating human thought and unifying human knowledge. The order of this programme was to be strictly followed in his work, for in the agnostic heaven as well as in our own, order is the first law; hence Mr. Spencer's orderly programme might not be deviated from easily. Nevertheless there was a deviation—but let Mr. Spencer himself give his justification of it. In his preface to "The Data of Ethics," apologizing to the world for the interruption of his elaborate programme, he said:

"A reference to the programme of the 'System of Synthetic Philosophy' will show that the chapters herewith issued constitute the first division of the work on the 'Principles of Morality,' with which the system ends. As the second and third volumes of the 'Principles of Sociology' are as yet unpublished, this instalment of the succeeding work appears out of its place."

This interruption of his programme and inversion of its order he thus explains and justifies:

"I have been led thus to deviate from the order originally set down by the fear that persistence in conforming to it might result in leaving the final work of the series unexecuted. Hints, repeated of late years with increasing frequency and distinctness, have shown me that health may permanently fail, even if life does not end, before I reach the last part of the task I have marked out for myself."

To avert such a calamity, then, which would so disastrously affect the mass of mankind, Mr. Spencer paused in the middle of

his all-important programme, and seeing the possibility that he might not live to finish it, he, with great forethought and commendable regard for the world at large, resolved to forestall any such public calamity by then and there publishing the volume of his works, which, as being the most important, he had reserved for the last. So much at least would be preserved for the world. How momentous was this crisis for the world he proceeds to tell us:

"This last part of the task it is, to which I regard all the preceding parts as subsidiary. Written as far back as 1842, my first essay . . . vaguely indicated what I conceive to be certain general principles of right and wrong in political conduct; and from that time onwards *my ultimate purpose, lying beyond all proximate purposes, has been that of finding for the principles of right and wrong in conduct at large, a scientific basis.*"

What wonder, indeed, that he reversed his programme since it was a question of finding a new basis of morality! This then was the goal of all his colossal labors—his "ultimate purpose, lying beyond all proximate purposes." Every one will sympathize with him when he says:

"To leave this purpose unfulfilled after making so extensive a preparation for fulfilling it, would be a failure the probability of which I do not like to contemplate; and I am anxious to preclude it, if not wholly, still partially. Hence the step I now take."

Who will not say that Mr. Spencer, considering the gravity of the matter, was not justified in taking this momentous step? But this was not all. There was something more at stake than the fulfilment of a purpose—"ultimate" though that purpose was. There were still more grave—and even imperative—reasons why Mr. Spencer's views on the question of morality should be then given to the world. The good of mankind was at stake. The Sinaitic code stood in sore need of supplementary aid. The moral world was trembling in the balance—and Mr. Spencer saw it. But let him speak for himself:

"I am the more anxious to intimate in outline, if I cannot complete, this final work, because the establishment of rules of right conduct on a scientific basis is a pressing need. *Now that moral injunctions are losing the authority given by their supposed sacred origin, the secularization of morals is becoming imperative. Few things can happen more disastrous than the decay and death of a regulative system no longer fit, before another and fitter regulative system has grown up to replace it.*"

At this momentous crisis, it was in the highest degree philanthropic in Mr. Spencer to throw himself into the breach and save mankind. The carrying out of a set programme was not for a moment to be weighed against the importance of meeting the danger from the upheaval of the moral world. And fortunate it was that at the critical moment a new Moses was at hand who should ascend the Sinai of science and give a new code of morals to mankind. Indeed it is to be feared that the world at large does not realize its debt to Mr. Spencer upon this special point, and that in some quarters his services to humanity are altogether ignored. But be that as it may,

Mr. Spencer could not sit idly by, and behold the oncoming disaster without doing all that in him lay to avert it. In the gap left by the disappearance of the divine commandments something must be placed to prevent a universal collapse. The founder of agnosticism saw the overwhelming danger fast approaching. He grasped its full significance. And he alone understood the remedy. Indeed there is nothing in the whole history of agnosticism or evolution so majestically noble, so sublimely heroic, as the sight of this new Atlas rushing in to sustain upon his shoulders the entire moral sphere and thus save it from falling into the bottomless abyss. Here are his noble words while girding himself so heroically for the task :

"As the change which promises or threatens to bring about this state . . . is rapidly progressing, those who believe that the vacuum (in the moral world) can be filled, and that it must be filled, are called upon to do something in pursuance of this belief."

Here, then, was the hour ; and fortunately here, too, was the man. The new code of morality was given to the world forthwith. The breach was filled. The moral world was saved. The timely rescue of morality has passed into history, there to take its place forever. This interruption of his programme occurred in the year 1879. During the twenty-three years which have since elapsed the illustrious Moses of agnosticism has had ample opportunity to calculate the inestimable value of his immortal achievement. Fortunately the forebodings regarding health and life have proved untrue. The agnostic chief succeeded in combating disease and bribing death, and has had the satisfaction of living to see the completion of the programme so graciously and magnanimously interrupted. Fortunately he has also lived to give us his own estimate in retrospect of the work which was so momentous and magnificent even in anticipation.

The establishment of a new morality on a scientific or secular basis, then, was the chief aim and end of all the great labors of the great founder of agnosticism. This was his "ultimate purpose"—"lying beyond all proximate purposes." It was to be the crowning, "the final work of the series," and he had intended, at first, to reserve it to the end as the grand finial and completion. To this "all the preceding parts" of his immense programme were merely "subsidiary." So important did he deem it that when there seemed danger that it might not be accomplished, Mr. Spencer, like the merchant who flings all his rich merchandize overboard to save his vessel, was ready to sacrifice all else of his works that this might be saved. There was a crisis in the moral world that rendered the work "imperative." It was a "pressing need." There was a "vacuum" in the world which must needs be filled. The "disappearance of the code of supernatural ethics" left "a gap" which must be filled by a

"code of natural ethics." The "decay and death of a regulative system no longer fit" was at hand. Nothing but "disaster" could follow—unless, indeed, the disaster could be averted by preparing "another and fitter regulative system to replace it." Such, in Mr. Spencer's own phrase, was the gravity of the crisis in which the great leader acted so promptly. Such the worthlessness of the old system of Christian morality. Such the importance, the necessity, the fitness and adequacy of the new system by which Mr. Spencer actually replaced it. Such the immortal services of Mr. Spencer to mankind. Now we well may ask:

"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.

Fortunately on this point Mr. Spencer is clear and explicit. After twenty-three years of trial it is interesting to learn Mr. Spencer's own views on the work accomplished.

Alas! Here, too, the high hopes and excellent intentions with which Mr. Spencer inaugurated his new moral code are, it seems, far from fulfilment. His ideals are far indeed from realization. Squarely he puts the question:

"To one who has relinquished the creed of his fathers there comes from time to time the question, What shall I say to those who believe as of old?"

Of course, judging from what we have seen of Mr. Spencer's views of the old and new questions, there should be but one answer—prompt, precise and incisive. It is with something of a shock, then, that we hear his reply:

"To answer is difficult, since the reasons for and against this or that line of conduct are many and variable."

When we recall the episode of a reversed "programme," the "pressing need," the "vacuum" to be filled, the "fitter regulative system," the duty that was so "imperative," and so forth, with which the new morality was introduced, we can hardly believe our senses, and we hasten on for something to show the redemption of Mr. Spencer's magnificent pledge to mankind in questions moral. The tone, however, continues disappointing and the language still wavering and shuffling. He continues:

"In many cases the Agnostic is misled by the assumption that a secular creed may with advantage forthwith replace the creed distinguished as sacred."

"Misled!" The agnostic "misled!" And by the supposition that the Christian creed may be advantageously replaced by the creed of evolution; the Christian morality by the secular morality! Surely this cannot be Herbert Spencer that speaks. This cannot possibly be the language of the founder and prophet of agnosticism. There

must be a mistake somewhere. It surely cannot be that the new morality has proved a failure—a mistake. For what then was the programme interrupted? For what purpose did Mr. Spencer fling himself so valiantly into the breach? To what end did he undertake the Atlantean task of supporting on his own shoulders the entire moral sphere? For what was the world duly admonished of the approaching “disaster,” of the inevitable “decay and death” of the Christian system which was “no longer fit?” And what of that “other and fitter regulative system” of morals, if now it prove that the agnostic was merely “misled” by vain assumptions? But in plain words Mr. Spencer declares that he himself was deceived and that he deceived his agnostic following by vain imaginings. His language is unmistakable:

“That right guidance may be furnished by a system of natural ethics,” he says, “is a belief usually followed by the corollary that it needs only to develop such a system and the required self-control will result. *But calm contemplation of men's natures and doings dissipates this corollary.*”

Verily this is a strange sequel to the famous preface. “Calm contemplation” and a little experience “dissipate” all Mr. Spencer’s fair fancies. His most sanguine hopes he finds dashed to pieces. His fair utopia of a scientific and secularized morality is but a vanished dream. The new morality is a complete delusion. Mr. Spencer’s eyes are at last open to the true condition of things—at least to the failure of his own moral patents. In the interval of twenty-three years he has discovered (better late than never) that with some men, as he tells us, “dogmatic teaching is alone effective.” He has at last begun to see—what was long patent to all the world besides—that “the hope that average men may be swayed by the contemplation of advantage to society is utterly utopian.” It has at last begun to dawn upon his intellect that the sociological incentive to morality is but a mere chimera; while of natural or secularized ethics he at last perceives that “The Agnostic who thinks he can provide forthwith adequate guidance by setting forth a natural code of right conduct, duly illustrated, *is under an illusion.*”

There is no mistaking this language; but this is not all. Stranger still than all this is the extraordinary announcement that the agnostic morality will not “injure” the average man—and *may* benefit him. Here is what he tells us in grave and solemn earnest:

“So that ill-grounded as may be the Agnostic’s hope that a system of natural ethics will at once yield good guidance, it must not be inferred that endeavors to substitute such a system for the supernatural system with its penalties and rewards, will injure the average of men—may indeed benefit them, by showing that agreement between the naturally derived sanctions and most of those supposed to be supernaturally derived.”

Shades of Aristotle and Plato, of Seneca and Cato! Has natural ethics at last come to this? Is it at length true that the best that can

be said of secular morality is that it will not hurt, and that it *may* help men to be moral? Surely if this be the sum and substance of all its merits Mr. Spencer need not have been to the trouble of interrupting and inverting his programme. Indeed there is great danger that all his exalted heroism in filling up the breach will be robbed of much of its sublimity. But this is not the only singular feature of this remarkable statement. Mr. Spencer plainly states in the passage just quoted that the only thing which prevents the agnostic morality from being positively injurious in many cases, and renders it beneficial—if, haply, beneficial it be (he is not certain)—is that the new ethics happens, fortunately, to have some points of agreement with the old. Later he makes the most extraordinary announcement of all. It is that there are many instances in which “nothing but evil can follow” the introduction of the new morality! To understand fully the real force of this latter statement—which, by the way, is a perfectly true one—it is merely necessary to imagine the same thing predicated of Christian morality. Here then in the two last passages quoted from Mr. Spencer we have four distinct statements regarding the agnostic ethics. First, that they will not injure the average man. Secondly, that they may even benefit him. Thirdly, whether they fail to injure or result in benefiting him, it is because of their points of agreement with Christian morality. And fourthly, there are cases in which they would prove positively injurious—“nothing but evil” would follow their introduction. This is certainly a most extraordinary recommendation for the agnostic morality; yet in some quarters it seems to be accepted as eminently satisfactory. To the world at large it will be the strongest proof that agnostic morality is false and all its claims spurious. Nothing can show more clearly the sham pretensions of a principle supposed to be general than to discover that it is not applicable in all cases. This is preëminently true of a system of morals. What, for instance, can be more absurd than to imagine a rule of right and wrong that cannot be applied to all classes of men? One might suppose that right was right and wrong wrong independent of individuals or communities. In the agnostic world, however, this does not seem to hold good. Indeed the fact is that the speculative scientists—the evolutionists especially—have become so accustomed to juggle with truth that their minds seem to be blunted to the perception of what is in reality truth. They are grown so accustomed to taking half facts of science for whole, to regarding false hypotheses and baseless assumptions as legitimate conclusions; so content to call half truths, shreds of truth, and often entire falsities, by the name of truth; that their minds seem to be wholly vitiated and they are no longer able to distinguish truth from falsehood. The sharp dividing line between

truth and error seems to be, for their intellects at least, wholly obliterated, and like the liar who at last, it is said, comes to believe his own falsehoods, they have lost the perception of the difference between truth and error. And thus the leaven of falsehood has been introduced into all modern teaching. This is, probably, why Mr. Spencer and his agnostic followers fail to see the glaring enormity of the following statement, and pass it over as if the easy flexibility of agnostic morality were a virtue in it. He says:

"And there are many who stagger on under the exhausting burden of daily duties, fulfilled without thanks and without sympathy, who are enabled to bear their ills by the conviction that after this life will come a life free from pains and weariness. *Nothing but evil can follow a change in the creed of such*; and unless cruelly thoughtless the agnostic will carefully shun discussion of religious subjects with them."

Surely here is matter for a May morning. "Nothing but evil can follow the change" from the Christian creed to the agnostic no-creed, and even to suggest such a change would be cruel thoughtlessness. What then is the use of the new morality? If a rule of morals be good for anything it must be good for every one. If it possess truth—without which it would be worse than worthless—there can be no harm in applying it freely. No evil should follow. Truth and goodness are twin sisters; so are falsehood and evil. The tree is known by its fruit. It is not truth but error the teaching of which "nothing but evil can follow." If Mr. Spencer then has found at last that his moral nostrums are worthless and in some cases injurious, does he not know that this very fact brands his agnostic ethics as false and spurious? Why then does he attempt to foist them upon the world? Why not candidly and manfully confess them to be absolutely worthless? Why keep up a pretence that the new morality may have some value?

And yet it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that Mr. Spencer should still delude himself with the notion that after all his agnostic morality may be good for something. His labors during a long life have been colossal—even if they have been folly. The crown of all these labors was to be the code of ethics. All his efforts in every other direction he has candidly admitted to be failure. It is doubtless difficult to admit—even to himself—that here there is failure also; to say with Othello:

But there, where I have garnered up my heart,
Where either I must live, or bear no life,
The fountain from the which my current runs
Or else dries up to be discarded thence;

to find his final hopes shattered, and nought but deceit and disappointment await him where once was radiant hope—this doubtless leads him still to cling to illusion. And illusion it must be when his concluding words are:

"Meanwhile, sympathy commands silence towards all who, suffering under the

ills of life, derive comfort from their creed. While it forbids the dropping of hints that may shake their faith, it suggests the evasion of questions which cannot be discussed without unsettling their hopes."

Perhaps never in the history of all the assaults of unbelief upon the Christian creed has there been anything broached so monstrous as this pernicious doctrine. Where is the agnostic's regard for truth? If the agnostic has any truth to tell upon these important points, by all means let him tell it though the heavens fall. What is to be gained by withholding the facts—if facts they be? If there be no hope of future reward, is it not the worst kind of cruelty to mock men with the delusion that there is? Why not undeceive the believer if the agnostic knows that his faith and hope are false? Possibly those from whom you are withholding the knowledge—if knowledge it be—may easily take a short cut to earthly happiness which even the agnostic has not dreamed of. Why not give him an opportunity of enjoying even the Nirvana of Buddhism or the opium heaven of the Chinese? By all means let the truth be told at all costs. Sham sentiment and mock kindness can never justify the suppression of a general truth, and especially a moral one.

Time was when Mr. Spencer set his face like flint against all tergiversation, prevarication and evasion. Let Mr. Spencer carry out to the very end the excellent intentions with which he set out in "First Principles." If he has discovered any "ultimate truth" let him avow it with "absolute sincerity—with not the most remote mental reservation." Let him assert it "with all possible emphasis." Let there—as he then promised—not be "any makeshift way" nor any "compromise." Why does Mr. Spencer play false now to those noble resolves? The fact is, however, that with all its boasts and bravado agnosticism is a coward and a deceiver. It has not the courage of even its negative convictions. It has merely deep doubt as to the tenability of its own position. As was inevitable, agnosticism has, in doubt of itself, at last turned upon itself, and is skeptical and agnostic even about its own merits.

But these are not the only points on which Mr. Spencer's efforts have resulted in utter failure. There has been failure all along the whole line of his labors. As all the world knows, he has utterly repudiated the great doctrine of the "survival of the fittest"—the great corner-stone of evolution—which he himself expressly invented as a more catching phrase than Darwin's "natural selection," and which until a little over a decade ago he preached vigorously in season and out of season. In "Facts and Comments" he reiterates his rejection of this his former favorite principle; and lest at the end of life there might be any doubts remaining, he tells us once more that "there is no inductive proof whatever of natural selection;" that "of the effects of artificial selection the evidence is overwhelming,

but of the effects of natural selection none is forthcoming;" and that moreover "until the production of one species by natural selection is shown, there is not even the beginning of an inductive proof." Inferentially, too, he shows once more the failure of his new substitute for the survival of the fittest—"the use-inheritance" of Lamarck. If there be such a thing as damning with faint praise, there is also such a thing as damning a doctrine with faint proofs. And this Mr. Spencer does when, contrasting the merits of natural selection or survival of the fittest with those of use-inheritance, he tells us that for the former "there is not even the beginning of an inductive proof," and that "on the other hand inductive proof of the use-inheritance doctrine is not *wholly* wanting." At the same time he fully admits that his own famous objection to a personal God—such as it is—has full force against his theory of use-inheritance. He does not deny that it is impossible to "conceive any means" by which the process is carried on. And thus as far at least as Mr. Spencer is concerned the doctrine of evolution is left without a leg to stand on.

It would extend this article to undue lengths to give a complete exposition of Mr. Spencer's further failure as the founder of the agnostic creed. A few general outlines must suffice. Whatever may be the claims of others, to Mr. Spencer is undoubtedly due the conception of agnosticism. The creed—if creed it can be called whose greatest boast is the impossibility of a creed—of agnosticism is based upon one single principle—false, of course—namely, that conceivability should be the sole test of truth. And to Mr. Spencer is fully due the credit—such as it is—of discovering this famous principle. It was upon it he based his doctrine of the unknowable; and the unknowable is the god of agnosticism. What we cannot conceive we cannot know. What we cannot know, of course, we cannot know. Conceivability, then, is the test of truth and the unknowable must remain unknown to the end of all reckoning. Therefore what we cannot conceive mentally must be put out of court altogether. What we cannot form an adequate conception of must be eliminated from controversy. It can form no part of knowledge.

This famous principle—without which agnosticism would be impossible—has been exposed in all its naked absurdity over and over again. It has been proved many times that it leads to atheism in religion, to nihilism in philosophy, and to nescience in science. All our science being merely the science of appearances and shadows, it follows that if we deal with the substance which underlies all appearances—the being which is behind all the show and shadow—the noumenon is which is back of all phenomena—the Infinite without which we cannot have the finite—the necessary without which there

can be no contingent existence—if we deal with all this as a negative, we can have no knowledge whatever. For we cannot know the appearances except inasmuch as they are related to the underlying substance. Hence the absurdity of all Mr. Spencer's philosophy in his "First Principles." So intent, however, was Mr. Spencer on the work of excluding the unknowable from all recognition that he was blind to the absurdity of his ridiculous position. He believed that his principle would apply to the unknowable and to the unknowable alone. He never dreamed that it could be applied equally well to much that he valued as knowledge. He would not listen to any warning words. Now he has discovered that this famous principle applies to matters of which he never dreamed, that it enters into all his science and all his philosophy, that it confronts him in every path of inquiry and every domain of knowledge, that the barriers which with so much labor he opposed to the supernatural will exclude much that is natural as well; indeed, that at bottom most of our knowledge, if not all, is based on symbols which he supposed were conceivable, but which at last he discovers to be inconceivable. It is, however, in the highest degree amusing to find the founder of agnosticism turning at last upon his own famous principle, combating it, utterly repudiating it, and rejecting it as of no value, when it is urged against his theory of use-inheritance by the natural selectionists. Even with Mr. Spencer it makes a world of difference whose ox is gored. He seems to have forgotten that it is the philosophy of the unknowable, the corner-stone of agnosticism that he is crushing to atoms, or that "conceivability as the test of truth" ever loomed up in majestic proportions in his own philosophy. To show the worthlessness of his own once cherished principle he hurls fact after fact in the teeth of his opponents and asks them if they "can conceive any means" by which they can be explained and finally concludes by saying that:

"The remarkable phenomena above described make it clear that inability to 'conceive any means' by which acquired characters impress themselves on the reproductive elements, *is no adequate reason* for assuming that they cannot do this."

But if "no adequate reason" in these cases, why should the "inability to conceive" be regarded as a valid argument against the supernatural processes? Why should it be deemed so efficacious against the unknowable? And why above all should the edifice of agnosticism be erected on such a foundation?

And thus does the great philosopher of evolution and agnosticism deliberately overturn every principle which he once maintained and combat every doctrine which he formerly advocated. All that he has received as the reward of his colossal labors is disappointment

and the knowledge that he has been chasing wandering fires. Like Sir Dagonet in "The Round Table," Mr. Spencer can truthfully say:

"I have had my day and my philosophies,"

but it is to be feared that his experience will only demonstrate conclusively to the world that all that is necessary to play the fool seriously is simply to ape the philosopher. Mr. Spencer has spent his life in endeavoring to undermine the knowledge that makes life valuable. He waged an unceasing warfare on everything that made life worth living. He even undertook to set up his own tabernacle on Mount Garizim in opposition to the real Jerusalem; and it is now a sad spectacle to see him with shivering limbs and cold trembling hands reaching out for a little of life's warmth. It is melancholy to listen to the feeble whinings of a wasted life that has brought him nothing but disappointment in spite of all the tremendous effort and energy. The Christian may well find comfort in his creed as he reads the dreary, hopeless musings of the philosopher of the unknowable and the founder of agnosticism.

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PRE-HELLENIC WRITING IN THE ÆGEAN.

PHILOLOGY, coöperating with kindred sciences in the uneasy search after the origins of peoples and customs and languages, has discovered many a significant fact regarding the historic beginnings and intellectual progress of various races of men. Not the smallest addition to science in this direction has been the discovery and decipherment of various written languages belonging to nations whose civilized career antedates by many centuries the events recorded on the earliest pages of ordinary history. Where these studies have not brought us into new and correct cognizance of the origins of certain peoples or institutions, at least they have often suggested to us new principles of investigation. And to the scientist the determination of principles is sometimes more acceptable than the discovery of origins. Through the unriddling of her old hieroglyphic signs Egypt has broken her mystic silence and is narrating to the disciples of Champollion the strange details of her distant antiquity. Venerable Babylon and adjacent countries are now neither mute nor do they speak to us in unintelligible tongues ever since Grotefend in the first years of the nineteenth cen-

ture began to find out how to read the cuneiform records. Karians and Lykians and other Anatolic peoples who had been kept to our knowledge only through the unsatisfactory notices of the classic Greek writers, are now enjoying a fresh after-fame because inscriptions in their languages are beginning to be discovered. Even the Hittites, a people whose once powerful and important existence had been entirely forgotten, will finally give out some of their history to the world of scholars, although their inscriptions on the rocks of Asia Minor Chaldaea and Syria still baffle the skill of such scholars as Sayce and Ménant and Peiser.¹

Even within the bounds of Greek lands, monuments inscribed in letters belonging to a long lost system of writing were discovered early in the nineteenth century.² These non-hellenic characters which have been intelligibly legible³ since 1873, or somewhat earlier, were found on coins and other objects with inscriptions in the island of Kypros which lies on the highway between the Anatolian and the Western World, and has therefore always been partly European in its civilization and partly Asiatic. At first it might have been hoped that this discovery would considerably broaden our knowledge concerning the earlier ages of hellenic civilization. But all such hopes soon dwindled into small proportions when it became evident that this new-found alphabet of Kypros revealed to us no documents older than the fourth century before Christ. The only fact that need be added here concerning these enchorial Kypric characters is that evidently they were not originally intended for the Greek language, although such is the language of these Kypric inscriptions. Each character represents an entire syllable rather than a simple phonetic sound. Accordingly the set of characters constitute a "syllabary" and not an "alphabet," as this latter term is usually understood. Where and when this Kypric syllabary originated is still unknown.

In the second millennium before our era, a remarkable civilization flourished in the islands and mainland round about the Ægean Sea. Until some twenty or thirty years ago, all accurate knowledge of the quondam existence of this civilization had been lost. For it is only as a result of the archæological investigations that followed the successful excavations of the explorer Schliemann in Argolis of Greece and at Troy of Asia Minor that the rise and spread and downfall of a pre-Homeric civilization came to be accorded a place amongst admitted historic facts. In the selecting of a name for this pre-historic and

¹ See Peiser, "Die hetitischen Inschriften, ein Versuch ihrer Entzifferung." Berlin, 1892.

² Le Duc de Luynes, "Numismatique et inscriptions Cypriotes." Paris, 1852.

³ Deecke, "Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften in Epichorischer Schrift;" in Collitz, "Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften," Band I.

pre-hellenic period of civilization, much stress was laid on the fact that the first evidences of its power and magnificence had been found in the Argolid city of Mykenæ. The "Mykenæic Age" therefore is the conventional name for that unique period of human development and culture which is computed to have been well in its ascendancy earlier than 1,700 years before Christ and to have tragically come to a premature end about 1,000 years before our era. In the age during which the familiar Homeric poems were composed, the culture which had been sustained by many generations of Mykenæic peoples had long since entirely disappeared, leaving but few traces that did not soon become obliterated. There grew up a newer phase of human activity, inaugurated by the incoming of new and, at first, ruder tribes of men. Nevertheless the splendors of Mykenæic days were still dimly recalled in the songs of the troubadours and in the myths of folk-story and cult, even though no clear historical consciousness of this former and faded glory had been transmitted to the men of the age at which the Homeric poems were made. The duty of rediscovering it and of restoring it to its proper pedestal of honor amongst the epochs of human progress has agreeably fallen to the lot of modern historians.

Since the archæological discoveries demonstrate that this splendid period of culture had spread its influence over a large and populous area and had endured for so many centuries, scholars were somewhat disappointed by the fact that no positive indications of any sort could be unearthed which would strengthen if not demonstrate the logical assumption that these otherwise highly intelligent men were not entirely without some technical system of recording events and of communicating with each other by written messages. Indeed the strange belief that throughout the entirety of their long career the Mykenæic peoples continued to be ignorant of letters, began to cease from being considered as untenable. Nevertheless on historical grounds such a belief was not logical, for most peoples who in any near way approach to the degree of civilization then prevalent in the Ægean possess and employ some method of recording thought. Moreover, other nations who, like the Egyptians and the Babylonians, were contemporaries of the Mykenæic peoples, and were in regular intercourse with them, already possessed well-developed systems of writing; and if the men of the Ægean had no native writing signs, at least they would have adopted some one of the methods in vogue amongst their neighbors.

But in the year 1880, the American traveler Stillman, while visiting the island of Krete, observed and noted certain peculiar signs incised on large blocks of gypsum that formed the facing of the walls of a prehistoric building on the deserted site of the ancient

town of Knossos.⁴ Stillman's scholarly acumen led him to rightly⁵ conjecture that the ruins which he saw here must be the remains of the famous "labyrinth" of Kretan legend, and that the signs which were marked on the blocks of gypsum must be characters pertaining to some kind of writing.

The next fore-warning which indicated that finally records dating from the Mykenæic Age would probably come to light, happened in the year 1889. Doctor Tsountas, the well-known archæologist and ephor of antiquities in Greece, during the progress of excavations which he then was conducting at Mykenæ on the top of the citadel there, found a small pestle of stone on which a group of a few simple characters was incised.⁶ These characters may possibly be a mark indicating the owner or maker of this household utensil. It was soon observed that one of the signs in this short inscription seems to resemble one of the letters in the previously known Kypriic syllabary.⁷

Similarly other letter-like signs were found sporadically at other places. And at last, in the year 1893, the reasonably suspected existence of Mykenæic writing was turned into indubitable fact. Mr. A. J. Evans, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in the course of a voyage of discovery in Eastern Krete, found in the possession of the inhabitants a large number of odd-shaped gems and other small stones inscribed with signs which certainly appeared, even at first examination, to be letters of a hitherto unknown variety. By their peculiar technique and material these gems and stones testify in their own behalf that they are very ancient, and indisputably date back to the remotest centuries of the Mykenæic Age. Some of them are bean-like in shape, and others are glandular. Some of them may have originally been intended to be used as amulets and worn on the body as protective against certain evil influences and misfortunes, while others were certainly intended to be used as seals or signets. While these incised seal-stones have been found most plentifully of all in Krete, they also are sometimes discovered elsewhere, chiefly on the islands, however, and on this account they have come to be frequently mentioned as "Island Gems."

When, by successive and abundant finds, the number of Mykenæic objects with inscriptions on them became large enough to justify an attempt at a comparative study of the various characters inscribed, it immediately became apparent that more than one dis-

⁴ "Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Archæological Institute of America, 1880-1881," pp. 47-49.

⁵ Arthur J. Evans, "Cretan Pictographs and Præ-Phœnician Script," in "Journal of Hellenic Studies," 1894, pp. 280-281.

⁶ "Transactions of the Archæological Society at Athens, 1889." P. 19 (in Greek).

⁷ "Tsountas and Manatt," "The Mycenæan Age." Boston, 1897, p. 268.

tinct system of writing were represented on these engraved objects. At least two clearly independent styles of character could be recognized.⁸ One of these employed pictorial or hieroglyphic signs. Herein a comparison with Egyptian writing was immediately suggested. The other style was made up of letters which were cut in a less pictorial way and in more linear shapes, and therefore present a quasi-alphabetic appearance distantly resembling even modern letters.

The plausible theory that most systems of writing have started from crude and simple picture-writing receives additional confirmation from both these classes of pre-hellenic Ægean writing. As regards the pictographic signs, it has been noticed that three⁹ well-marked stages may clearly be traced in their gradual development from primitive image-writing up through a transitional period in which the characters are in part still the original images and in part abbreviated and conventionalized hieroglyphs, finally becoming in the third stage a completely conventionalized hieroglyphic or pictographic symbol, then no longer representing simply what is indicated by the rudely outlined primitive picture, but expressing some additional or even entirely different thought or word which in the course of time came to be associated with that primitive picture. However, the dissimilarity which these three grades bear towards each other is one which is the natural result of growth and development, and indicates no radical difference. All three grades are therefore properly included under one general name. They are known as "Pictographs."

That the second kind of Mykenæic writing, which Mr. Evans properly calls "linear" script, is also an outgrowth from the original or ideographic forms of these pictographs which we have just been considering is quite improbable, although this linear script undoubtedly had some kind of image-writing for its original form. The most acceptable supposition which the present state of the question permits is that the two kinds of writing sprang up each independent of the other and from an independent set of original images. It may therefore be now accepted as an indisputably ascertained historical truth that within the boundaries of the pre-Hellenic Greek world there contemporaneously existed at least two different and separate kinds of writing. Thus have the inhabitants of the ancient Mykenæic kingdoms lately gained new glory in the eyes of the modern world because of the satisfied conviction that they were not entirely ignorant of letters.

⁸ Evans, "Cretan Pictographs," p. 275.

⁹ Evans, "Further Discoveries of Cretan and Ægean Script: with Libyan and Proto Egyptian Comparisons." In *J. H. S.*, xvii., 1897, pp. 331-338.

Now, after archæological discovery and philological investigation have promulgated the former existence of these systems of writing in Greek lands during the Mykenæic Ages, the persuasion more and more irresistibly asserts itself that we would be unable to reasonably understand so perfect and high a civilization as the Mykenæic without postulating the contemporary prevalence of some kind of writing there. On *a priori* grounds writing must be enumerated amongst the Mykenæic arts, since it is now evident that this art was known amongst other and less highly advanced peoples of Europe. All branches of anthropological and ethnical studies converge to the belief that in the islands of the Ægean and on the shores of the adjacent mainlands we ought to locate one of the very early centres of culture in Europe. In other parts of European territory, as, for instance, in northern Italy, where pre-historic civilization was not in a state of such advanced perfection as it was in the Ægean, there are nevertheless visible indications that there existed the ability and habit of recording events or facts in some way.¹⁰

After becoming a convert to the belief in the existence of a Mykenæic or pre-Homeric writing, it is possible to more intelligently interpret the dim reference in the Iliad to some kind of writing which is mentioned as having been in vogue during the remote ages made memorable by the deeds of Homer's heroes, and to put some kind of credence in the myth which attributed to Palamedes the invention of a system of writing.¹¹ In a celebrated passage of the Iliad¹² it is narrated that Prætos, who was king of Argos in Mykenæic or possibly pre-Mykenæic times,¹³ sent a written and sealed message from his palace at Tiryns to his father-in-law in Lykia of Asia Minor, the import of this secret message being that Bellerophon, the bearer of it, should be put to death, for he had sinned against the honor of the house of Prætos. Prætos' dreadful letter, his "*semata lygra*," was probably expressed not by linear characters, but by hieroglyphic signs.¹⁴ Thus are woven into one of the weirder episodes of the Iliad threads from an obscure recollection of the fact that the long vanished men of the great Mykenæic Age had some pictorial or graphic way of corresponding with each other. Likewise the story of Palamedes now would seem to have been

¹⁰ Bordier, "Origines prehistoriques de l'écriture." In the "Bulletins de la Société dauphinoise d' Ethnographie et d' Anthropologie," Vol. IV., Grenoble, 1897; F. Mader, "Le iscrizioni dei Laghi delle Meraviglie e di Val Fontanalba nelle Alpi Marittime." In the "Rivista mens. d. Club alpino ital.," Vol. XX., p. 82; Issel, "Le rupi scolpiti nelle alte valli delle Alpi Marittime." In the "Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana," anno xxvii., Ottobre-Dicembre, 1901.

¹¹ Philostratos, Heroikos, 10, 8; Scholion to Orestes of Evripides, 422.

¹² VI., 168-170.

¹³ Ridgway, "The Early Age of Greece," I., 209-210.

¹⁴ Leaf, in his edition of the Iliad, p. —.

built upon some foundation of truth. For he also belonged to this pre-historic age, and lived in the Mykenæic town of Navplion in the Argolid, where some vestiges of writing have been found in the course of the excavations carried on during these last years. The myth, however, which bestows on Palamedes the honor of being the inventor of writing is only dimly known to us. For the Greeks of historic times employed the so-called Phœnician alphabet which, according to a later myth, was introduced into Greece by the Phœnician Kadmos. And this Kadmean story may have overshadowed the Palamedean one.

It is on the island of Krete that the most valuable collections of documents with pre-hellenic writings on them have been discovered. This may be due merely to chance; but nevertheless Krete has been so eminently and generously the land of these finds as to make it easy of belief that the Kretans more than any other Mykenæic nation made frequent use of the practice of keeping records, and brought this civilizing art to considerable perfection. The degree of kinship existing between the Kretan methods of writing and the methods used by the other contemporaneous inhabitants of Mykenæic countries has not yet been ascertained. It may even be possible to suspect that the specimens discovered in other places belong not to the same system as do the Kretan documents, but to independent and perhaps less frequently employed and less advanced methods. It therefore would not be entirely absurd to be inclined to confidently expect forthcoming proofs of the assertion that the pictographs at least, if not also the characters of the Kretan linear script, were a native product peculiar to Krete, and that the other systems which were used elsewhere in Greece during this Bronze Age or Mykenæic period were independent of Krete, being either local creations or else importations. One reason why the quantity of written documents discovered in Krete exceeds so surprisingly the quantity found elsewhere is possibly because in Krete use was made of writing material of a less perishable nature than may have commonly been selected for this purpose in the other parts of the Mykenæic world. Amongst other races whose degree of civilization corresponds somewhat to that of the Mykenæic peoples it is not always the less perishable material of stone or bronze or other similarly durable substances that is used for writing upon, but rather leaves, and bark, and leather and other cheap and practical but easily destructible stuffs of this kind. Even in Krete the finds are not as rich and important as they would have been if solid and lasting materials had been exclusively in use here as material to write upon. We have some testimony preserved in literature to the effect that these old Kretans were practical enough to also use more easily manageable

material and to have had the habit of writing on certain kinds of leaves.

The seal-stones and gems which bear the pictographic letterings have been found mostly in Eastern Krete. A number of them were procured by purchase from the village women there. Most of them are cut from steatite, or soapstone, a mineral which exists in large quantities in Krete. They owe their long and good preservation not to the insignificant money value of the material from which they are made, but simply to the fact that they have been regarded as amulets, and for ages the successive generations of Kretan women have been wearing them as such attached to a string which they tie round the neck. Possibly their original purpose was, as already stated, in part amuletic.

Fortunately our knowledge of these pictographs is not confined to what we get from the steatite seal-stones and amulets. For at Knossos, which lies in the central part of Krete, and which was in Mykenæic days the palace of the powerful and terrible King Minos, whose after-fame made him a mythic hero, a great quantity of clay tablets, clay lables and other such objects have been dug up by Mr. Evans, bearing inscriptions some in pictographic characters and others in linear script. These clay inscribed tablets are not very different¹⁵ in shape from those already so well known to scholars from the large finds of cuneiform inscriptions at Babylon. This striking identity of a peculiar writing material in Babylon and in Krete need be the occasion for no disquieting surprise. Communication between the islands of the Ægean and distant Babylon in the Bronze Age is otherwise well authenticated. In the Mediterranean region—on the island of Kypros, more exactly—there has been found a genuine imported Babylonian tablet with cuneiform writing upon it. It was certainly brought into this part of the world from Babylon at a very early date.¹⁶ The greatest quantity of the clay tablets of Mykenæic Knossos bear linear script. In fact, outside of one single deposit of pictographic tablets all the others are of the linear script.¹⁷

Inasmuch as the most primitive of these pictographs belonged to a variety of pure image-writing, they were intended to convey no other thoughts than those portrayed by the picture, or else suggested by it, at least remotely. But how far they gradually departed from being ideographs, coming to stand not so much for a concrete object as for a word or definite articulate sound or for the name of an object, and ultimately, in their upward progress towards

¹⁵ J. L. Myres, in "Man," 1901, No. 2, p. 6.

¹⁶ Bezold, in the "Zeitschrift für Keilinschriften," II., 1885, pp. 191-193; Much, "Die Kupferzeit," 2d edition, p. 372.

¹⁷ Evans, in the "Annual of the British School, at Athens, 1899-1900," p. 59.

perfection, to indicate a syllabic sound, as did the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Kypric characters, cannot yet be determined. However, the peculiar groupings of the characters as noticed on some of the seal stones would lead to the conjecture that the Kretan pictographs, in their latest stage, had indeed come to have a syllabic value. But this is the very highest perfection that can be claimed for them. They certainly never became purely phonetic in value.

Although no one has yet been able to read a single word from these pictographic seals, and, therefore, there is no way of our knowing with any kind of appreciable preciseness the contents of the inscriptions, nevertheless now and then the pictographic quality of the signs conveys even to us something of the idea which was to be conveyed to the original Mykenæic observers or readers. Thus we can get a distant view of the meaning of such signs as a *ship*, or *jars filled with grain*, or *milk pots*, etc. But even in such exceptional cases the faint idea comes to us unclothed by any Mykenæic word, and therefore through these inscriptions we have yet learned nothing about the language of the Mykenæic Kretans.

It is not improbably asserted that since there flourished in Krete two distinct and apparently unrelated systems of writing, there may have been a reason for it in the fact that each kind of writing represented either a different language or a clearly different dialect. Now the fact that the pictographs have, with the exception of those on the tablets of a single deposit at Knossos, nearly all been found in Eastern Krete is coupled with the other fact that in very early historic times this eastern part of the island was inhabited by a peculiar race of men known from Homeric times down as Eteokretans¹⁸ and the opinion has been harbored that the pictographic inscriptions especially represent the language of these Eteokretans. Credibility is added to this opinion by the recent discovery of two inscriptions¹⁹ on the site of the ancient town of Præsos in the eastern part of the island, written indeed in a legible Greek alphabet of the fifth century B. C., but yet in a language which has not yet been identified as being Hellenic. Some have suspected that it is not even of the Indo-European family of languages. Archæologists of four different nations, English, French, Italians and Americans, have during the past year been feverishly exploring and excavating in Eastern Krete with the hope of discovering some more decisive clue to the language of the Eteokretans. And perhaps some fortunate discovery here may eventually furnish the magic key to their

¹⁸ Odysey, xix., 176.

¹⁹ Comparetti, "Le Leggi di Gortyna e le altre Iscrizioni arcaiche Cretesi, 1893," *Mon. Ant.*, Vol. III., p. 451 ff., and Bosanquet, "Archæology in Greece, 1900-1901," in *J. H. S.*, xxi., 1901, p. 340.

language and to the reading of the pictographs. For that the Eteo-kretan language was preserved down to as late as the fifth century B. C. seems proven by these two inscriptions of Præsos.

There accordingly exists much doubt as to whether the pictographs of Krete are the carriers of a non-hellenic tongue or not. But as regards their indigenous origin no such wide room for doubt exists. They were certainly developed here in the Ægean, and quite possibly within the limits of the island of Krete. They do indeed show some affinities to other systems of hieroglyphic writings, especially to that of the Egyptians²⁰ and of the Hittites,²¹ but yet are essentially different from the one and from the other. These similarities are due in part to the very nature of ideographic writing, in part to the influence of intercommunication, for the intercourse with Egypt and with the countries of Anatolia and northern Syria, where the Hittites dwelt, was regular and strong, and also in part to direct copying. For admittedly there are in the Kretan pictographs a few characters which seem to have been borrowed straight from the Egyptians. For instance, among the hieroglyphs deciphered on the finds at Knossos is the so-called "palace-sign" of Egypt.²²

Since these pictographs are images of things that were familiar to the Mykenæic people of Krete, they very instructively illustrate for us the civilization of those days. From the discoveries made up to the present year more than one hundred different pictorial signs or separate pictographs have been recognized and classified according to their form. Amongst these are depicted, for example, weapons, implements, instruments, household utensils, fishes, animals, birds, plants, heavenly bodies, etc. It is unnecessary to separately take up each one of these and similar objects and to show in detail what rich additions to our knowledge of the Mykenæic civilization may be gained therefrom. The lyre was already known, for it is amongst the pictographs. It is represented as having eight strings.

The pictographs occur most frequently in small groups of from two to seven characters. From the direction in which the pictographs face, it seems that many of the inscriptions were to be read from right to left,²³ as Hebrew letters are read. But other inscriptions are written boustrophedon,²⁴ and have to be read, like some of the early inscriptions in Greek, from right to left and from left to right alternately. Often, on the seals, they are scarcely in a straight line at all, but present an unarranged and jumbled aspect, so that it

²⁰ Evans, "Cretan Pictographs," p. 318.

²¹ Evans, in the "Annual of the Brit. School at Athens, 1899-1900," p. 61.

²² Evans, in the "Annual, 1899-1900," p. 61.

²³ Evans, "Cretan Pictographs," 301.

²⁴ Evans, in "Annual," etc., 1899-1900, p. 61.

is difficult to know in what order they were intended to be read. In the more careful inscriptions on the clay tablets at Knossos the pictographed words or phrases are sometimes separated from each other by a mark of division shaped like the letter "x." Thus is the correct aspect of separate words or phrases ascertainable.

The most ancient specimens of seals with these pictographic signs are of very primitive art. On the evidence of the technique of these seals, and of the other objects found along with them, the opinion is to be accepted that the most antique specimens go back to the age contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, that is, to the period included between the years 2500 and 2300 before Christ, approximately, or to the second half of the third millenium before our era.²⁵

The second kind of Ægean writing, the linear script, is typologically much younger in appearance than the pictographs. But chronologically it may be just as ancient as its older-looking rival. The linear system seems to have been known and used over a much wider area than the pictographs. For while the pictographs may have prevailed nowhere outside of Krete, the linear writing, on the contrary, is found in several other islands and on the mainland of Greece, although it must not be too readily taken for granted that all of these scattered specimens of linear writing belong to one and the same system. At Knossos alone, which has been the most productive mine for finds of both varieties of writing, the quantity of tablets with linear characters far outnumbers those with pictographic signs.

The first known specimen of a clay tablet with linear script was seen by Mr. Evans at Kandia in Krete in the year 1896. This first specimen no longer is known to exist, for the house which contained it was sacked by Turkish soldiers during the war which followed shortly after. But in the spring of 1900, in the excavations which Mr. Evans was conducting at Knossos, entire hoards of these tablets began to appear. Ever since that time the existence of a linear script in Mykenæic times cannot be subject to the slightest doubt. Outside of Knossos the other most noteworthy places at which inscriptions or characters in this style of writing have been found are the Diktæan Cave in Krete, the island of Melos and the island of Kos. At the Cave of Diktæan Zevs a portion of a dedicational inscription incised in characters of this kind is preserved on a sacrificial altar.²⁶ On the island of Melos, at a place now called Phylakope, there exist remains of four successive settlements or towns on one and the same site. The undermost and oldest one dates from

²⁵ Evans, "Further Discoveries," etc., in J. H. S., xvii., 1897, p. 327.

²⁶ Evans, "Further Discoveries," etc., p. 350.

the neo-lithic epoch; the uppermost and latest existed down to the close of the Mykenæic period. And in this latest town a large number of potsherds have been dug up which are inscribed with linear signs that have been scratched upon the clay by the makers of the pottery before it was baked.²⁷ And these same signs seem to have been in use at Phylakope even as anciently as the Second Settlement on this site, that is, almost at the beginning of the Bronze Age.

In the island of Kos there still stands a splendid citadel which was built in the fifteenth century by the Knights of Rhodes. The Knights took as material for their fort the stones of an old wall which had been built to protect the city and harbor in the year 366²⁸ before Christ. On these blocks there are yet clearly visible the letters strongly carved on them as "mason's marks" by the men of the fourth century before Christ, when they were hewing the stones. And, strange to say, among the letters used, which are those of the universal Greek alphabet of that century, occur four signs which are not Greek letters, but which resemble four of the Kretan linear signs. Their presence can be explained in various ways. Herzog, who discovered them, thinks that they are the last and crystallized remains of the once commonly used linear script.²⁹ A few specimens of linear signs have likewise been found at Siphnos, at Mykenæ,³⁰ at Navplion, at Menidi in Attika, on the island of Kythera, and even at Gurob and Kahun in Egypt,³¹ and at Lachish³² in Palestine.

What was stated concerning the indigenous nature of the pictographs may with safety be repeated in regard to the linear script. It is not of foreign and imported origin, but was developed in the region of the Ægean. On account of being more perfect typologically than are the pictographs, the *a priori* supposition is plausible that they are therefore later, belonging to a subsequent and more advanced period of civilization. But nevertheless this supposition seems to be incorrect. On deeper observation the linear script appears to be of equal age with the pictographs. It is not derived from them, although it really goes back to image-writing for its origin. The two systems, pictographic and linear, seem, however, though they were never identical, to have mutually influenced each other somewhat in Krete. The Kretan linear system, regarded

²⁷ Hogarth, in "Annual," 1897-1898, pp. 12 and 25.

²⁸ "Diodoros," xv., 76.

²⁹ Herzog, "Bericht über eine epigraphisch-archäologische Expedition auf der Insel Kos, in the Jahrbuch d. Kais. arch. Inst. xvi., 1901," p. 133.

³⁰ Tsountas and Manatt, "The Mycenæan Age," p. 26, figs. 137, 138, 139.

³¹ Petrie, "Illahun, Kahun and Gurob," Plate xv.

³² Bliss, "A Mound of Many Cities; or, Tell el Hesi Excavated," *passim*.

from a technical point of view, is much superior not only to the pictographs of the same country, but is ahead of the contemporary writing systems of Babylon and Egypt.³³ Although a native product, there is nevertheless something of direct Egyptian influence to be noticed in this linear writing, as was also observed to be true in regard to the pictographs. The "ankh" and "ka" frame are here represented. But still this linear script is not Egyptian, nor is it Anatolian. And no scholars, save those who try to derive the whole of Mykenæic culture from the East, making it to be Lydian or Karian or Hittite or even Phœnician would now persist in attempting to find a foreign origin for the linear script of the Ægean.

The inscribed tablets of Knossos are elongated cakes of clay, from 4.50 to 19.50 centimetres in length and from 1.20 to 7.20 wide.³⁴ They do not much differ from cakes of chocolate in shape and color. The inscriptions were incised with a sharp-pointed stylus, while the clay from which they were made was still damp. Then they were dried by the heat of the sun. Most of the tablets unearthed at Knossos had been stored away in chests located in different rooms of the vast labyrinthic palace. Considering their friable nature it is a matter of surprise that the debris and soil in which they lay buried ever since the sudden destruction of the palace have preserved them so well for four thousand years. This mythic palace of Minos came to its tragic end in a great conflagration, as the researches of excavation show. And it is to the heat of this fire that the good preservation of the tablets is in part due. They were thus baked into a more durable nature. The coffers in which these tablets were lying stored away when the conflagration fell upon the palace had been officially closed and were bound by cords which could not be removed except by breaking the official seal that was stamped upon them. Thus the tablets could not be tampered with. A few of the impresses of these seals have been found.

These clay tablets undoubtedly referred to the affairs of the powerful rulers who lived in the labyrinth. They are the palace archives. Many of them evidently relate to accounts concerning tribute, or to the royal stores. They contain numeral signs which have been recognized and in part deciphered and interpreted. Judging from such suggestive comparison as can be made with the tablets of Babylon, it may be suspected that others of these Knossian tablets refer to royal correspondence, or to treaties and compacts, or judicial decisions or proclamations, etc.³⁵ The original value of the information contained in the records is shown by the precautions employed

³³ Evans, "Annual," 1899-1900, p. 57.

³⁴ Evans, "Annual," 1899-1900, p. 56

³⁵ Evans, Knossos, in "Annual," 1899-1900, pp. 57-58.

to prevent all falsification. Many of the tablets show two countermarks or indorsements made by controlling officials. One of these countermarks is on the face of the tablet, where the writing is, and the other is on the back of the tablet.³⁶

The inscriptions are never long. Most of the clay tablets have only one or two lines of script, which oftenest runs lengthwise along the upper face of the tablet. Only one notably long inscription has been found. It contains twenty-four lines of writing. Such tablets as have more lengthy inscriptions are scored with horizontal marks which separate the lines of writing from each other and served as guidance for the scribe when he was incising the letters. The writing runs from left to right invariably. Sometimes the words are separated from each other by short upright lines. The letters are usually incised with skillful care, and, when the tablet happens to be well preserved, the characters are quite easily legible.

There is no reason for believing that the writing on these linear tablets is ideographic rather than phonetic or syllabic. The separate characters employed are about seventy in number. These would not be at all sufficient for a complete and satisfactory set of ideographs. But, on the other hand, seventy characters would seem too many for a phonetic or alphabetic method. The opinion which therefore remains to be preferred is that they are neither ideographic nor strictly phonetic, but that they belong to a syllabic system.

No effectual clue has as yet been discovered to the reading of this linear script. Whether the language represented is Hellenic or not is yet to be determined. If, as some think, the Kypric syllabary was derived from this linear script, then the language of the Knossian tablets is quite possibly not Hellenic. For the Kypric syllabary presents peculiarities which convince us that it was first intended for a tongue not only unhellenic but even non-Aryan. However, the resemblance of the Knossian characters to the Kypric syllabary is not sufficient to establish unmistakable identity. Mr. Evans tried to read a few of the Kretan inscriptions by giving Kypric values to the linear characters, but his attempt led to no tangible results.³⁷ Dr. Kluge³⁸ also made a determined attempt to read the Kretan characters, but likewise labored in vain. We can therefore as yet affirm nothing about the language hidden behind these inscriptions.

Like the pictographs, these linear signs are very old. The oldest linear inscriptions go back to about 2,000 years before Christ,³⁹ and

³⁶ Evans, "Annual," 1899-1900, p. 56.

³⁷ "Cretan Pictographs," p. 352.

³⁸ "Die Schrift der Mykenaeer Cöthen," 1897.

³⁹ Evans, "Further Discoveries," p. 361.

therefore are about five hundred years earlier than the Moabite Stone and the Baal Lebanon bowls which present us with the most ancient inscriptions in Phœnician letters. Since the classical alphabet of Greece was an adaptation from the letters of the Phœnicians, and was applied to the Greek language not earlier than the ninth century, we see that its presence on Greek soil was preceded by the extensive prevalence of an older system of writing more than a thousand years before these so-called Phœnician letters were brought in. But for reasons which need not be repeated here, it must be presumed that the Phœnician alphabet was originally developed from some system of pictorial writing, and the names of some of the Phœnician letters, together with their most primitive shapes, make it easy for the supposition to arise that the Phœnician alphabet was really derived, either wholly or in part, from the very image-writing as is found in Kreta.⁴⁰ If this be true, then the Phœnician alphabet and the Greek letters which in their derivatives have become the alphabet of most of the civilized nations of the world go back to the prototypes of the Ægean script as they were used more than four thousand years ago. And the alphabet in which this *Quarterly* is printed could then trace its long line of descent back to beyond the tablets and seal-stones of pre-historic civilization in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In 1901 new discoveries at Knossos brought to light a fresh series of letter-like signs, inscribed on rings of bone, resembling bracelets, and on other small objects.⁴¹ These latest-found Mykenæic signs are linear in type, but are not like those other linear ones which we have been describing. Twenty characters of this third kind of writing have been recognized, fourteen of which are practically identical with later Greek alphabetic forms. This is another great surprise.

It is necessary to add that the discovery of this Ægean writing may turn out to be one of the most important historical revelations of modern times. For it may possibly furnish us with written documents regarding the history of man in this most interesting quarter of the Old World, the Eastern Mediterranean, from the closing of the neo-lithic Age down to the end of the Bronze Period, when better known historical times begin. These inscriptions will not continue to defy all attempts to decipher them. Some di-grammic or bi-lingual record will furnish the first and necessary clue to the reading. After that all will be comparatively easy. In the meantime the world of philologists and historians are anxiously awaiting the raising of the mystic cloud that is yet covering this much de-

⁴⁰ J. L. Myres, in "Man," 1901. No. 2, p. 6.

⁴¹ Evans, "The Palace of Knossos." Provisional Report of the Excavations for the year 1901. Reprinted from "Annual," 1900-1901.

sired knowledge. Mr. Evans is going to publish all the inscriptions hitherto found, so that such scholars as are interested may see and study the tablets. The Oxford University Press, which will print these publications of Mr. Evans, has begun to prepare itself for doing so by causing a fount of Mykenæic type to be cast. Nothing is now wanting save the discovery of something similar to the Rosetta-stone, and some new Champollion to do the first deciphering.

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THE CONQUEST OF THE CAUCASUS BY RUSSIA.

¹ "La Russie dans l'Asie Mineure; ou Campagnes du Maréchal Paskevitch en 1828-9, et Tableau du Caucase sous le point de vue géographique, historique et politique." Par Feliks Petrovich Fonton. Paris, 1840.

² "Die Geschichte Russlands. Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von E. W." By Nicolai Gerasimov Ustryaloo. Stuttgart, 1840-43.

³ "Der Kaukasus und das Land der Kosaken; in den Jahren, 1843-46." By Moritz Wagner. Dresden, 1848.

⁴ "Schamyl als Feldherr, Sultan und Prophet, und der Kaukasus. By Dr. Friedrich Wagner. Leipzig, 1854.

⁵ "Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East." By Sir John MacNeill. London, 1854.

⁶ "Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe." By Friedrich Martin von Bodenstedt. Berlin, 1855.

⁷ "Histoire de la Georgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX.^e siècle." Publiée par M. F. Brosset. Saint Petersburg, 1848-50.

⁸ "Sechzig Jahre des Kaukasischen Krieges; deutsch bearbeitet von G. Baumgarten." By General R. Fadyeev. Leipzig, 1861.

⁹ "Papers Respecting the Settlement of Circassian Emigrants in Turkey." June 6, 1864.

¹⁰ "Rapport présenté au Conseil de Santé (de Constantinople) dans la Séance du 28 Juin, 1864." Par le Docteur Barozzi. *Gazette Medicale d'Orient*. Constantinople, Juillet, 1864.

¹¹ "Aus Kaukasischen Ländern." Reisebriefe von Hermann Abich. Wien, 1896.

THE steady persistency with which, in spite of all obstacles, the aggrandizement of the Russian Empire is slowly but unceasingly carried on by its rulers has nowhere been so well exemplified as in the conquest of the Caucasus. The history of this long and tedious war, which lasted for sixty-four years, possesses at the present moment a special interest for other great communities, for it shows what a stubborn and prolonged resistance can be offered to a powerful State by a small and apparently insignificant nationality when the bravery of its warriors is aided by the wild and mountainous nature of its home. The Czars of Russia could dis-

pose at their will of all the military and financial resources of their immense Empire, unfettered by the criticisms of a free press or the obstruction of a Parliamentary opposition, and yet little more than a million of mountaineers, untrained and badly armed, it is true, but whose heroism was stimulated by religious enthusiasm; who were led by a man of surpassing military talents, and whose territory formed a natural fortress, defied all the efforts of their best generals and inflicted defeat after defeat on their troops for more than half a century before being finally subdued.

The sacrifices of men and money which were necessary before the authority of the Czar was firmly established over the Caucasian provinces may, perhaps, seem out of proportion to the value of the disputed territory, the greater part of which is a wilderness of sterile mountains; but they were amply repaid by the political and strategical advantages which were the result of the conquest. By the subjugation of this lawless district an end was put to the incursions and depredations of the robber tribes which inhabited its fastnesses, the communications between the shores of the Black Sea and those of the Caspian were rendered more easy and secure, and Russia not only strengthened her southern frontier, but made of it an impregnable stronghold whence she could descend at will on Persia or on Asia Minor.

This great chain of mountains, much of the interior of which was unknown to the Russians before the campaign of 1859, is about 700 miles long from Anapa on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian: its average width is between 70 and 80 miles and not more than 120 where it is widest. Only one high road, that leading from the fortress of Vladikaukaz, built by Prince Potemkin in 1784, through the pass of Dariel to Tiflis, crosses this vast mountain labyrinth which it divides into two nearly equal sections. The numerous tribes which inhabited the Caucasus to the west of this road previously to the Russian conquest, when they were for the most part compelled to emigrate, were known by the general denomination of Circassians or Tcherkesses, while those to the east, who were allowed to remain in their native mountains, were designated as Tchetchens and Lesghians, though under these names were comprised many different races speaking dissimilar dialects.

The series of campaigns which, after many vicissitudes of victory and defeat, overcame at last the resistance of these warlike tribes lasted from 1801 until 1864; but, during many centuries, the sovereigns of Russia had sought from time to time to extend their frontiers towards the south, and as far back as 966 A. D. Siratoslav the Grand Duke of Kiew (945-973) founded on the shores of the Sea of Azov, the principality of Tamau, which was destroyed by the Mon-

gol invasion of 1223. The advance towards the Caucasus was renewed in the sixteenth century, when the Grand Duke of Moscow, Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) married the daughter of the chief of Kabarda, a territory situated to the north of the Central Caucasus, and took the title of Lord Kabarda. The Grand Duke then made war on the Tartars, from whom he took Kasan in 1551, and Astrakan in 1553 and extended his conquests along the northern shores of the Caspian Sea as far as the mouth of the Terck; but the long warfare with Poland and the Teutonic knights which began under his reign, and the civil wars which followed, hindered both him and his successors from making any further addition to their territories in the direction of the Caucasus.

It was not, indeed, for want of opportunities of pretexts. The Transcaucasian Princes who reigned over the small States which had been detached from the Kingdom of Georgia towards the end of the fifteenth century, were the vassals alternately of Turkey and Persia, according as the fortunes of war favored one or the other of the rival Mohammedan Empires which claimed the possession of the rich provinces between the Black Sea and the Caspian, but always with the certainty of seeing their lands ravaged and their Christian subjects persecuted by the conqueror. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at if, in their distress, they turned for help towards the nearest Christian power and claimed its intervention. The first to take this step was Alexander, King of Kaketia, who, in 1587, put himself under the protection of the Grand Duke Feodor Ivanowitch, and his example was followed at different times in the course of the seventeenth century by the princes of Mingrelia, Imeritia, Kartli and Georgia, but without meeting with any answer to their overtures. With the accession of Peter I. (1689-1725) the civil wars which had for so long diverted the attention of the Grand Dukes of Muscovy from the outer world, came to an end, and the resistless expansion of the Russian Empire in all directions, but more especially towards the South and the East, began. The massacre of three hundred Russian merchants in 1712 at Shamaka, near Baku in Persian territory, during an invasion of the Lesghians, and the impossibility of obtaining redress from the Shah Hussein, then at war with the Afghans, gave the Czar the opportunity of rendering himself master of the Caspian and of the roads leading through Persia into India. The campaign did not take place until 1722, when he set out from Astrakan with 50,000 men and a fleet of 422 vessels. After taking Derbent and Baku the Czar returned to Moscow, while his troops seized the rich province of Ghilan to the south of the Caspian; but the further progress of the Russian arms was checked by the victories of Nadir Kali, a soldier of fortune

from Khorassan, who drove the Afghans out of Persia and forced the Turks to renounce their claims to Georgia and the adjacent provinces. In presence of such a formidable enemy, the Empress Anne (1730-1740) deemed it more prudent to abandon the conquests of Peter the Great rather than incur the expenditure of men and money which would be necessary to preserve them; the Russian troops were, therefore, withdrawn to the left bank of the Terek, and the provinces they had invaded were restored to Persia.

No further attempt to advance towards the Caucasus took place until the reign of Catherine II. (1762-1796), when, at the close of a successful campaign against Turkey, terminated by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardgi (1774), the Kuban and the Terek were recognized as the frontiers of the Russian Empire; and, by the same Treaty, Turkey yielded to Russia Great and Little Kabarda, of which the Czars were already nominally the sovereigns. The first step towards the acquisition of a strong position to the south of the Caucasus was marked by the treaty concluded in 1783 with Heraclius II., King of Georgia, who, in return for a pension of 60,000 roubles (about £20,000), consented to acknowledge the suzerainty of Russia, and agreed that his heirs should receive their investiture from the Czars. Persia could not offer any opposition to this transaction, as a civil war was then raging between the sons of Kerim Khan; but, when Aga Mohammed Kadjar, a soldier of fortune like Nadir Shah, had defeated all his competitors and seized the sovereign power, he invaded Georgia in 1798 at the head of a numerous army, and before the Russian troops could cross the Caucasus, he defeated Heraclius near Tiflis, burned that city, laid the country waste and carried off a large number of captives. The vanquished King fled to the mountains, where he shortly after died of grief, and the Russian Government is accused of having induced his son George XII., by a series of intrigues and acts of violence, to abdicate and transfer his rights and those of his heirs to the Czar.¹ It would, however, seem probable that the dissensions in the royal family caused by the change in the order of succession introduced by Heraclius, who had decided that the throne should pass to his younger son Alexander, and the civil war which was the result of this change determined the King to cede his territory to Russia.

Prince Alexander and two other younger sons of Heraclius had taken up arms to support their pretensions; they asked the Lesghians and Avars for help, and joined their bands when they descended from their mountains to ravage the lowlands. Russian troops had already been sent for by the King, and in May, 1800, two regiments crossed the pass of Dariel. They united their forces

¹ Bodenstedt (F. M. von), "*Die Völker des Kaukasus*," I., p. 140.

with those of the King, and, on November 6, they defeated the invaders, who lost their leader, Omar, Khan of the Avars, and 1,500 men. The King may have seen that the only safeguard for his country exposed to the constantly recurring aggressions of Turkey, Persia and the Caucasian tribes was a closer union with his powerful neighbor, and on December 28, when on his death-bed, he is said to have advised his nobles to offer the crown to the Emperor Paul. The Czar accepted the offer by an ukase dated January 18, 1801, and the act was ratified on September 12 by his successor, Alexander I., who, in a proclamation addressed to the people of Georgia, declared that it was not from interested motives, or with the object of extending the frontiers of the Empire, that he accepted the burden imposed upon him, but that he could not resist the cry of anguish which arose from the Georgian nation, and that he was resolved to establish in their country a strong government which should render justice to all and protect life and property.

The transfer to Russia of the Kingdom of Georgia, by whatever means it may have been brought about, was not accepted unanimously by the nation, and Queen Mariam, the widow of George XII., appears to have manifested too openly the anger felt by her subjects at the loss of their independence. Orders were therefore given in 1803 to send all the members of the royal family to Russia, and General Lazareff was charged with the execution of the imperial decree. Accompanied by an interpreter, the General forced his way into the Queen's apartments. As she refused to obey his summons, he sought to drag her away forcibly, when the Princess drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart; and it was only the prompt arrival of her attendants which saved her from perishing beneath the blows of the interpreter, by whom she was severely wounded. She was then brought to a convent at Bielsgorod, in the Government of Kursk, where she was detained until 1811, when she went to reside in a villa near Moscow, and died there in 1850.²

Whether the Czar had been prompted by disinterested motives or by ambition when he accepted the crown of Georgia, the new acquisition was soon found to be, indeed, a heavy burden. The Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, by depriving the Kings of Georgia of their power over the mountaineers of the Caucasus, had destroyed all order and civilization in that region, and the partitions of the kingdom among the sons of Alexander I. in the fifteenth century had still further enfeebled the State and had left it unable to defend itself against the incursions of the robber tribes which carried off prisoners, even under the walls of Tiflis, to supply the slave markets of Trebizond and Constantinople. The Khans of the

² Bodenstedt, I., p. 142.

adjoining districts of Gandja, Karabagh, Derbent and Baku took part in this traffic, and the armies of Turkey and Persia laid the land waste while upholding the claims of their respective sovereigns over all the States of Transcaucasia. Such were the enemies which it was necessary that the Russian Government should subdue before the newly acquired territory could be considered secure and serve as a basis of operations for a further advance.

The first Governor General of Transcaucasia was Prince Zizianoff, a Georgian by birth, but devoted to Russia, where he held the rank of General. His knowledge of the languages, manners and customs of the various races under his jurisdiction enabled him to win their confidence and acquire considerable influence over them, and he has left the reputation of having been the most talented and capable administrator who ever ruled the country. The Prince began the work of unification by seizing Mingrelia. He then demanded the tribute which the chiefs of Gandja had paid to the Kings of Georgia, and as it was refused, he invaded the Khanate, stormed the capital and annexed the territory to Russia, when the chiefs of the neighboring States of Baku, Derbent, Karabagh and Avaria immediately submitted and swore allegiance to the Czar. Shortly after, Feth Ali, Shah of Persia, invaded the provinces just subdued, but was defeated and driven back. Prince Zizianoff failed, however, to take Erivan, and on his raising the siege the Khanates revolted. That of Karabagh was soon reoccupied, but in the summer of 1805 Prince Zizianoff was treacherously assassinated at the gates of Baku, where he had been invited to meet the Persian Governor and receive his submission.

His successor, Count Gudowitch, though he had rarely more than 20,000 men under his command, won several important victories in a series of campaigns against Persia and Turkey, as the Mohammedan Empires had combined their forces in the hope of expelling the Russians from Transcaucasia. In the course of this war the Kingdom of Imeritia was annexed in 1810; the ports of Anapa and Poti, on the Black Sea, were taken from Turkey, and that of Lenkoran, on the Caspian, from Persia. The war with Turkey was ended by the treaty signed at Bucharest in 1812, by which Poti was restored to the Sultan; and the war with Persia by the treaty of Gulistan in 1813, in which Persia renounced all claim to the territories conquered by Russia, as well as the right of maintaining ships of war on the Caspian.

General Yermoloff was named Governor General of the Caucasian provinces in 1816, and all his efforts and those of his successors were directed towards the subjugation of the tribes which inhabited the great chain of mountains, and by their incessant forays spread

terror and devastation throughout the lowlands. The district which was most exposed to these incursions was that lying to the north of the mountains and known as Ciscaucasia. It is separated from the rest of Russia by the Kuban and the Terek, which descend from the central portion of the Caucasus and fall, the former into the Black Sea and the latter into the Caspian. Along these rivers had been established *stanitzas*, or fortified villages inhabited by Cossacks, who cultivated the surrounding fields without venturing very far beyond the range of the guns mounted on their ramparts. Peter the Great was the first to found these colonies, and his work was continued by Catherine II., who in 1770 and 1792 brought more of these irregular troops from their settlements on the Don, the Volga and the Dnieper. A line of small forts maintained the communications between these villages, and their garrisons sent out at night patrols which guarded every defile and every ford by which an enemy might be expected to pass.

Various tribes inhabited the district lying between this strongly guarded frontier and the Caucasus. The most westerly portion was occupied by the Adighes and the Nogai Tartars. The Kabardans, through whose territory runs the road leading over the mountains to Tiflis, held the centre, and to the east dwelt the Tchetchens, of whom only those in the lowlands could be regarded as subject to Russia, while the Tchetchens of the mountains, whose villages were scattered among the densely wooded ravines leading up to the fastnesses of the Lesghians in Daghestan, were still independent. All the Caucasian tribes lived by plunder, and the utmost vigilance on the part of the Russians could not save the lowlands from being periodically devastated by sudden incursions, nor even guard the Cossack villages from being surprised and burned. Expeditions were sent every year against some robber tribe, its villages, where every house was a citadel, were taken by storm with great loss of life and destroyed, but on the retreat of the Russian troops the strongholds were rebuilt and the tribe continued to lead the same lawless existence.

General Yermoloff, whose army was increased to the amount of 45,000 men, displayed an energy in the administration of his province and a severity in the repression of disorder which gained for him from the mountaineers the surname of "*Moskoff Scheitan*," "the Russian devil." He built new fortresses in Kabarda and Tchetchenia; he suppressed mercilessly a revolt in the province of Imeritia and inflicted on the Lesghians and Avars a crushing defeat at Khozrek in 1820, which broke up their confederacy.³ He was, however, recalled in 1826 and was succeeded by Count Paskevitch.

³ Felix Fonton, "*La Russie dans l'Asie Mineure*," p. 113.

shortly before the attempt made by Abbas Mirza, the Crown Prince of Persia, to reconquer the provinces recently annexed by Russia. The campaign was short; it proved disastrous to Persia and was ended by the treaty of Turkmanchai (February 10, 1827), by which Russia acquired the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan; and the war with Turkey which followed was equally advantageous to Russia, which gained by the treaty of Adrianople (1829) the eastern shore of the Black Sea and a further augmentation of territory in Asia Minor.

The successful results of these two campaigns put an end to the intrigues by which the agents of Persia and Turkey had encouraged the independent tribes of the Caucasus to persevere in their resistance, and after a few more years of irregular warfare they would probably have been completely subdued, had not the sudden appearance of a new Mohammedan sect given a fresh stimulus to their patriotism and inflamed it to the highest pitch. This religious reform which cost the Russian Empire millions of roubles and the lives of thousands of its soldiers before it was suppressed, was set on foot by Mollah Mohammed of Jarach, a village in the district of Kurin. He was one of the most learned Ulema or Doctors of the Law in Daghestan, and he is said to have derived the ideas on which he founded his teaching from another of the Ulema, named Hadji Ismail, residing at Kundomir, in the province of Schirwan. The latter, who seems to have belonged to the school of pantheistic philosophy known as Sufism, professed to have had visions in which there had been revealed to him that the two sects of Sunnites and Shütes, into which the followers of Islam were divided, ought to be reunited for the purpose of carrying on a ceaseless warfare against the unbelievers. Under the influence of Hadji Ismail, Mollah Mohammed originated the religious reform known as Muridism, and spread it among the mountaineers. Its effect was to bind closely together the various tribes whom their differences of religious belief and their inherited feuds had until then kept separate and in a state of intertribal war, and to inspire them with an enthusiasm which enabled them to defy during many years the well armed and disciplined troops of the Russian Empire.

This new development of Islam taught that there are four degrees in the spiritual progress of man. In the first, known as *Shariat* (the Law), to which the mass of the people was bound to conform, the true believer was held to an exact observance of the precepts of the Coran and to the performance of the ceremonies it enjoins, which had been much neglected by the Mohammedans of the Caucasus. *Tharikat* (the Path), the second degree, was intended for those who aimed at rising to a higher degree of perfection and to the purely

spiritual worship of the Divinity. They took the name of *Murids* (disciples) and formed a military order bound by oath to die for the faith. They performed the rites prescribed by the Coran, not because such was the law, but from higher motives, because virtuous actions alone could lead them to the truth. The third degree was named *Hakikat* (the Truth), in which the soul was purified by contemplation until it became similar to the soul of the Prophet, and was favored by ecstatic visions in which it beheld the truth. Those who were promoted to this degree were named *Naïbs* or lieutenants. The fourth degree, named *Marifat* (Knowledge), was reserved for the Imam or supreme head of the sect, who was looked upon as being in direct communication with God, between whom and the true believers he acted as intermediary.

The teaching of Mollah Mohammed, the real object of which was the expulsion of the Russians, soon gave rise to so much excitement among the mountaineers, who came from all sides in pilgrimage to Jarach calling out for war against the infidel, that in 1824 General Yermoloff sent Aslan Khan, the chief of the district of Kasi-Kumick, who held the rank of colonel in the Russian army, to suppress the movement. The envoy, who was also a Mohammedan, was soon won over to the cause of Muridism by the eloquence of the Mollah, who rebuked him severely for his vassalage to Russia, but, not wishing to break openly with the Czar, he merely advised the Murids to be more guarded in their demonstrations of hostility, and returned to General Yermoloff with the false assurance that tranquillity had been restored and that no danger was to be apprehended.

General Yermoloff was recalled in 1826, and during the two following years his successor, Count Paskevitch, was hindered by the campaigns against Turkey and Persia from noticing the progress of the new doctrines, which were being spread throughout Daghestan and Tchetchenia by Kasi-Mollah, a disciple of Mollah Mohammed, who had conferred on him the title of Imam. Kasi-Mollah had not the genius of a statesman, but he knew how to excite the enthusiasm of the masses, and under his influence Muridism soon imposed its tenets on the majority of the inhabitants of the Eastern Caucasus. It enforced the democratic doctrines of Islam, according to which all true believers are perfectly equal; it put an end to the power of the nobles in those tribes which had been governed by hereditary chieftains, and it replaced the *Adat*, or the customary laws peculiar to each community, by the *Schariat*, or the laws of the Coran as interpreted by the *Mollahs*, who insisted on the exact observance of all the rules and ceremonies which it prescribes.

When the Russian Government became at last aware of the real tendency of this apparently purely religious movement, it had already

acquired too much power to be easily suppressed. In May, 1831, Kasi-Mollah defeated a Russian detachment and, encouraged by his success, called the mountain tribes to arms and proclaimed a holy war against the unbelievers. He took the town of Tarku, on the shore of the Caspian Sea, after defeating another column of Russian troops, and then beseiged the fortress of Burnaia, which stands on a steep hill above the town. The timely arrival of fresh troops saved the fort and Kasi-Mollah was obliged to retreat, but, taking advantage of the fact that many regiments had been withdrawn from the Russian garrisons in Central Daghestan for the purpose of defending the southern frontier, where a Persian invasion was expected, he attacked Derbend, which was held by only a few battalions. There again he was forced to raise the siege; then, after giving his followers some time to rest, he made, at the end of October, a rapid march of eighty miles past the Russian forts which guarded the lowlands, surprised and plundered the city of Kisliar on the Terek, inhabited by wealthy Armenian merchants, and brought his horsemen laden with booty safely back to their mountains.

In the spring of 1832 Kasi-Mollah was again in arms, making sudden descents where he was least expected, attacking the Cossack villages along the frontier and carrying off prisoners and cattle. It was not until October that Baron Rosen, who had succeeded Count Paskevitch as Governor General, was able to lead an expedition against Himri in the mountains of Daghestan, where the Imam resided. Kasi-Mollah had with him but a small body of Murids, but trusting to the strong position of the village, which was on a height surrounded with precipices, and accessible only by a narrow path cut through the rock, he resolved to resist. The Russian artillery soon leveled with the ground the walls and the towers which guarded the approaches to Himri, and the Murids who defended them died at their posts chanting verses from the Coran. The village was then stormed at the point of the bayonet, and Kasi-Mollah fell fighting to the last, but Schamyl, one of his most trusted lieutenants, and another Murid, succeeded in cutting their way through the Russians and escaped.

The mountain tribes remained in peace for a year after the death of Kasi-Mollah, and the Russians flattered themselves that Muridism had ceased to exist, but Mollah Mohammed raised Hamsad Beg, another of his disciples, to the rank of Imam, and in the beginning of 1834 the new leader had already assembled an army of 12,000 men in the district of Avaria. His object was to render himself master of Avaria before again attacking the Russians, as its chiefs had long been faithful to the Czars, and having treacherously assassinated the Khan of Kunzach, he seized his capital and put to death the remaining members of his family. The victims were soon avenged, for shortly afterwards the foster brothers of one of the murdered Princes stabbed Hamsad Beg when at prayers in the

Mosque of Kunzach, and the inhabitants of the town massacred the guard of Murids which surrounded him.

His successor was Schamyl, also a disciple of Mollah Mohammed, and he was chosen as Imam by the unanimous vote of the elders of the tribes which had adopted Muridism, although he warned them that, if elected, he would enforce rigorously the observation of the laws of the Coran, even at the risk of incurring the hostility of his fellow countrymen. Schamyl, who was born in Himri in 1797, had been the chief counsellor of his two predecessors, and had proved himself an intrepid soldier and a capable commander; he now showed himself to be a prudent and far-seeing statesman, whose aim was to bind the various Caucasian races into a single nationality, to suppress their intertribal wars and private feuds and inspire them with the sole idea of the expulsion of the Russians from their mountains.

The next few years were spent in desultory warfare without any definite plan. The Russians made frequent expeditions against the strongholds of the mountain tribes with varying success, but generally with great loss of life and without attaining any permanent advantage. They were driven out of Himri, but they destroyed Achulgho, a village situated on the summit of a steep and isolated rock, and they placed a garrison in Kunzach, while Schamyl, whose rule was now firmly established, partly by persuasion and partly by force, over Northern Daghestan and the mountainous portion of Tchetchenia, rebuilt Achulgho, fortified it and made it his headquarters. In presence of the rapid and unexpected development of Muridism, the Russian Government saw the necessity of sending out an expedition on a larger scale than usual in order to stamp out definitively a fanatical belief which, if allowed to spread from its native mountains into the neighboring Asiatic States, might excite the whole Mohammedan world to take arms against the nations of Christendom; and in June, 1839, General Golowin, Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Caucasus, sent General Grabbe with 8,000 men and seventeen guns to attack Achulgho for the second time.

On their way through the mountains the Russians, after a combat which lasted two days and cost Schamyl 2,000 killed and wounded, took the village of Arghuan, situated on the summit of a steep ascent, and defended by towers and loop-holed houses; but the position of Achulgho had been rendered so formidable that General Grabbe could only hope to take it by a regular siege. The two precipitous and closely adjoining masses of rock on which then stood Old and New Achulgho, whose population amounted to 4,000 souls, form a peninsula defended on three sides by deep ravines, through which flows the river Koisu, and the narrow chasm which separates the two rocks was crossed by a foot-bridge suspended at

the height of 140 feet above a mountain torrent which falls into the Koisu. Two long ridges of rock with precipitous sides and intersected by ditches and breastworks formed the only approach to the villages. On the side of Achulgo farthest from the Russian position the gorge through which the Koisu flows is so narrow in some parts that it can be easily bridged, and Schamyl was thus able to receive convoys of provisions and to augment his garrison to the number of 1,800 men, while the district lying in front is deeply furrowed and broken up by watercourses which impeded the communications between the Russian camps. It was also swept by the fire of the besieged Murids in Achulgho and by that of the ford of Surchai, built on the summit of an isolated peak. The siege began on June 25. Batteries connected by covered ways were erected at various points, but, though they succeeded in destroying the fort of Surchai after two attempts to storm it had failed, their guns were too light to produce much effect on the partly subterranean houses of Achulgho, and the inhabitants were able to repair at night the damage done by day. The first assault on Achulgho took place on July 28. It failed, for the Russian columns were checked by unforeseen obstacles, and they were obliged to retreat with the loss of over 1,300 men. A second assault took place on August 24, and was not more successful than the first, but Schamyl, whose position was becoming desperate, since the Russians, by occupying the left bank of the Koisu, had prevented him from receiving further supplies, asked for a truce, and sought to obtain favorable terms. The negotiations lasted three days, but as Schamyl's demands were too exorbitant to be granted the attack was renewed on September 2. After desperate fighting, which lasted all day and cost the Russians over 600 killed and wounded, the Murids, by Schamyl's orders, withdrew at night-fall into Old Achulgho. This, too, was taken next day, as the Russians seized the bridge connecting the villages before it could be destroyed. The Murids, at bay in their last stronghold, fought with all the energy of despair. Many of the women even took part in the defense or flung their children and themselves over the precipices that they might not fall into the hands of the Russians, and the fighting in the streets from house to house lasted a week. Schamyl, however, was nowhere to be found, to the great disappointment of the Russians, whose victory lost thereby much of its importance. When the fall of Achulgho was close at hand the Imam had taken refuge with his family and a few Murids in one of the many caves overhanging the Koisu, whence at night he let down a raft into the river. The Russian sentinels fired on it as it was rapidly borne away, and Schamyl, profiting by their attention being thus diverted, fled with his companions in the direction of Himri.

An encounter with one of the Russian advanced posts failed to stop the fugitives, though Schamyl and one of his children were wounded, and the next morning, crossing the Koisu, they found a safe retreat in the forests of Itchkeri.

The dearly bought conquest of Achulgho, which the mountaineers had regarded as impregnable, though glorious for the Russian army, which lost 5,000 men during the siege,⁴ was productive of no useful results. When the two villages had been destroyed the district was evacuated, the troops returned to their usual stations, and though Schamyl had lost his strongest fortress and 1,500 of his most devoted adherents, the veneration he inspired was by no means diminished, for his escape was looked upon as miraculous and a proof of his divine mission. He soon assembled another army at Dargo, a village in the district of Itchkeri, and his reappearance in Ichetchenia in the following year caused a general rising in his favor, even among the tribes which had long been subject to Russia and had fought in her armies. It was during the fifteen following years that the power of Schamyl rose to its greatest height and that he displayed in the government of the tribes of the Eastern Caucasus a talent both for civil and military organization which enabled him at the head of a handful of mountaineers to keep at bay for so long a time the greatly superior forces of the Russian Empire.

Schamyl divided the territory over which the doctrines of Muridism had been adopted into districts varying in number according to circumstances, but usually as many as 24 or 25, and each ruled by a Naïb, who acted both as civil governor and leader of the local forces. Each Naïb was obliged to maintain a guard of from one to three hundred horsemen, always armed and ready to serve at a moment's notice. Every ten households in a village furnished one of these soldiers. His family were exempted from all taxation as long as he lived, and the nine others contributed to arm and support him. When summoned to take part in an expedition the Naïb brought with him besides his guard a certain number of the villagers, all of whom between the ages of 16 and 60 were bound to serve. The Naïbs also collected the revenues of the State, which consisted of a tithe of the produce of each farm, of a poll-tax on each family, of a fifth of the booty taken in war and of the fines levied on culprits. These revenues enabled Schamyl to provide for the widows and orphans of his followers, to support the mosques and to maintain under his immediate command a strong body of cavalry by means of which he chastised the tribes which hesitated to adopt his religious ideas or manifested a tendency to submit to Russia; for his flying columns which fell unexpectedly on an insubordinate village to

⁴ Fadyeev, "Sechzig Jahre des Kaukasischen Krieges," p. 162.

burn it and carry away the inhabitants into slavery, were more to be dreaded than the heavily laden and slowly moving imperial troops, although the latter were equally merciless towards an insurgent tribe.

In the early part of 1841 Hadji Murad, Khan of Avaria, who had been until then a faithful ally of the Czar, revolted and placed his territory under the influence of Schamyl, who repulsed on several occasions the troops sent by General Golowin to reconquer the province. At the end of the same year the Imam at the head of 15,000 men made a sudden descent on the district of Kumik, to the north of Itchkeri, defeated a Russian detachment and took its guns, plundered and burned many villages, made the inhabitants prisoners, and passing between the Russian columns which were hurrying up to intercept him, brought away the captives, the guns and 40,000 head of cattle. The attempt on the part of the Russians in the following year to take Dargo led to one of the most disastrous reverses which they experienced in the course of the war. The command of this expedition was entrusted to General Grabbe, who, in May, 1842, led thirteen battalions of infantry (about 8,600 men), a larger force than had as yet invaded the mountains, into the intricate and densely wooded defiles of Itchkeri. For three days the troops fought their way towards Dargo along narrow, rugged paths and under the deadly fire of the mountaineers lurking in the thickets on their flanks, until General Grabbe, realizing the hopelessness of the undertaking, gave the order to retreat. Emboldened by their success, the Tchetchens issued from their hiding places and charged the Russians sword in hand, breaking several times through the lines of skirmishers and attacking even the centre of the column, which was thrown into such confusion that the baggage wagons and many of the wounded were left behind and six guns were lost, but were retaken shortly afterwards by a desperate charge of the Russians. Had Schamyl, who arrived only on the last day of the combat in the woods, brought up his contingent a little sooner the entire force would have been annihilated; as it was, it lost nearly 2,000 men.⁵

General Golowin was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by General Neidhart, a German officer, who adopted at first a purely defensive system of warfare, sending no expeditions into the mountains, but seeking to check the incursions of the independent tribes by the construction of more fortresses. He was not, however, more fortunate than his predecessors; for, in 1843, Schamyl again invaded Avaria, where, in spite of the defection of Hadji Murad, the people had remained loyal to the Russians. He laid the land waste with

⁵ Moritz Wagner, "*Der Kaukasus*," Vol. II., p. 147.

fire and sword, destroying the villages and cutting down the fruit trees, and carried away many captives. In the course of his foray he defeated several detachments of Russian troops, and took nine small forts, but was repulsed with great loss when he attempted to storm the fortress of Vnesapnia. In the following year General Neidhart took the field in person, and Schamyl was nearly surrounded in a ravine in Tchetchenia, but the General, a slow and scrupulous commander, whom the Russians called "the German pedant," lost so much time in placing his troops before venturing to strike a decisive blow that Schamyl made his escape through a pass which had been left unguarded and regained his mountain stronghold.

General Neidhart was immediately recalled and replaced by Count Woronzoff, who was invested with more ample powers than any previous Governor General had possessed, and the army under his command was raised to 150,000 men. Much against his will, but in obedience to the repeated orders of the Czar, he undertook another expedition against Dargo, and in July, 1845, marched with 10,000 men, almost all infantry, by a circuitous route through the mountains which presented fewer obstacles than that followed by General Grabbe. The movement, though accompanied by much loss of life, was successful, and Schamyl, finding that the village could not be defended, burned it, together with the stores of forage and provisions which he was unable to remove. The troops then withdrew, passing through the woods of the valley of the Aksai, where the previous expedition had met with such a serious reverse, fighting without ceasing against the tribesmen and unable to carry away most of the wounded. Had it not been for the timely arrival of reënforcements from the neighboring fortress of Girsenaul the Russians, who had lost over 4,000 men and three generals, would have perished to the last.

As a reward for the taking of Dargo, Count Woronzoff was raised to the rank of Prince, but the power of Schamyl was in no wise weakened by his defeat. In the month of May, 1846, the Imam, having learned that a numerous body of Russian troops was being assembled for the purpose of attacking Weden, where he had fixed his headquarters after the loss of Dargo, issued suddenly from the forests of Itchkeri at the head of 20,000 men belonging to different tribes. He passed through two lines of Russian posts, crossed two rivers, the Sunscha and the Terek, stormed the forts which guarded the pass leading into Kabarda and raided that province as far as the fortress of Naitchich, which is more than 100 miles from Weden. The rapid advance of the Russian troops obliged him to retreat from before Naltchich, but he burned twenty Cossack *stanitzas* and sixty

villages where the inhabitants had refused to join him, and forcing his way through the detachments which sought to check his march, he carried off his plunder and his captives to the mountains.⁶

Schamyl was equally fortunate in the campaign of the following year, when he held the strongly situated village of Ghergebil, which he had taken from the Russians, against the troops led by Prince Woronzoff in person to retake it, and obliged the expedition to retreat after it had bombarded the position and made two desperate attempts to carry it by assault.

During the Crimean War the Allied Powers made no attempt to communicate with Schamyl and secure his coöperation. The Turkish general who commanded in Asia Minor is even said to have rejected his proffered help; but, owing to the necessity for increasing watchfulness against the incursions of the Murids, a very large number of Russian troops which might otherwise have served in the Crimea were detained in the various garrisons of the Caucasian provinces. They could not, however, prevent Schamyl from making a sudden descent at the head of 15,000 Lesghians on the lowlands to the south of the Caucasus in June, 1854, when he devastated the country nearly as far as Tiflis, burned many villages and carried off two Georgian Princesses, whom he exchanged in the following year for one of his sons, who had been made prisoner by the Russians many years previously and was then serving in the imperial army.

A complete change in the method of carrying on the war took place when Prince Bariatinsky succeeded Prince Woronzoff as Governor General in 1856, and the army of the Caucasus was raised to 270,000 men. Prince Woronzoff had already seen the uselessness of expeditions which might destroy a few farms or villages, but could produce no permanent effect on the mountaineers, and he sought to isolate the different tribes, and thus gradually bring about their submission by cutting roads through the forests and augmenting the number of *stanitzas* and block-houses. Many advantages had been already obtained by these innovations, but the still greater energy of Prince Bariatinsky brought the war to a close in the course of a few years. The annual expeditions into the mountains had taken place previously only in summer, and the troops had then returned to their winter quarters, thus giving the mountaineers time to rest and to prepare for a new campaign. But the Prince saw the necessity of carrying on the war by a slow but sure and continuous advance, as though he were reducing a fortress, and therefore decided that there should be no interruption in his military operations and that the troops should fortify and hold permanently every com-

⁶ Moritz Wagner, "Der Kaukasus," II., p. 168. Bodensadt. "Die Völker des Kaukasus," II., p. 456.

manding position which they took; penterating thus, little by little, into the heart of the most remote districts, where the inhabitants, as yet unassailed by the Russians, were less warlike than those who dwelt on the frontiers, and who were always under arms. Greater development was also given to the network of roads which by opening up the forests of Tchetchenia rendered every part of the district accessible, and enabled General Jewdokim by a series of rapid marches which threw the Tchetchens off their guard and turned their positions, to force the inhabitants of Greater and Lesser Tchetchenia to abandon their dwellings in the depths of their forests and settle in the plains on the banks of the Sunscha and of the lower Arghun. Schamyl made desperate efforts to break through the toils which the Russians were gradually drawing more closely around him. His emissaries excited a revolt in the rear of the Russian forces among a tribe which had been subdued since many years; but it was speedily suppressed. He attempted to surprise the fortress of Wladikawkas, but the Russians were on their guard and he was driven back into the mountains. In the meanwhile a Russian column coming from the direction of Tiflis invaded the provinces to the south of Daghestan, and overcoming the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants and the difficulties presented by the nature of the country, laid the land waste and destroyed in a few weeks forty strongly situated villages and three fortresses.

At the same time General Jewdokim seized the long and narrow ravine leading up into the mountains of Daghestan, whence issues the Arghun. He made a road along it which was defended by forts, and according as the Russians advanced the Tchetchen tribes living in the mauntains, who were already discontented with the despotic rule of Schamyl, revolted against Muridism, expelled their Naïbs and Mollahs and submitted to the Czar.

It thus became possible in March, 1859, for the Russians to renew the attack on Weden, which had been strongly fortified. It was defended by 7,000 men under the command of one of Schamyl's sons, but after a short bombardment the outworks were taken and the town was then set on fire by the garrison and abandoned. The result of this victory was the immediate submission of the few Tchetchen tribes which had not as yet surrendered. Daghestan, with its warlike and fanatical population, alone remained faithful to Schamyl, and at the end of July that province was at last invaded. An army of 25,000 men led by Baron Wrangel advanced from its northern frontier and 7,000 under Prince Melikoff invaded it from the south, passing through districts where no Russian soldier had ever been seen. Smaller columns guarded the flanks of these two main bodies and brought the total number of troops employed up

to 40,000. Schamyl, bewildered by this unexpected mode of attack, made but a feeble resistance. His strongest positions were turned and taken almost without fighting. Tribe after tribe abandoned his cause and hastened to offer its submission to the nearest Russian General, and the Imam at last, together with a few hundred Murids, took refuge on Mount Gunib, in the district of Andabal.

The Russian columns soon closed in round this enormous mass of rock which stands isolated in the midst of an amphitheatre of mountains and forms a natural fortress. On the summit, which is a tableland of about thirty-six square miles surrounded by precipices, is a small village with farms, woods and pasturages. A single footpath passing through a cleft in the rock leads up to it. This had been fortified with a loop-holed wall and with a sufficient number of sharpshooters to line the edge of the precipices the position would have been impregnable. The Russian troops, however, during the night of September 5, scaled the heights at two points with the aid of ropes and ladders in spite of a determined resistance, and Schamyl with the few surviving Murids retreated to the village, where, in the afternoon of September 6, he surrendered to Prince Bariatinski.

The Russians treated their heroic enemy with courtesy, but could not accede to his request to be allowed to remain in his native mountains, as his presence would have kept alive the spirit of independence. He was sent, together with all his family, to the town of Kalugha, near Moscow, where the Emperor allowed him a pension of 10,000 roubles, and he resided there until 1870, when he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and died in the following year at Medina.

When the fall of Schamyl had put an end to the despotism of the Murids, and the tribes of the Eastern Caucasus had submitted, the Russian Government immediately brought the entire strength of its Caucasian army, which had been increased to nearly 300,000 men, to bear upon the mountaineers of the Western Caucasus, who were estimated in 1859 as amounting to about half a million, among whom from 60,000 to 65,000 were capable of bearing arms. Unlike the inhabitants of Tchetchenia and Daghestan, who possessed republican institutions, under which all the members of a tribe were equal and were ruled by a council chosen from among the elders, each of the Tcherkess tribes of the Western Caucasus lived under the hereditary domination of one of its noble families, and these feudal governments had long maintained a bond of union between the various races. For more than a century, however, democratic ideas and a desire for greater independence had become generally diffused among the people, and the civil wars to which they gave rise had deprived the nobles of their privileges and their authority, leaving

the tribes enfeebled, disorganized and without capable leaders. Schamyl had come among them in the earlier days of the struggle against Russia to seek for recruits, but without success, and at the time of the Crimean War he had sent to them Mehemet Amin, one of his most trusted Naïbs, to induce them to join his standard; but the Mohammedanism of the Tcherkesses was too relaxed, and they had preserved too many usages derived from their primitive idolatry, mingled with some traces of Christianity, to admit of their adopting to any great extent the austere doctrines of Muridism, and Schamyl's lieutenant made but few converts. The Naïb acquired, indeed, a little influence over some of the tribes, but he was opposed by an emissary of the Turkish Government which was apparently jealous of the power which Schamyl had acquired, and after the defeat of that chieftain he made peace with the Russians and retired to Turkey with a pension from the Russian Government.

A state of perpetual warfare had long existed in the territory to the north of this part of the Caucasus, where the Cossack *stanitzas* and outposts guarded the line of the Kuban. As in the Eastern Caucasus, expeditions were undertaken every summer against some one of the robber tribes. Its villages, built in almost inaccessible situations and strongly barricaded, were taken and destroyed, its lands were ravaged, but no permanent advantage was gained until the adoption of the system initiated by Prince Woronzoff and developed by Prince Bariatinski, of advancing slowly along the course of the principal rivers and of fortifying every point seized.

To the south of the Caucasus, where the mountains descend abruptly to the Black Sea, the narrow strip of land lying at their feet was claimed by the Russian Government in virtue of the treaty of Adrianople (1829), by which the Sultan ceded a province where his predecessors had never occupied but a few seaports, and where their authority had never been recognized by the Tcherkesses. In 1830 the Russians landed on this coast and built fortresses at various points, in spite of the resistance of the mountaineers; but the pestilential climate, the difficulty of obtaining provisions and the incessant attacks of their warlike neighbors soon obliged them to vacate four of the six posts which they had occupied.

When, after the fall of Schamyl, the army of the Western Caucasus had been augmented by the troops from the Eastern division, the Russian Government, having come to the decision of expelling the entire population, either by removing them to the lowlands or by exiling them to Turkey, attacked the mountaineers by columns marching towards each other from the extreme ends of the territory to be depopulated, while other detachments operated in the centre of the line, dispossessing the inhabitants according as they advanced,

so as to drive them, ultimately, across the summit of the mountains and down to the shore of the Black Sea. This system of gradual extirpation lasted for over two years. The smaller tribes, after some fighting, laid down their arms and were compelled to emigrate. The Abazekhs, who were numerous and powerful, consented to make peace and to swear allegiance to the Czar on condition that their independence should be acknowledged and that their lands should not be seized; but, as some members of the tribe did not observe their promises, and as other attempts to conciliate the mountaineers proved futile in presence of their exaggerated demands, hostilities soon recommenced. In this campaign some clans which had not as yet fought, crossing over the mountains from the southern declivity of the Caucasus, fell upon the flanks of the Russian troops, attacked even forts and *stanitzas*, and carried away their inhabitants, but there was no political cohesion between the different tribes,⁷ which could not forget their blood-feuds or unite for a common cause. No leader like Schamyl arose among them to bind them into a powerful nationality, and these last despairing efforts of a conquered race were speedily suppressed. Village after village was stormed by the Russian troops; the land was laid waste with fire and sword, and in some cases disarmed prisoners, and even women and children, were, it is said, slaughtered.⁸ Some of the more warlike tribes prolonged for a short time their resistance in the rugged defiles on the southern slopes of the great mountains, but the Russian columns, closing in on them from all sides, dislodged them from their fastnesses and left them no choice between transportation to the plains along the Kuban or emigration to Turkey.

The last position to be held was the ravine of Aïbgo, where a band of picked men of various tribes kept the troops at bay for four days, until they had nearly all fallen under the fire of the Russian artillery, and by the surrender of the survivors on May 23, 1864, the war in the Caucasus, which had lasted for over half a century, was brought to an end.⁹

For some years before the last champions of the independence of the Caucasus had been subdued the Mohammedan subjects of Russia had, of their own accord, begun to migrate to the territories of the Sultan in such numbers that 500 villages were left without inhabitants by the departure of the Tartars of the Crimea between 1854 and 1863.¹⁰ They were followed by some of the Tcherkess tribes, who fled after the fall of Schamyl, and by the Nogai Tartars, who

⁷ Parliamentary papers. Letter from Consul Dickson, Soukhoun-Kalé, 22d Feb., 1864.

⁸ Letters from the same, March 17, April 13, 1864.

⁹ M. Ed. Dulaurier, "Revue des Deux Mondes," 15 Décembre, 1865.

¹⁰ Elisée Reclus, "Géographie universelle," T. V., p. 831.

for many years had led a wandering life in the steppes to the north of the Caucasus; and in about four years the total number of these fugitives amounted to 300,000.¹¹ Fever and dysentery carried off thousands of them while on their way or on their arrival at their destination, but the situation was far more appalling when, in 1863 and 1864, the Circassian tribes began to emigrate in such crowds that both the Russian and Turkish Governments were unable to make adequate preparations for their relief. The population of the Western Caucasus in the latter part of 1859 has been estimated at about half a million, only 76,000 of whom were willing to settle in the lowlands along the Kuban, while between 1858 and 1864 the number of emigrants, according to official documents, amounted to 398,000, and 258,000 of these left the ports of the Black Sea under the inspection of Russian officers in the first six months of 1864.¹²

It is but just to say that the Russian Government, by distributing provisions and money, made some effort to relieve the thousands of outcasts who had been driven from their homes down to the Caucasian coast. It even hired steamers on which they were offered a free passage; but before this measure was taken crowds of fugitives had embarked in small coasting vessels, in which hundreds perished during the voyage from hunger and the inclemency of the weather. Trebizond and Samsoun were the ports where they disembarked in the greatest numbers, enfeebled by the privations which they had undergone, and a large proportion of them suffering from typhus and small-pox. In the former of these ports and in its environs, where they arrived sometimes by convoys of 6,000 a day, their numbers soon reached 70,000; in the latter they were 80,000 in the month of May and 120,000 in June.¹³ In both these towns the mortality among the refugees was then at the rate of from 300 to 500 a day. The streets, the market places, the gardens were filled with the dying and the dead, and the pestilence soon began to spread among the inhabitants. The arrival from Constantinople of Dr. Barozzi, the Commissioner of the Imperial Council of Health, brought some alleviation to these sufferings and established some order in the confusion caused in a great measure by the inertia and pusillanimity of the local authorities. Camps were formed at a distance from the towns, among which the immigrants were distributed, but the crowding was still very great, and, owing to the want of proper food and shelter, to the insufficiency of medical attendance and to the neglect of sanitation, there was still a considerable amount of mortality,

¹¹ "Gazette Médicale d'Orient," Juillet, 1864, p. 50.

¹² "Géographie Universelle," T. VI., p. 100.

¹³ "Gazette Médicale d'Orient," Juillet, 1864, p. 57-58.

more especially among the women and children. Large numbers of the refugees were transported by the Turkish Government to other parts of the Empire, but wherever their lot was cast, whether on the shores of the Sea of Marmora, on the banks of the Danube or in the interior of Asia Minor, typhus and small-pox still accompanied them and were spread by them among the surrounding population. According to a letter in the *Times*, dated August 22, 1864, of the 40,000 Tcherkesses who had been settled along the banks of the Danube from Czernavoda to Widdin, 6,000 had died in three weeks, without reckoning those who had perished during the journey thither. The correspondent might well remark: "One cannot help being impressed more and more with the magnitude of the crime committed by Russia; a crime which finds no parallel in ancient or modern history."

A few insignificant Tcherkess communities have been allowed to remain in the higher valleys of the Western Caucasus, but, with this exception, the nation has ceased to exist, and with it the various languages, dialects, legends and traditions which presented so many interesting problems to the philologist and the historian have disappeared, swept away by the resistless onward march of the great Slavonic Empire. The place of the exiles has been taken by colonists from all parts of Russia, especially by the Cossacks, whose *stanitzas* had guarded the banks of the Kuban for nearly a century, and who were moved forward into the lands from which the Tcherkesses had been driven, and it must be acknowledged that this change of population represents the substitution of law and order for anarchy and bloodshed. Freed from all dread of the incursions of the mountaineers, the farms and villages no longer require to be surrounded with ramparts and defended by cannon; the husbandman may sow and reap in safety, the shepherd may tend his flock in peace, and the Caucasian provinces, favored by a fertile soil and a genial climate, and situated between two seas which afford access to the markets of Europe and Asia, seem destined to become one day the most populous and flourishing of the Russian Empire.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

JESUITS AT COURT.

LACORDAIRE once wrote in a letter to Madame Swetchine these remarkable words concerning the disciples of St. Ignatius:

"Tout ce qui m'a tombé sous la main m'a toujours révolté par l'emphase ridicule de l'éloge, ou par l'impudeur du blâme. Il semble cette nature d'hommes ait toujours ôté la raison à ses amis et à ses ennemis. Je voudrais leur consacrer dix années d'études, ne fût-ce que pour mon plaisir propre; mais Dieu nous donne et nous prépare une bien autre besogne, et il faut dire avec l'auteur de *l'Imitation* 'relinqua curiosa.' Des Jesuites continueront à faire du bien, et à le faire mal quelquefois; ils auront des amis frénétiques et des ennemis furieux, en attendant le jour du jugement dernier, qui sera pour bien des raisons un très-intéressant et très-curieux jour."

At no time has the world been more occupied with the Jesuits than at the present moment, and the prophecy of the celebrated Dominican above quoted seems more than ever likely to be fulfilled. If their friends are indeed still as extravagant in their praise, as Lacordaire found them, perhaps on the other hand criticism is even louder, hatred more profound, accusation more wild and general. Most of the governments of Europe have banished them on the ground that they are enemies to progress, to liberal ideas, that they have meddled in politics and constitute a danger to the State by seeking to grasp the helm of public affairs, secretly stirring up the nations against their rulers. The subject seems to be of perennial and universal application, since even in this twentieth century and in so tolerant a country as England, people have been moved to some apprehension lest we should be incurring a danger in suffering the Jesuit to live unmolested in our midst. But it is not the object of the present paper to deal with so burning a question as the right of members of the Society of Jesus to exist anywhere; rather would we make an excursion into the domain of history, and inquire what have been the rules and regulations, and what has been the practice of the Society concerning politics in the past, what has been the attitude of its members, prescribed and actual, towards Kings and potentates. Certain facts have recently come to light bearing on the history of the Jesuits at the various German courts in the sixteenth century, and the scattered remains of the private correspondence belonging to the archives of the old Society, before the suppression, have been gathered together. What was done more or less in secret is now proclaimed on the housetops, and the result, as might be expected, is in many ways interesting and instructive.¹

¹ Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16ten Jahrhunderts. Auf Grund ungedruckter Quellen. Von Bernhard Duhr, S. J. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1901.

This correspondence consists of communications between the rank and file and the superiors at Rome, and vice versa, and the letters which passed between the General and the Kings, Archdukes and other reigning princes, ostensibly friends of the Society, but who did their best to put frequent spokes in the wheels of the Constitutions.

The dearth of learned preachers and confessors about the middle of the sixteenth century appealed strongly to the Jesuits to throw themselves into the breach, and thus against the original intention of their founder, they became the spiritual guides of those who made the history of Europe for the next hundred years and more. It was a delicate and an onerous task, fraught with temptations without and within. Ignatius of Loyola, being not less a man of the world than a saint, was well aware of the perils to which he exposed his sons, in sending them forth into the midst of vanities, and having had some experience of courts, he knew that princes love not contradiction. But he decided after mature consideration that after all his "least Society" was created to do a certain work in the Church and the world, the need of which work was only too apparent in the decayed state of faith and morals. It was not by turning their backs on courts that they could hope to regenerate them; but it would be interesting could we discover whether, by a contrary decision, he would have averted some of the odium which the name Jesuit has accumulated during the course of ages.

John III. of Portugal was the first King to demand a Jesuit confessor, and to him Ignatius sent Father Luis Gonzalez de Comara, much against the desire of the said confessor. To his entreaties and objections, the first General of the Society made answer, on the 9th of August, 1552, that he was indeed edified by the humility which caused Father de Comara to shrink from a position which many envied, nevertheless, he was of the opinion that he should obey His Highness in this, as in other things, "for the honour of God our Lord." St. Ignatius went on to say that he need not occupy himself with any but good and pious objects, neither had he reason to fear that the King would, against the will of the Society, confer upon him those honors and dignities with which it was the custom to distinguish other confessors. If, moreover, his remaining at court was a cross to him, he must bear it with patience as he would all else that obedience required of him.²

At the second General Congregation, held in 1565, the question arose whether Cardinal Otto of Augsburg might have a member of the Society attached to his court, as theologian. The Congrega-

² *Cartas de S. Ignacio* 3, 109 sq.

tion decided not to allow any member to reside permanently at the court of any prince, spiritual or secular, or to consent to his following the said court on its travels, either in the capacity of preacher, theologian or confessor, and that no appointment of such a kind should be permissible for longer than one month or double that period at the most. Ten years later, the Provincial Congregation of North Germany was reminded of this decree in drawing up propositions to be placed before the third General Congregation, and it was expressly stated that none but the General of the Society himself should have the power to make such appointments, that they should be made as rarely as possible, experience having proved that more harm was done to the confessor by his residing at court than good to the penitent by his ministrations. The reply to this proposition was to the effect that with the General alone should rest the appointment.

By degrees further legislation became imperative, and the fifth General Congregation, held in 1593, forbade in the most solemn form every member of the Society to interfere in politics or any public affairs whatever. The decree was so absolute that not only did it ensure the imprudent from taking part in the burning questions of the day, but timid confessors were thereby prevented by their scruples from giving counsel when appealed to on matters that could scarcely be supposed to border on politics. In order therefore to correct all misapprehension, the General, Aquaviva, issued an Instruction for the confessors of princes which was formally approved by the General Congregation of 1608. This was considered so important a document that it was incorporated into the Institute, a sort of code containing the Constitutions which St. Ignatius drew up, as well as the decrees of General Congregations. The Instruction was in fact a summary of all previous experience on the subject. It provided, first of all, that in cases where the Society could not avoid compliance with the demand for a confessor at court, great care should be taken in the choice of the individual member to fill the office, so that he might conduce to the welfare of the prince, the edification of the people and the avoidance of all injury to the order. The last clause bore reference to the fact that not infrequently the Society was called upon to suffer in one place for wounds inflicted on it in another. Rules for the said confessor were then laid down, to fit every possible emergency, and in minute detail.

For instance, although attached to the King's chapel, he must not only lodge exclusively in a college of his order, but must remain subject to the rule, like any other member of the Society. Even when traveling with the court, he must sleep in a house of his

order, or if passing through a town where there was none, he must ask hospitality of any other religious community, preferably to passing the night at court. It was again solemnly impressed upon him not to allow himself to be drawn into any secular concerns, which rule the King was humbly begged to enforce. Neither must he accept commissions between the prince his penitent and any of his ministers or other officials. As regarded the prince himself, he was bound to hear his confessor, not merely when he exhorted him on the subject matter of his confessions, but also on matters relating to the prevention of unjust oppression or other scandals which often came about through the fault of officials and were unknown to the sovereign ruler. None might undertake the office of permanent confessor at court without the consent of his Provincial. It was moreover the duty of the Provincial before according such permission to hand these instructions to the prince, in order that he might clearly understand what the Society offered him. The prince was further to be reminded in modest but decided terms that superiors retained the right to the obedience of the individual who became his confessor, as absolutely as to that of any other member.

At first there seemed no great need for these precautions. The Emperor Charles V. chose Dominicans for his confessors, and his successor, Ferdinand, followed his example. But he held the Society in great esteem, and at his death Father Lainez, who was then General, ordered that each priest in the college at Dillingen should offer twelve Masses for the repose of his soul, the lay Brothers to say certain prayers with the same intention. The Society was not only indebted to him for his unvarying friendship, but owed to his munificence the foundation of four colleges, those of Vienna, Prague, Innsbruck and Tyrnau. Ferdinand's son and successor, Maximilian, having Protestant leanings, dispensed with a confessor altogether, but his wife, Donna Maria, sister of Philip II. of Spain, was provided with a Spanish Franciscan, chosen for her by her brother. Maximilian's sons all chose Jesuit confessors, as did also the Queen of Bohemia. At that time the Lutherans thought Catholicism was at its last gasp, and eagerly anticipated the banishment of the Jesuits. But Maximilian, in spite of his Protestant tendencies, was well disposed towards them, and their college at Vienna received many marks of his favor, to the great disgust of his Lutheran subjects. The nobles assembled at the Landtag in Vienna attached three conditions to their votes of supplies for his war against the Turk: the abolition of the procession of Corpus Christi, the confirmation of the Confession of Augsburg and the extermination of the Jesuits. They stated that if the Emperor refused to grant these requests they would refuse the required subsidy for the

war. The Emperor replied that it was his business to repulse the Turks; the other things were not his affair, but the Pope's.³

Disappointed in their hopes, the Lutherans, allying themselves to the enemies of the Jesuits in the Church, began to circulate false reports against the Society. At one moment Father Peter Canisius was prejudicing the Pope against the Emperor, at another the whole community at Vienna were guilty of openly insulting the Protestants. Reiterated complaints poured into the Emperor's ear ended by alienating Maximilian from his former friends, and it was difficult, almost impossible, for them to obtain a hearing. But the Empress remained staunch and firm and was perhaps one of those friends of the Jesuits whom Lacordaire would have termed *frénétique*.

Father Maggio, who was then court preacher, seems to have been a man of great prudence and mildness, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religion. By degrees he not only convinced the Emperor of the injustice of the attacks made upon the Society, but the two became fast friends, so that when he was made Provincial of Austria in 1566, the appointment gave much satisfaction at court. He was frequently summoned to private audiences, and the Emperor treated him with so much confidence that Father Maggio would sometimes venture to address to him written words of exhortation, words that Maximilian invariably took in good part. The Empress, observing the affection of her husband for the Jesuit, would consult him as to the best means of confirming him in the Catholic faith.

When Father Maggio was made Provincial, Father Antonio, a Portuguese, became court preacher, but so little to his own satisfaction that he repeatedly appealed to the Empress and to the General to be released. He bewailed his unfitness for a post requiring so much exceptional virtue, and expressed his desire to be sent to foreign missions. If such were not the will of his superiors, he entreated that he might have some humble office in a house of novices where he might live unnoticed by the world and labor for his soul's health. The General, Father Mercurian, replied on the 18th of March, 1576, that he had no one to replace him at court, and that he must perforce remain where he was. Previously to this Father Antonio had besought the Empress to dismiss him, but she had answered that she counted on his ministrations at the hour of death. A month after Father Mercurian's refusal to remove him he again wrote to the General, begging that he might apply to the Empress for at least a year's leave of absence, during which time no locum tenens would be necessary. Two days later he followed up this letter with another, giving the General his opinion why it was inex-

³ Orig. G. Epist. 6, 48 sqq.

pedient for any Jesuit to remain at court except for a short term, such as a month or two. There was, he said, no Bishop, ambassador or person of consequence who did not desire to have several of the Fathers about him; the door which after profession they had shut on the world seemed in a certain sense to be reopened by a residence at court; unfortunately, men were not wanting who aspired to such offices, and great inconveniences ensued thereby. Some grew accustomed to a certain independence, little in accordance with the rules of the Society, some were altogether ruined, and brought disgrace on the order. It was perhaps not astonishing that after this letter the General showed less inclination even than before to remove Father Antonio. One who thus appreciated the dangers of the world would be less likely than another to fall a prey to its snares, and was as safe at court as in fulfilling the humblest duties of the noviceship.

But when all was said and done, the influence of the Jesuits at the Court of Vienna was not very great. Their El Dorado was the archducal Court at Gratz, where reigned King Ferdinand's son, Charles II. Here their power was at least supposed to be so great that their enemies declared that they possessed the master-key of all the doors in the palace, and could pass through all the rooms composing the apartments of the Archduchess at will. This, however, and other things she declared to be nothing but lies, *pur lauttere Lugen*, and an attack on her honor.⁴ But barring these unpleasant reports the Society flourished at Gratz as hardly anywhere else, and was able to train its novices, give the spiritual exercises and administer the sacraments undisturbed. The only difficulties were in connection with the right of the Provincial to move his men as he chose, the Archduke, like the Emperor, being inclined to regard his confessors as his own property. This was notably the case with the celebrated Father Blyssem, who received marching orders in 1578. The Archduke at once wrote to the General, declaring that Father Blyssem's removal would be extremely inconvenient, and was not to be contemplated. If the General were on the spot he would be of the same opinion. First, Father Blyssem was his and the Archduchess' confessor, whom they wished above all to keep. Secondly, he was not only a vigilant rector of his college, and an experienced confessor, but also an excellent preacher. And finally, he was beloved by all, was well acquainted with the idiosyncracies of the country, enjoyed a good reputation and inspired respect even in the opponents of the Catholic faith. His sudden departure could not but be injurious to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the college as well as detrimental to the general good.

⁴ Hurter, Ferdinand II., 3, 578.

But not alone the Archduke, the Papal Legate, Bishop Fellician Ringnarda, O. S. D., also appealed to the General of the Society in the same interest, saying that he had already sought the intervention of the Pope and the Cardinal of Como to prevent the removal of Father Blyssem. As he now heard that in spite of his efforts Father Blyssem was to go to Rome, at least for three months, he begged most urgently that this order might be cancelled, his absence for even a week, to say nothing of a month, being likely to entail serious harm to the Church. The daily presence of the Father was so necessary that if he were not at Gratz he must be sent there without delay. The Legate went on to enumerate all the wonderful qualities of the rector, and ended his letter with a solemn entreaty that the General would on no account remove him.⁵

Thus driven into a corner, Aquaviva was obliged to leave the Archduke's confessor where he was, accommodating matters by making him Provincial of Austria in place of Father Maggio, Father Emerich Torsler replacing Father Blyssem as rector of the college at Gratz. The Archduke expressed himself content with the arrangement, provided that Father Blyssem did not absent himself on the business of the province when he required him at his side.

The new Provincial found occasion in January, 1582, to write to the General about the sermons of Father John Reinell, which were, he complained, too long and too violent. In regard to the first fault, he had somewhat improved, but no admonition had succeeded in making him desist from his biting attacks on the heretics. His Paternity was therefore requested to command him to observe more moderation and gentleness, and instead of handling the heretics angrily and roughly, to teach and exhort them with Christian charity. In this manner he would convert a far greater number, as everybody maintained. But if he continued as heretofore, Father Blyssem would be obliged to send him to another college, where he would have to adopt a different style or take over another occupation. But the removal of Father Reinell was not so simple a matter as at first appeared. Towards the end of the year Father Blyssem again wrote to Aquaviva on the same subject. It had been decided during the preceding summer to send the unmanageable preacher to another sphere of action, because he had been already so long a time at Gratz, and was too much taken up with the court, which he had recently, against the will of his superiors, accompanied in its journey of several months through Bavaria and Suavia, to the neglect of the pulpit at Gratz. His harsh and lengthy manner of preaching was repulsive not only to the Lutherans, but to the Catholics also, but when he was on the point of starting for Vienna the Archduchess,

⁵ Orig. G. Epist. 3, 298.

whose confessions he sometimes heard in Father Blysem's absence, was so much aggrieved at the change that was to be made that she entreated her husband with arguments and tears to prevent his departure. Although the Archduke had made no difficulty on his own account, he begged the Provincial to defer Father Reinel's removal on account of his consort's distress. But the Provincial requested the General to commission him to insist on the change, and to induce the Archduke to agree to it.⁶ Sometimes varying reports were sent to the General concerning the behavior of certain Fathers at court. The rector of the college at Gratz had written somewhat harshly regarding the conduct of Father Saxo, who seems to have been a favorite in the most exalted circle. But Father Blysem in a letter to Aquaviva, dated December 21, 1585, says: "Your Paternity appears to be incorrectly informed as to Father Saxo. In my judgment and in that of other Fathers of consideration, he has very greatly improved in his behavior and intercourse with others. When I was at Gratz last year he was in possession of a costly little alarm which he had received as a present from a nobleman. He was well pleased that the clock should be taken from him and sold for the benefit of the noviceship. The seal which he used at missions, and which he would willingly have kept after the mission, he gave up at the instance of his superior. He had received a great many good books as presents in the course of his missions, to assist him in preaching, and these he delivered up for common use, after very little delay. The Fathers whom I questioned answered that they had noticed nothing in Father Saxo that might give scandal, nor had they ever heard anything of the kind about him."

The complaints against Father Viller were less easily answered than those against Father Saxo. Father Viller had filled the office of Austrian Provincial between the years 1589 and 1595, and in the latter year was appointed rector of the college at Gratz. During this time the Archduke Ferdinand chose him as his confessor. It was not long afterwards that he was accused to the General of being a courtier, an imputation so vague as to need a discursive reply. But his long letter of self-justification addressed to Father Aquaviva is interesting from the vividness of the scenes it lays before us. Its main contents are as follows: "Already fifteen or sixteen years ago, when Father Maggio had left the province, certain Fathers in Vienna complained bitterly to the new Provincial, Father Blysem, that I had a courtier-like mind, because people about the court came to me and I associated with them. I was, it is true, in favour with the Imperial Council, with the Bishops and the Hungarian nobles, also with the apostolic Nuntios Delphin and Portia, and I

⁶ Orig. G. Epist. 23, 325.

laboured to the extent of my power in the interests of religion. Father Provincial removed me from my office, and I became his secretary and admonitor. Two years later, when a visitor, Father Oliver came, he reinstated me as Master of the Alumni, discipline having suffered among them. When I had been other two years in this office I was again accused to the Provincial. I was deposed, but in the meantime the baselessness of the charges brought against me having been proved, I was appointed rector of Olmütz, and Father Provincial assured me with tears that I had been unjustly treated. Five years afterwards I was elected Provincial, and the Father Visitor was able to testify that I suffered much, even to the danger of losing my life, in fulfilling this office in Bohemia and Hungary. The new Provincial (Father Ferdinand Alber) evinced dislike of me immediately on his taking up office, the reason of which was, I believe, merely that we do not share the same opinions. He, like Fathers Bader, Reinel and Scherer, is for daily public penitential exercises in the refectory; I, on the contrary, am for a milder proceeding, such as I have learned of Fathers Maggio, Everard (Mercurian), Gondan, Canisius and Lanoy. Therefore, I am called a courtier, even when I am not at court. The whole college will bear witness that I go there less often than Father Reinel, who at least went there once a day, whereas I go on an average but once a week. If it be objected that I suffer the princes to come frequently to the college, I reply, as I replied to the Father Provincial, that I will undertake they shall come no more; but the responsibility must rest with others. Further, I am reproached with having invited the princes to dinner at the vineyard and also at the college, and that I even played with them at the vineyard. As for the invitation the princes themselves asked to be invited; and the Apostolic Nuntio and the Bishop of Laibach were present at the games, which were, in my judgment, honourable and modest. I have begged to be released from both my offices, in order to remove suspicion and to obtain peace, for I see that I am not agreeable to my Provincial, he having forbidden me to hear the confessions of the Archduke, and even those of the Dowager Archduchess, who like her daughters insists on making her confession to me. If any one has told the Provincial that the college is in a bad state, ocular demonstration will prove the contrary; everything goes on in an orderly way. The Archduke receives Holy Communion every Sunday. He is burning with desire to reinstate the Catholic religion, and he labours for the conversion of the nobility. Only yesterday a man in a very high position was received into the Church. As for your Paternity's exhortation to guard against the spirit of the world, I thank you, but I do not see how I am to do it, unless I flee from the court and

courtiers. I will take pains to satisfy my conscience and obedience, but I fear that I shall not content those who look on the dark side. If your Paternity thinks that I seek the favour of princes more for my own sake than for the Society's, it is a bitter reproach, for I would rather die than be guilty of such a fault. The Archdukes will bear me out how often I have spoken to them on this subject and how I have begged them to write nothing on my behalf to the General or to the Provincial, but they insist that if I lay down the rectorate I must retain the confessorship."⁷ . . .

In the end this suggested compromise was effected, Father Viller was no longer rector of Gratz, but remained confessor to the Archducal family. Nevertheless complaints did not cease. He had to defend himself against the charge of clinging inordinately to the worldly advantages of his position, and in a confidential letter to the German Resident at Rome, Father Duras, said: "I call God to witness that I do not value the court and my present office more than any other service my superiors may call upon me to render to the Society. I am cheerfully ready to leave the court at any moment and at the risk of losing the prince's favour, whenever my superior expresses a wish that I should do so, to say nothing of receiving a decided order. I have not so high an opinion of my person that I seek consideration on account of the favour and affection of the prince."

Still the attacks on Father Viller did not cease. Those who were for unmitigated austerity looked on his broad views with horror. Father Scherer, one of the most rigid, called him "the synagogue of libertines." The Provincial and the Spaniard Father Ximenes were among those who judged him most severely. He was, moreover, involved, and this is perhaps less to his credit than any supposed laxness with which he was charged, in the squabbles between the Hapsburg and Wittelsbach royal families concerning the Bishopric of Gassau. This had for long been an apple of contention between Austria and Bavaria, and the new rector of Gratz, Father Haller, in describing the situation to the General, wrote: "Outsiders on either side naturally throw oil on the flames, and as regards ours, I doubt whether they do their best to extinguish them, exercising the necessary charity and prudence. Father Viller does the reverse, blaming and condemning everything Bavarian, while he praises and defends the Austrians indiscriminately. Both parties have their adherents, who publish everything from their own point of view. As this one-sided material is all that is laid before ours, the danger is that the advice given is not in favour of an inquiry. It is taken for granted that all that comes before their eyes is true,

⁷ Orig. G. Epist. 35, 479.

and the other side is condemned unheard. But as it is clear how greatly the Christian cause in Germany would be benefited by an union of the two parties, it would be well worth the trouble, seeing the immense influence the Society has over the princes and their advisers, for the members of the Order to labour with more zeal than heretofore to bring about this reconciliation, particularly at Prague, Vienna, Munich and Gratz." He concludes with the wish that not alone the Society, but the rulers of the Church also might advance the cause of union. In a postscript Father Haller returns to his charge against Father Viller, who he declares has disregarded the rules of the fifth General Congregation. At Ferrara, for instance, he engaged in a violent controversy with the Bavarian agent, Sper, concerning the Passau question, as well as that of the Bishopric of Salzburg, which the Bavarians were supposed to covet. Besides this, Father Viller, blinded by prejudice, disapproved of the contemplated marriage between the Austrian Archduke and the Princess Maria Anna of Bavaria, "which he would prevent if he could. In short," wrote the Provincial, "the good Father has extravagant and dangerous notions, and gives no good example to the college."

In his own defense Father Viller wrote that he was by no means averse to the alliance, that he had himself secretly applied for and obtained the necessary dispensation at Rome, and had frequently expressed his earnest desire that the marriage might take place, considering that an union between the two princely houses would conduce to the honor of both, and to the protection and defense of the Catholic religion in Germany. Only, the health of the bride must be considered, no less than her great and notable piety, as it was necessary to provide for the continuation of the line of the august house. He had thought that as marriage was so delicate an affair, foresight was needful, in order that no want of physical health and beauty might in course of time change affection into aversion, such as was to be daily observed in the marriages of so many illustrious persons. This, Father Viller declared, was his whole mind on the subject, and such as he had in all humility expressed it to the Prince. With his whole heart he wished both exalted personages the tenderest love, firm union and continuous happiness. He believed that the Archduke Ferdinand could not form a more suitable alliance with any other family in Europe, but at the same time no one should quarrel with him (Father Viller) for wishing that the bride might possess sufficient corporal health and beauty to ensure the well-being of their issue, and the continuance of conjugal affection. For this reason he trusted in the great piety and noble character of the Duke and Duchess that they would not endanger the

future of their daughter and that of her children as well as the happiness of their prospective son-in-law by concealing a want of health on the part of their most devout and admirable daughter.⁸

But Duke William of Bavaria was deeply offended with Archduke Ferdinand's confessor, and even after the wedding, which took place on the 23d of April, 1600, at Gratz, Father Viller having indiscreetly reopened the subject, complaints of him reached the General. But in spite of all this he did not lose the Archduke's favor, and retained his full confidence to the end.

An incident connected with the jealousy with which the Society guarded its rule of non-interference in politics is furnished by the same Father Viller, who in 1599 was appointed to travel to Rome on a mission from the Austrian Archduke. On this occasion Father Aquaviva wrote to Father Viller as follows:

"As at the present time general suspicion is aroused, especially in Venice, by any semblance of politics, it will be difficult to avoid remarks when it is seen that your Reverence is charged with an embassy from the Archduke to the Pope. And as the good Prince has deserved so well of the Church and of the Society, and especially as your Reverence has resisted so long, excusing yourself in prudent and religious fashion, it appears to me that a *via media* is possible, and an exception may be made. That is to say, if the embassy has nothing whatever to do with politics, but has merely regard to matters of faith concerning heretics or the Turks, your Reverence is at liberty to undertake it, and may set out as soon as is desired. But if the business is a political one, you must entreat the Archduke, appealing to his love for the Society, to send some one more suitable in your place. This will be better for the Archduke himself and will confer a benefit on the Society."⁹

It cannot be denied that during the reigns of the Archdukes Ferdinand, Charles and Rudolph, the Court of Gratz was a model of purity, honor and activity. As the Jesuits were all powerful there at this period, it is obvious that these good results must in a large measure be attributed to their influence.

The introduction of the Society into Innsbruck was the work of the Emperor Ferdinand, and the first Jesuit to labor in this new field was the Tyrolese, Father Charles Grim. At Innsbruck, in 1561, lived the five so-called Queens, daughters of the Emperor, who lived a semi-religious life and desired to be confessed, directed and preached to by members of the Society. In 1563 the Emperor

⁸ The reports as to the condition of the Princess Maria Anna's health appear not to have been unfounded. Hurter mentions her delicacy, and Koch says that she was unhealthy. She died on the 8th March, 1616.

⁹ Ad. Austr., 1573-1600.

paid a visit to his daughters and inspected the new college. He expressed his satisfaction with it and presented the Fathers with a garden. The five "Queens," Magdalen, Margaret, Barbara, Helena and Joanna, had a great reputation for piety and charity. A young girl who had received severe injuries from a fire was received into their palace and nursed with the most loving care. Certain persons were charged by them to inform them of cases of need as they arose. Father Edmund Hay told the General that three of the Queens had dedicated themselves to God by a vow, and had resolved to remove as soon as possible from the turmoil and luxury of the court into greater solitude. One of them was especially pious, frequented the sacraments once a month and oftener, and would practice very great austerities if her confessor would allow her. In 1565 people declared that the court of these Archduchesses was almost like a convent; every sign of pomp and splendor had disappeared, and humility and modesty reigned in their stead. On the 11th of January, 1566, Father Dirsius wrote to the General, St. Francis Borgia, on behalf of the "Queens" Magdalen, Margaret and Helena, telling him that their brothers, the Emperor and the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, fully concurred in their making the above mentioned vow. They had wished, he said, to remove to Munich with their attendants, and to live there in a convent of Poor Clares, apart from the world. But this their brothers opposed, desiring them to remain in Austria. The Emperor had even offered them deserted convents in Carinthia, but in those parts there were too many heretics to please the Princesses. All advised that they should remain in Innsbruck, where they already edified the faithful by their virtuous example and prevented apostasy. They themselves were willing to remain; at least they wished to be in a place where there was a college of the Society, and were thinking of taking the newly-built Franciscan convent, the Italian Franciscans being unlikely to remain on account of the climate and the difficulties of the language. In case they did not get possession of this convent they had also in view a house near the college, and should both prove unattainable, they would be obliged to take a house in the neighborhood of Innsbruck. In this event they humbly begged for Fathers to direct them spiritually and undertake the care of souls in the place.

In answering this letter Father Borgia said that the Society was ready to help the Archduchesses spiritually if only out of gratitude to their father and brother, but that it was contrary to the Institute for the Fathers to live for any length of time apart from their colleges or houses. It would in any case be displeasing to the Fathers themselves to forego the company and edifying example of their religious brethren. It seemed therefore advisable that the three Queens

should take up their abode where there was a college or house of the Society, and preferably in Innsbruck, where they might inhabit the house built by their father or some other of the same kind, and where they might observe their prescribed rule of life and keep the vow they had made to God. The Fathers might hear the confessions of the three Princesses and preach to them. A proviso was afterwards made that in the event of the Queens founding a convent the Fathers should no longer be their confessors, as this would be directly contrary to the Institute. The General then sent Father Canisius to Innsbruck to arrange matters, and he formulated the opinion "that ours should not easily receive permission to direct women, even the most exalted in position, for we have experienced to our detriment and that of this college that ours are liable in this manner to suffer in their vocation, and as a consequence to become unbearable."¹⁰

The next year (August 16, 1567) Father Canisius repeated his apprehension: "I consider it extremely difficult to keep Fathers who are bound to the court in obedience and religious discipline."

Meanwhile the Queens had chosen Hall, a little town in the vicinity of Innsbruck, as their residence. Father Dirsius announced the fact to Father Borgia as follows: "The Queens have purposed for years to withdraw from the world. Now, with the consent of their brothers, they have decided to reside at Hall, and there with some of their ladies and attendants who wish to imitate them, to lead a religious life in common, but without adopting a habit or the rule of any order. They need priests, however, and wish for members of the Society. They beg therefore that the church to be built at Hall, with all its treasures, may be taken over by the Society, for which they also wish to found a novitiate there."

But Father Borgia again objected, foreseeing nearly all the difficulties which arose later on. The Society might not undertake the direction of a community of women, although these might not be leading a regular conventual life. It was not advisable for the Fathers to accept the church offered to them in Hall, because the college they were to establish in that place would have its own church connected with it, which would suffice. Moreover, it was not convenient that a church communicating with the house where the Princesses lived with their suite should be handed over to them, and lastly it was not the custom for the Fathers to go daily from their own to another church at a distance to conduct divine service there. The General concluded his letter with the remark that as the project of the Queens was directly opposed to the Institute, nothing further need be said about such a foundation.

¹⁰ Kroess., a. a., p. 177.

In a second letter he instructed Father Canisius to impress upon the Queens that they should be content with the confessor which the Society chose as the most suitable for them. Canisius was then to suggest Father Lanoy, whom the General was sending to Innsbruck from Austria, the Empress having been very well contented with him. If they demurred, it was to be represented to them that it was not becoming for "ours" to frequent palaces so much. The less frequently they were seen there the better, and the less people testified their affection by sending them food and clothes, the better would they be enabled to live a community life and observe the Institute. The better also would they be able to render spiritual service.

Father Borgia communicated this instruction to the rector of Innsbruck also, and said he feared that the Fathers were too much spoiled by presents from the Queens, who were in the habit of sending meals daily from the palace to the college. In answer to the rector's question as to what was to be done with the food, the General replied that it was to be given to the sick or to those who needed it more. It was to be wished that the Queens might be persuaded to send no more such things. If they desired to give an alms to the college they should do so in a more useful way. On no consideration should the Queens' confessor take his meals in his own room; sickness being the only exception to this rule.

It was some time before the Princesses could be induced to give up sending delicacies to their confessors, two lagnais being daily employed in carrying the various dishes from the palace to the college. At last, however, the unwelcome favors were stopped by the rector declaring that the dinners thus sent did not reach the destination intended, but were distributed to the sick and other members of the community, the Queens' confessors partaking of the ordinary fare. But they gained their point as regarded the other matter, for in the end the General gave an unwilling consent to their choosing their own confessors, but he wrote to Father Canisius that this arrangement only held good for the life-time of the Queens, and was to be no precedent. After their death the Society would not continue to direct the community of ladies which they had founded, such work not being in accordance with the rules of the Institute, which in this particular also had been approved by the Holy See.

In order to make sure of having the Jesuits permanently as their directors, the Queens had determined to found a novitiate at Hall, and to offer it to the General. St. Francis Borgia accepted the offer, but on condition that no responsibility was to accrue to the Society respecting the future of the community, and he wished it to be impressed on the Queens how much he had condescended in allowing

their confessors to associate so frequently with the Court, such frequent intercourse with seculars, especially ladies, being undesirable for religious and giving occasion for idle and frivolous remarks.

Meanwhile the Archduchess Magdalen had given notice that the whole machinery of the Court would be dissolved in six months. Those of her ladies, ladies' maids and attendants who desired to do so might follow her into her spiritual solitude at Hall, no longer as servants, but as companions in the service of God. Accordingly by the end of October, 1569, all was in readiness, and the Queens, accompanied by six of their suite, who had resolved to share their penance, removed to Hall, where they themselves performed nearly the whole of the housework, two servants only being engaged for the roughest part of the labor. Hereupon a storm of abuse broke upon the heads of the Innsbruck Jesuits, who had, of course, originated the whole affair, seeking their own advantage. It was they who had persuaded Magdalen to found a novitiate, and it was their fault that the Queens washed the clothes and plates and dishes of the new community with their own imperial hands, even cooking their own meals. The Emperor, it was rumored, and the archdukes were furious.¹¹ But the facts communicated to the General by the Fathers at Innsbruck reveal only universal contentment. The Archduke concurred in all that was done, the Queens were brought to acquiesce in the arrangement by which the Fathers were to live at some distance from their house, and the Jesuits rejoiced, inasmuch as they were left free to use the building handed over to them as a school or as a novitiate or to put it to any use they thought fit. Father Hoffäus wrote that the Archduke had accorded him a long and very gracious audience, and had assured him of his affection and esteem for the Society. On the 5th of December High Mass had been sung in their church at Innsbruck, and on the preceding day he had announced a plenary indulgence to all present, on account of the departure of the Queens. The Archduke, the Queens and the whole of the nobility were there. The Archduke had shown himself extremely gracious and kind, had paid a visit to Father George (Scharich), who was sick, and had sent him costly waters. By his kindness he had consoled the whole community. The same day he had conducted the Queens solemnly to their house at Hall, and on the next had left for Prague, when Father Hoffäus had taken possession of the college. On the 31st of January, 1570, the same Father wrote from Innsbruck: "The college at Hall is going on quietly. The Queen scarcely worries us at all; she has not yet entered the house since we went there, and she seldom sends for us.

¹¹ Orig. G. Epist. 9, 133.

In short, she leaves us in peace, and if this continues, no one can complain of her, except that she generally detains her confessor for nearly two hours after Mass. But this can be borne, as there is no danger, and as I have often called her attention to it, and have blamed her for it, she is now rather more careful."

The following sentences from Queen Magdalen's statute-book show that the continual exhortations of the superiors of the society had made some impression: "Jesuits are to be chosen as confessors. Out of confession none must speak with her confessor unless she has the permission of her superioress, who shall not give leave unless there be sufficient reason for it. For although one may have a scruple or a temptation, she can wait for her next confession, as has been hitherto the wont. An exception must be made for the superioress herself, for it is needful that she speak often with him, but it is not always necessary for her to take him up to the house; sometimes she can talk to him in the lodge or in the lower corridor. They must not make acquaintance with any other of the Fathers or invite them to the house, neither must they send food to any sick Father, except in cases of great need, and only for a short time, say for a week, but not longer. Neither must they give them money daily to buy milk, butter and such like things, but now and again, if necessary, they may give them wherewithal to buy cheese and lard." Nevertheless none must think that she says this out of want of confidence or regard for the Fathers or for priests in general. All her life she has loved them in God and will continue to do so to the end; but there are many things good in themselves and agreeable to God which must nevertheless be avoided, for the sake of a better. If her spiritual daughters avoid exaggeration and faithfully observe her teaching, they will find the Society better disposed towards them, will help them to save their souls and will be less inclined to change their confessors.

But notwithstanding these excellent precepts, there were for years innumerable difficulties about Queen Magdalen's confessor, Father Paul Hezcoväus. He was infirm in health and needed much waiting upon day and night. Moreover, he observed the rule as little as possible, and the Queen took his part against his superior far more than was desirable. It was at last decided that he should be dispensed from keeping the rule altogether, that he need only obey the General and his confessor, and might receive from the Queen all that he needed for his support. But even this was not enough, and sometimes it was debated whether Father Hezcoväus should still be included in the list of those belonging to the college. On the 12th of October, 1584, the Provincial, Father Bader, ordered that the servants of this Father should not have the run of the college and

go in and out as they pleased. If he required anything in the night, the other Fathers should be ready to help him charitably and patiently.¹² But there were still other difficulties at Hall, such as St. Francis Borgia had predicted, and these rose to such a pitch that, in 1596, Father Hoffäus expressed the opinion to the General that it would be better to give up their college there, and so once for all get rid of the burden imposed on the society by Queen Magdalen and her community.

Space forbids further details concerning the work carried on by the Jesuits at Innsbruck, or even the barest enumeration of the obstacles they encountered at the Court of Munich in the effort to abstain from all that did not appertain to their vocation, in the teeth of too much favor on the part of princes. But enough has been said to show that, far from being stereotyped reproductions of one unvarying pattern or spiritual automata turned out of one mould, the Jesuits as represented in their own private correspondence reveal a considerable amount of individuality. The interpretation of the rule was elastic enough to give scope to much diversity of opinion, and if superiors were jealous guardians of the institute, they encountered sufficient idiosyncrasy among their subjects to prevent any rigidity in applying it.

It seems more than likely that if Lacordaire had had his wish, and had been able to dedicate ten years of his life to the study of the Jesuit character, he would have found on the whole that he had, after all, but set himself the very ordinary task of watching a perpetual conflict between a high ideal and that frailty which is inseparable from human nature.

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THE SEE OF CASHEL AND ITS LATE ARCHBISHOP.

CASHEL, the *Mons Sacer* of Southern Ireland, may be properly regarded as an epitome of Ireland's life, a survival of a great past, a witness for the present. Ireland's soul speaks from its beautiful ruins. Its kingly power, its piety, its exquisite art are all embodied, not merely in the traditions and the hoary history of the castled Rock, but in the stately and regal edifices that still crown it. Cashel is a place upon which the patriot may gaze with mournful pride, and the religious enthusiast with rapt devotion. It is a hill of glory and of martyrdom—a fitting place for a pilgrimage, for it is hallowed with the blood of saints and soldiers who gave their lives to God and country, during two centuries of persecution.

There was something eminently fitting in the association of a personality like that of the late Archbishop with such a See as that of Cashel. The spirit of the past and the spirit of the present—the hopes that were slain and the hopes that have sprung, phoenix-like, from their wrecks, found expression in the junction. The place and the man were the visible embodiment of Ireland's right to sway her own destinies. They stood for the genius, for the unconquerable spirit, for the unbounded enthusiasm for the Cross that sent forth the great monks whose renown lights up the sad era between the passing of the old Empire and the rise of the new Rome.

Cashel was the primatial see of Munster long before the English invasion of Erin. As to the exact time at which the Rock was selected as the site for the episcopal centre of the southern monarchy, nothing authentic is available. While it was still the royal seat a synod was held there by St. Patrick. This was in the reign of King Aengus, son of Nafrach—probably some time toward the latter end of the fifth century. Who the first Bishop of Cashel was cannot be said with certainty; but it is conjectured that it was comprised within the episcopal authority of St. Aible, who was Bishop of Emly, a place only twelve miles distant from the royal city. Ware, in his "History of the Bishops of Ireland," speaks of the obscurity which envelopes the early history of Cashel's see, as well as its successive ecclesiastical edifices.

"Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel," he says, "is commonly reputed to be either the founder or at least the restorer of the Cathedral of Cashel (which bears the name of St. Patrick, as being consecrated in his honor); and it is past doubt that we have very few traces left of the Bishops of Cashel before his time. The annals of the Priory of All Saints inform us that 'the Church, after the restoration of it, was solemnly consecrated and a synod held there in the year 1134.' But Donald O'Brien, King of Limerick, built a new church there from the foundation, about the time of the arrival of the English in the reign of King Henry II., which he endowed with lands, and converted Cormac's old church into a chapel or chapter house, on the south side of the choir. He also made large grants of lands to the See of Cashel, which his son Donat, surnamed Carbrac, afterwards enlarged by other grants in Thomond; and among other benefactions he endowed it with two islands called Sulleith and Kismocayl. King John confirmed this donation in 1215. About 200 years after Richard O'Hedian, Archbishop of Cashel, repaired this church, which through age was grown ruinous."

O'Brien, King of Munster, had previously given the Rock, with its buildings, to Bishop O'Dunan, and as a consequence it was raised to the dignity of the archiepiscopate by St. Celsus. A synod was held

in Meath A. D. 1111, under the presidency of the Papal Legate, Bishop Gillebert, of Limerick. At this synod legislation of the most momentous character for the Church in Ireland was enacted, and Cashel was represented there, in company with St. Celsus and more than fifty other prelates. The pallium for Cashel was borne from Rome, twenty-eight years later, by no less a bearer than the famous Malachy, prophet, prelate and reformer. He had been sojourning with the renowned Bernard at Clairvaux on his way from the Holy City, perfecting the plans for his great scheme of introducing the Benedictine Rule into Ireland. Malachy himself had been the recipient of a favor from the Pope (Innocent II.) which proved conspicuously the honor in which he was held. In appointing him his Legate, in succession to the Bishop of Limerick, grown too feeble for the discharge of the office, the Pontiff took off his own mitre and stole and maniple and with his own hand invested him with these sacred insignia. Such were the auspicious beginnings of Cashel's archbishopric. The most illustrious saints of the Middle Ages were linked with its birth, and to the piety of the most illustrious race of Ireland it owed its visible origin.

From such a noble initiative results could not fail to be blessed. Cashel of the Kings, as it had been styled from the dim pagan ages, became also Cashel of the King of Kings. Splendid temples began to rear their heads on the summit of the Rock. Examples of that delicate Gothic art that is at once the wonder and the delight of the devout worshipper in religion and art still stand there, despite the ruthless hand of the spoiler, to tell of Ireland's sincerity in faith and art, even at a period of national prostration, when well-nigh all the land had been seared with the fires of an invasion unmatched for ferocious barbarity and wanton destruction. The Danish hordes which had for centuries preyed upon the country had not only overthrown the monuments of earlier art and destroyed the priceless treasures of learning, but had scattered the religious communities that had in earliest days won for the isle, by their preëminent virtues, the title which singled it out amongst all the western regions converted to Christianity for peculiar claims to respect.

The Rock was a refuge for priest and peasant in the fearful days of the Tudor and Stuart persecutions. Its almost impregnable position defied the efforts of the enemy until the terrible Inchiquin, the renegade O'Brien—"Morrough of the Burnings," as he was known and is still remembered by the peasantry of North Munster—appeared as a supporter of the Puritans. He and his myrmidons assaulted the Rock, at a time when it was crowded with refugees from many surrounding towns. The heights were carried and a horrible carnage ensued. The blood of priest and townsman and

tiller of the soil ran in one red stream down the sides of the Rock. It was said that three thousand persons perished in the light of the burning shrines and old palaces of the Kings. Twenty-two priests were among those who were slain. The destroyer had fully justified his appellation ere his sanguinary horde had turned their backs on royal Cashel. They left it a ruin, but they could not destroy what it stood for. This was all crystallized in the career of the deceased Archbishop—in the work which he was enabled to accomplish and in the uncompleted tasks which he has left to other hands.

Three names are especially dear to Ireland in relation to the struggles for national existence, during the past century. They are those of MacHale, Doyle and Croke. The "Lion of the Fold of Judah," according to O'Connell's glowing phraseology, and the not less intrepid "J. K. L." had done great service in demonstrating to Rome that the restoration of Ireland's rapt national rights was not incompatible with the obligations of a Catholic episcopacy, as might have been inferred from the tone adopted by some members of the existing body over the long Veto controversy. The developments of the struggle, in Dr. Croke's later days, enabled him to show the people that an Irish Bishop might with propriety lead a national movement, and lead it better than any layman mayhap, because he could command restraint where the most influential layman might be powerless to hold in check the forces which had been aroused by the bitterness of the conflict.

This is an appropriate occasion to take a glance at the partplayed by some of the earlier incumbents of Cashel's see in the great struggles which convulsed the Western world as a consequence of the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies.

When the cloudburst of the "Reformation" came in Ireland the See of Cashel was filled by a member of the great house of Ormond. His name was Edmund Butler, son of the Earl Pierce. Some doubt has been expressed as to his fidelity to the old faith, inasmuch as he was found commending the work of the confiscation surveyors, Bellingham and Cowley, in a letter to Somerset, the Lord Protector. But it is argued that the work he commends was something more like social improvement than religious change. His subsequent behavior, when the Lord Deputy took it on himself, without any warranty whatever in law, to order the abolition of everything connected with "Popish idolatry," the Mass and sacred emblems, in the province of Cashel, the Archbishop could not be got, as he was in hiding in Dublin, as Cowley, who was a bitter reformer, complained to his employers. Had he been either a waverer or an apostate, this would not have been the manner in which he would greet the new

régime. Although he did not live to see this vandal order reversed by the government of Queen Mary, yet he died peaceably and was buried in the Cathedral. He was succeeded by Rowland Baron, in 1553—the first year of Mary's reign—who held the see in peace for eight years, at the end of which he died. He was the last who had a peaceful tenure for the next two hundred years. Elizabeth named the reformer, James Maccavill, after the see had been vacant for six years; but it would appear that a Catholic successor, Maurice Fitzgibbon, of the noble house of Desmond, had been secretly inducted and was in possession of the temporalities of the see when the royal nominee came on the scene to claim them. He was obliged to fly for his life, however, as he was accused of having attempted to kill his rival. He vehemently denied this startling charge, but admits in his correspondence that he had insulted him. His flight to France and Spain, where every movement of his was watched with catlike vigilance by the spies of Walsingham, the English ambassador, was said by Robert Ware, the Elizabethan historian, to have been prompted by the Earl of Desmond, who furnished him with letters to the Pope and the King of Spain, imploring these sovereigns to send help to the Munster Irish in their fight against heresy and alien rule. One Stukeley, who kept on constantly playing the part of a pretended friend to the Irish cause, and another spy calling himself Buth, and falsely giving himself out as a Catholic, were provided with letters which brought them to the notice of the Archbishop and enabled them to worm themselves into his confidence. These men incessantly spied upon him, suggested treason to him, and then wrote home stories of their own treasonable plotting. But the Archbishop left nothing in their power, and so Elizabeth herself wrote to Walsingham instructing him as to the means he should take to get the prelate into her power in England so that she might deal with him according to her own cruel pleasure. The Archbishop, she knew, was desirous of being able to return to Ireland, to seek the royal pardon for the crime of having quitted the country without the Queen's permission. She told Walsingham to give him a safe conduct, saying: "But if you find he intended to trick you, as we perceive from your letter you have some suspicion of, then you will act very differently with him, first trying to get out of him what knowledge you can, and then collecting all the facts and reasons you are able to make out against him, and exert every possible means with the King . . . that he should be delivered up to you as a traitor and a known rebel." This passage from the Queen's own letter to her ambassador is extremely valuable, not only for the light in which she did not hesitate to place herself before her agents, but as a revelation of the beginning of a policy that has from her day down

to our own prevailed in the methods of governing Ireland. It will be observed that the first steps taken were towards tempting the Archbishop into undertakings undoubtedly treasonable, from an English point of view, then drawing him on with the false hope of procuring pardon for his fault and immunity in case he returned to his own country, and on getting him to say something which might furnish the basis for a demand for his surrender by the French government. The procedure bears a striking resemblance to that of which the unhappy Scottish Queen was the victim. It stamps Elizabeth as one of the most odious beings that ever sprang from a sinful amour. The ferocity of a tiger blended in her nature with the artful cunning of the fox.

Walsingham tried all his arts, and as he himself says, "in his most engaging way," to carry out the Queen's instructions. But all in vain. He could not get the Archbishop either to commit himself or accept the Queen's pardon unless he had it from herself, over the royal seal; and so the plot was a failure. The Archbishop remained in exile for many years, and according to one authority (Dr. Burke) died in Oporto, about seventeen years after the failure of Elizabeth's scheme. But another historian (Anthony Bruodin, Prague, 1669) sets him down as among Ireland's martyrs. His note on the subject reads thus: "Maurice Gibbon, a native of the province of Munster, in Ireland, Archbishop of Cashel, a prelate endowed with every virtue, was arrested by the Queen's officials for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and confined in the prisons of Cork many years, where he died on the 6th of May, 1578, after enduring much hardship." If we accept this authority (writing at no very remote period from the time of the transactions dealt with), then the honor of first martyrdom for the faith in the historic See of Cashel belongs to Maurice Fitzgibbon. Another instance was soon to follow—one far more pitiable in its circumstances, more soul-stirring in its exhibition of heroic constancy and superhuman devotion.

Very few definite dates are obtainable about either the appointment of Diarmid O'Hurley, the next Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, or the period when he furtively visited his see to minister to his persecuted flock. Even the date of his birth is not ascertainable. We are only told that he was born, at Lycodoon, a village near Limerick, about the year 1520; that his father was a farmer and agent to the Earl of Desmond, and his mother, one of the O'Briens of Thomond, offshoots of the Kingly line. The youth was sent to Paris and afterwards to Louvain; thence he went to Rheims, where he was made doctor and professor in theology. In Rome he was next found, where the dangerous honor of the archiepiscopate of Cashel was bestowed upon him by Pope Gregory XIII. On his journey toward

Ireland he stayed for a considerable time in Brittany, in company with a number of other Irish ecclesiastics, waiting for an opportunity to slip away unobserved of the British spies. He reached Waterford in safety, but only to meet there the treachery he had escaped in France. A spy named Walter Baal got into his company, gained his confidence by artful means, and then denounced him to the government in Dublin. The Archbishop was warned of the treachery and got away in safety for the time. There is some incongruity in the narratives relative to this portion of his career. One account (Rothe's) would lead the reader to conclude that he was only out of danger for a little while, while another (O'Sullivan's) says, in effect, that for two years he went around in disguise among his flock administering the sacraments, encouraging them by zealous preaching, and fulfilling his sublime duties in the true apostolic spirit. But, however this discrepancy may confuse, there can be no doubt that his period of comparative liberty was doomed to be shortlived. He was discovered while sheltering in the Castle of Slane, under the protection of the Baron, Thomas Fleming, and his wife, Catherine Preston, a devoted Catholic. The Baron was ordered to bring him to Dublin in custody, and was getting ready to comply, when the Archbishop, becoming aware of his danger, made his escape from the castle and fled to Carrick-on-Suir. There he was speedily arrested, notwithstanding the protest of the Earl of Ormond, whose authority was violated in the outrage, and hurried off to Dublin. He was confined in a dark and noisome dungeon for many months, and at last brought before two of the Lord Justices whose rule in Ireland has made their names synonyms for every form of cruelty and illegality—Loftus and Wallop. They began with blandishments. He was offered liberty and "promotion in the Church" if he would consent to deny the spiritual supremacy of the Pope and acknowledge that of the Queen. He refused, with dignity: no temporal reward would prevail with him, he said, to make him deny the Vicar of Christ and the true faith. Then the judges tried arguments; he exposed them as sophisms. They then flew into a rage and called for other forms of argument—the methods of the torturer. He was chained to a tree, and his lower limbs thrust into long riding boots. These were filled with oil and pitch and butter and salt, and a fire was then built under a grating on which his chair was placed. He was suffered to boil and broil over this for more than an hour; and all the frightful torture he bore without the emission of a groan or a sigh of complaint. When it was over he lay down with a serene face and a happy smile on his lips, notwithstanding that the skin was torn from his limbs in great strips, and the fire had eaten into his very marrow. A Jesuit priest named McMorris, a skilful physician,

who had been hiding in Dublin, gained access to the illustrious sufferer as he lay in prison, and by the use of remedies known to him brought him around within a fortnight. But the Lord Justices, hearing of the cure and of efforts being made by the Earl of Ormond to procure the victim's release, determined to glut their ire on one who had so spurned their kind approaches. They ordered him to be executed by the next morning, and at the dawn, so that no passers-by might be witness of the horror. At St. Stephen's Green, at that time a desolate open tract surrounded by a ditch, the barbarity was carried out in all its horrible details of half-hanging, then cutting down, disembowelling and quartering. The martyrdom took place on the 6th of May, 1584, according to one writer; on the 7th of June of that year according to another. The remains were secured by a pious citizen named William Simon and decently buried in the consecrated graveyard of St. Kevin's Church, hard by the place of execution.

There are blanks in the history of the archdiocese, regarding the successors of Dr. O'Hurley, every blank telling its own dumb tale of horror, persecution and the blight of alien rule in unhappy Ireland. There are elements of uncertainty as to the proper succession about this period—for instance, with regard to one Archbishop whose name is given as "Thurlough O'Neill" by Dr. Bray and as simply "O'Neill" by Dr. Renahan. In the biography of Sir J. Perrot, the Lord Deputy, is found a reference to one Archbishop of Cashel in connection with the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, which had long bewildered students of history, but on which a curious light was shed by Dr. Renahan's editor, the Rev. Daniel McCarthy. Wondering at the coincidence of the same name being owned by an Ulster chieftain (Thurlough Liunneach) and an Archbishop of Cashel, who was implicated in the plot to get hold of the leaders in the rebellion by stratagem, he set to work to discover how it could be that a Catholic Archbishop could be mixed up in a matter so unworthy of a great prelate. The theory he offers, as a result of his investigations is not only curious but entirely probable and tenable. Perrot's biographer states that "a Popish Buysshop" was used in the betrayal of the Ulster chiefs, but no name is given; and how "Thurlough" came to be fixed on Father McCarthy thus hypothesizes: "It was thought necessary, though the story rested entirely on that one passage in Perrot's Life, to find in his times an Archbishop of Cashel a 'Papist' and a traitor to the Catholic cause. This apostate could not surely be Fitzgibbon, nor O'Hurley, nor O'Kearney, for the dates of accession, besides their known fidelity, excluded them. Some other Bishop sat then in the interval between the two last; and as a Thurlough, a name intimately mixed up with the dis-

closures to Perrot, succeeded O'Hurley (in *Emly*, not in Cashel) to make Thurlough O'Neill successor of O'Hurley in Cashel solved every difficulty. But we must remember that Perrot's own despatch refers only to a "Popish Bishop," and that it is his biographer, writing long after, who speaks of an *Archbishop of Cashel*. Now at the time of the interview between John O'Neill and Thurlough Liunneach in 1536, Miler Magrath, a traitor and apostate, was Bishop of Down, and communicated to the Deputy the correspondence of the O'Neills. This Miler is called by the writer of Perrot's life, not by Perrot himself, *Archbishop of Cashel*, because he was raised to that dignity afterwards. Miler was thus the "Popish Bishop" who betrayed the O'Neills and the "Archbishop of Cashel" who is mentioned by Perrot's biographer. To this ingenious theory of Father McCarthy's we may be allowed to add that its probability is greatly fortified by the reflection, which he seems to have overlooked, that Down, being in the northern province, and quite contiguous to the O'Neills' country, and Cashel far away in the south, it was far more likely that one on the watch for the English interest would gain information of such a meeting of northern chieftains in Down than in the more remote locality.

The epitaph on Miler's tomb, in Cashel Cathedral, lends strong support to the ingenious solution offered by Father McCarthy. It is as follows :

MILERI MAGRATH, ARCHIEPISCOPI CASSILIENSIS, AD VIATOREM CARMEN.

Venerat in Dunum primo sanctissimus olim
 Patricius, nostri gloria magna soli.
 Huic ego succedens, utinam tam sanctus ut ille
 Sic Duni primo tempore praesul eram.
 Anglia, lustra decem sed post tua sceptrum colebam,
 Principibus placui Marte tonante tuis.
 Hic ubi positus non sum, sum ubi non sum
 Sum nec in ambobus, sum sed in utroque loco 1621.
 Dominus est qui me judicat (I. Cor. iv.);
 Qui stat caveat ne cadat.

Which is rendered thus by the historian Ware :

Patrick, the glory of our isle and gown,
 First sat as bishop in the see of Down.
 I wish that I, succeeding him in place
 As bishop, had an equal share of grace.
 I served thee, England, fifty years in jars,
 And pleased thy princes in the midst of wars.
 Here where I'm placed I'm not; and thus the case is
 I'm not in both, yet am in both the places.
 He that judgeth me is the Lord of all (I. Cor. iv.);
 Let him who stands take heed lest he fall.

One of the most illustrious holders of the see, during the persecution of the seventeenth century was Dr. David Kearney. The date of his appointment is uncertain, but his correspondence and a reference to him in the "Heliotropium" of his brother, Father Barnabas,

shows it must have been between A. D. 1602 and 1605. He went about in Ireland secretly, fulfilling the duties of his office, from the latter year down to 1618, when it would seem that he was forced into exile. It is uncertain also whether he died in Ireland or on the continent, since one authority avers that he was interred at Bonlieu, while an inscription on the tomb of the family of Nicholas Kearney, on the Rock of Cashel, has been interpreted by some as indicating that the Archbishop was buried in the lot beneath. He was a native of Cashel, and a member of a family long and honorably connected with the royal borough. The date of his birth is not exactly known, but it was believed to be some time in the year 1568. The wealth he inherited must have been unusually ample, since it enabled him to educate himself and his brother Barnabas for the priesthood, and furthermore to pay for the support of a large number of Irish ecclesiastical students in continental colleges. His services to religion were, therefore, exceptionally great, since it was at the time when the persecution was fiercest, and every Irish school was closed by the minions of Elizabeth that God raised up this fearless and generous benefactor to fill the void. One of the most noteworthy transactions of his episcopate was the settlement of a long-protracted and painful dispute between the Abbot of Holy Cross, Father L. Archer, and the Rev. David Hennessy, a secular priest, who had charge of the Abbey when the former Abbot was forced to fly from the Kingdom, and who refused to surrender the parish to the new Abbot, who was at last forced to excommunicate the priest. Still Father Hennessy clung to his hold, discharging all its duties just the same as though the sentence had never been pronounced. At the end of ten years it was the good fortune of Dr. Kearney to compose this grievous scandal and make the stubborn priest write a formal submission and beg pardon. The particulars of this memorable transaction are detailed in a beautifully illuminated book, by Father Hartry, a Cistercian friar, bearing the title "*Triumphalia Stae. Crucis.*"

A brother of Dr. Kearney (or O'Kearney, as the name is sometimes thus given), Barnabas, born in 1659, was a member of the Jesuit Order, and one of three of its noble company who came to Ireland about the beginning of the seventeenth century, according to the "*Annales Hiberniæ.*" His companions were Walter Wall (or Wale), of Cashel, and James Everard, of Fethard. The chief facts concerning his brother David's life are gathered from a work of his entitled "*Heliotropium; sive Conciones de Festis et de Dominicis.*" These three were not, however, the first members of the Society of Jesus to visit Ireland, as stated by Carve, in the "*Annales.*" They had distinguished predecessors, one of these being Alphonsus Salmeron, one of the seven companions of St. Ignatius, and the other

Fathers Paschasius Broet and Francis Zepata. This fact is clearly established by the State Papers of England and Ireland, temp. Henry VIII.

The famous Father Luke Wadding for the first time comes into the affairs of Cashel about the period of Archbishop Kearney's death. To his care was intrusted the most important interests of the Irish Bishops and clergy. It is stated, indeed, that all the Bishops appointed to Irish sees between the years 1624 and 1646 owned their nomination to him. He is found favoring the appointment of Dr. Thomas as Dr. Kearney's successor in the See of Cashel. This prayer was granted by the Pope, Urban VIII., and in June, 1626, he was consecrated, at the same altar with Primate McCaghwell. He did not go to Ireland immediately, it would seem, and little is known of his proceedings until the troublesome period of the Kilkenny Confederation, save that he gave money for the establishment of an ecclesiastical seminary in Cashel and offered to maintain an agent in Spain to provide for the mission and schools of the Irish Jesuits in that country. But he played a very prominent part in the stormy events which marked the brief existence of the Confederation. He was in general a supporter of Rinuccini's policy, and on that account got himself into some disfavor with some of his brother ecclesiastics. Still, his name is not less venerated on that account. So complicated was the situation which then confronted the Catholic leaders, between the pleadings of Rinuccini and the intrigues of Ormonde to split the Catholic forces, that no individual prelate could be blamed for following that line which seemed to offer the best hope for the Irish Catholics, independently of what Rome and the Nuncio might think, saving canonical obedience to the Holy See.

The next incumbent of the See of Cashel had not any more placid times before him. He was Dr. William Burgatt, and he steps on the episcopal stage hand in hand with the renowned prelate and martyr, Dr. Oliver Plunket. Both were residing in Rome, the one as agent for the Irish clergy in Munster and Connaught, the other as professor in the Propaganda. Whether both were consecrated on the same day or not is open to dispute; but there is some reason to believe that the ceremonies took place in the same year, *i. e.*, 1669. There is little record of Dr. Burgatt's career as Archbishop, but previous to his consecration he had been largely mixed up in the most momentous concerns of his time, in relation to the affairs of Ireland as affected by English politics and parties. He was one of those whom the noted friar, Peter Walsh, tried to inveigle into signing the document known as the Remonstrance, by which it was sought, on renouncing certain doctrines imputed to them by their

enemies, to conciliate the secular powers and make the position of the Catholics more tolerable. For six days this artful friar labored with all his might and ingenuity in argument to get Dr. Burgatt to sign the obsequious writing, but to no avail. Walsh, after his failure, spitefully wrote that Dr. Burgatt was making a bid for the See of Cashel by his stand against the Remonstrance—a pitiful slander.

The See of Emly was joined to that of Cashel, according to a MS. cited by Dr. Renehan, A. D. 1617, under Dr. Kearney. It would thus appear that it had been vacant for thirty-two years, since this MS. states that the last Bishop of Emly (Moriarty O'Brien, or O'Carroll) "died for the faith in Dublin jail, 1585." The sees were again separated after an interval of uncertain duration, since we find the palm of martyrdom once more awarded the holder of Emly's crozier, in the sanguinary Cromwellian epoch. Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, was hanged by the dark and ruthless Ireton, son-in-law of the "Lord Protector," on the surrender of Limerick. The solemnity of the tragedy is intensified by the prophetic action attributed to the Bishop as he was led to execution from the place where his doom was pronounced. He is said to have summoned Ireton to "meet him within three days before the judgment seat of God." The summons thus awfully delivered was effective, for within the period allotted Ireton died of the plague, then raging about Limerick. The house where Ireton lodged, and where the court-martial was probably held, is still standing in the city, and is often shown to visitors thereto. It is to be noted that an incident almost precisely similar is related of Patrick Hely, Bishop of Mayo, who, with a fellow Franciscan, a priest, Conagh O'Ruarke, suffered a cruel martyrdom at Kilmallock, in the County Limerick, in 1579 (or 1578, as some authorities have it). The Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, was responsible for their murder. As the Bishop was being dragged to the gallows, after undergoing tortures indescribable, he cited Drury to appear before God's judgment seat, and within three days the mysterious summons was served on him. He died suddenly of some violent malady, his last words being that he was justly punished for delivering an unjust sentence. No one can help marvelling at the almost exact identity between these two episodes of persecution, separated by an interval of more than a century and a half.

The "Rock" continued to be a favorite trysting place for the persecuted and outlawed Catholics. At no time during that melancholy epoch does it appear to have lost its magnetic charm for priest and flock. They assembled there for Divine worship as often as they were enabled to elude the vigilance of the lynx-eyed spies and professional priest-hunters. A group of tourists paid a visit to the "Rock"

early on a Sunday morning, in the penal times, in order to get a view of ruins whose fame for beauty had spread all over Europe. To their amazement they found Cormac's chapel, or rather its wrecked and blackened shell, crowded with kneeling worshipers, and a priest celebrating the holy sacrifice at an improvised altar. A century before had their forefathers poured forth their blood on the same hallowed spot, because of their attachment to the faith to which the furtive worshipers clung.

It is to be remarked, *par parenthese*, that, although the sees of Cashel and Emly are often found vested in the one holder, it would seem that they were never canonically united. This is apparent from the tenor of a letter addressed by Pope Clement XI. to Dr. Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, dated 18th May, 1718, empowering him to act as administrator to Emly. Nothing had been done to unite the sees since that time down to 1835, when Dr. Slattery and Dr. Cullen took some steps to interest Propaganda on the subject, but, it would seem, ineffectually.

The incumbent of Cashel during the terrible period of the "Popish plot," in which the saintly primate fell, was Dr. John Brennan. It would seem that he was appointed about the year 1680, but nothing authentic is found to fix any certain date. The brood of Irish informers busied themselves actively in the hope of getting him into the drag-net of Titus Oates, but without success. Some of these wretches used to try to get information by means of artful statements in confession, thinking, no doubt, to entrap unwary priests into something compromising. Three of these vile creatures—Maurice Fitzgerald, John McNamara and James Nash, describing themselves as "gentlemen" in their depositions—swore out statements intended to implicate Dr. Brennan in the "horrid Popish conspiracy," but he skilfully contrived to elude the bloodhounds, and was enabled to preside over a provincial council held in Cashel in October, 1685, and at which measures of the most important character were taken for safeguarding the faith and securing the systematic administration of the Church. Dr. Brennan was especially active and successful in resisting and defeating a most determined attempt at scientific proselytizing of the people made in his day by the Anglican Archbishop of Cashel, Thomas Hughes; and it was chiefly because of this that his enemies were determined to have his blood. But they never succeeded. He was one of those who negotiated the famous Treaty of Limerick—the violated treaty, as it very soon proved to be.

It is a profoundly impressive fact that during all these long years of bitter trial, when the fang of famine often intensified the sufferings of the oppressed peasantry of Ireland, not one of them was ever tempted to enrich himself by betraying the hunted prelates and

priests. Large rewards were held out as inducements for such perfidy. The direst poverty could not coerce them, the direst threats and frowns of local magistrates of the English "garrison" class were equally ineffectual. It was only among the comparatively well to do that men were found base enough to seek to earn the blood money of the persecuting government, petty squires or impoverished gentry like Fitzgerald and MacNamara and Nash. The families of those who had saved their possessions by apostatizing from the ancient faith were those who furnished the spies and the priest-hunters. Truly the record of the Irish peasantry in those "dark and evil days" is glorious beyond all comparison, and furnishes a tie between Church and flock which no force in all the world is strong enough to shatter or impair.

It was the spirit of that race of ecclesiastics who faced the might of England in that awful time of remorseless persecution that became incarnate in the person of Thomas W. Croke. There supervened a period when the holders of the see conceived it to be the path of duty for Christ to humble themselves and gratefully give thanks for permission to live. So we find in the annals of the eighteenth century the most dutiful addresses to the English Crown bearing the signatures of the Cashel dignitaries amongst others. They were called upon to "kiss the rod," and they went through the ordeal, as other Irish Bishops found it politic to do. The period of "toleration" was more trying for the existence of the Irish Church, it must be confessed, than the period of the most ferocious persecution. The Test Oath was a sore trial; and so was the controversy over the Veto proposal; yet though faint hearts at times counselled sacrifice of almost everything worth preserving, the principle involved in the resistance to the Veto triumphed in the end. It is hard to blame Bishops like Butler when they wrote: "We preached loyalty and we practised it when every sinew of the disabled and distracted British empire was enfeebled by a long struggle for the sovereignty of America—when the Minister of England was obliged to desire His Majesty's Irish subjects to *defend themselves*—when in consequence of this direction we saw a self-appointed army of ninety thousand citizens, of whom two-thirds were Roman Catholics—when we were invited by every temptation of foreign assistance; when all these circumstances conspired to shake our allegiance, the conduct of the Roman Catholics in Ireland was marked by an exemplary obedience to or an active support of the very laws whose rigors we complained of." These words were written at a time when the country was in a turmoil of disturbance owing to the harshness and overbearing conduct of clergymen of the Established Church, in the collection of tithes and the publication of scurrilous pamphlets against the Cath-

olic system. But the Bishops dreaded the spirit of Whiteboysism more than that of persecution; they saw no refuge from the fury of Orangeism on the one hand and the fury of the French Revolution on the other but in the protection of the English government; and so they accepted insult with gratitude. But subservient as many of these distracted prelates were, the British could never get a majority of them to agree to the Veto. This was the last ditch of the Irish Catholic resistance, and there the old spirit responded to the call from the past to stand firm for that for which the martyrs died.

In the later dismal days after the Cromwellian and Williamite wars, when the Penal Laws were in most active operation, the See of Cashel was the only one which could boast of a resident Archbishop. The dauntless Dr. Comerford was the man. He had been seized and flung into prison, then driven out of the kingdom and compelled to wander a penniless outcast on the continent. Yet somehow he contrived to return to his diocese to look after his flock. For twenty years he had led a hunted life, with the spy and the informer constantly on his track; but not one of his faithful people could ever be induced to betray his hiding place. The charity of the poor was for all this period his only revenue. A memorial in his behalf was presented to the Papal Nuncio in the year 1702, as we learn from Cardinal Moran's painfully interesting work, "*The Catholics of Ireland Under the Penal Laws of the Eighteenth Century.*" It declared that "neither chains, whose rigors he had already felt, nor the fear of living an outcast and a wanderer, nor the hope of finding a place of refuge abroad, nor even the terrors of death, with which he had often been menaced, could ever induce him to desert the flock committed to his care."

Dr. Comerford had a worthy successor in the see in the person of Dr. Christopher Butler. He was the son of Walter Butler, of Kilcass—a branch of the Ormond family that had not abandoned, like its head, the old faith for the sake of the "fleshpots of Egypt." He, too, had to lead the life of an outlaw, so to speak, making his abode in the wild passes of the Galtee Mountains, from whence he could survey the broad lands that had once been the family estates. He died after several years' privation and hardship, having all the time, like his Divine Msater, no place whereon to lay his head, save in the savage cave or the miserable mountain sheeling. Another of the Butlers succeeded him, Dr. James. This prelate for many years led a similar miserable existence, but he lived long enough to witness a relaxation of the fury of persecution. The victory of Fontenoy had caused a change of policy toward the Irish Catholics, and the Government became actually gracious when it learned that Charles Edward was about to make an attempt to recover his father's crown.

To win the favor of the "Papists" in Ireland the courtly Earl of Chesterfield was sent over as Viceroy, and under his judicious rule the trade of priest-hunter became a decidedly unremunerative one. Later on, when affairs in America began to take an alarming turn, Lord North instructed the Irish Viceroy, the Earl of Harcourt, to bring in a bill, in the Irish Parliament, for the purpose of enabling "Papists" to recover money lent to Protestants on mortgages of lands or houses—which under the Penal Laws they had hitherto been precluded from doing; also one to allow "Papists" to declare their allegiance to the sovereign. Although Lord North pressed for the passage of these measures, he did not attempt to carry out the order, so certain was he of defeat in the Irish Parliament (all Protestants) if he tried to do so. But there came more imperative orders from Lord North when it was learned that one of the earliest acts of the newly-born American Congress was to send an address to the Irish people asking their sympathy and support in the struggle against English despotism. As some misconception appears to prevail regarding the relations of the inchoate Republic and the Irish nation at that time, it may not be irrelevant perhaps to deviate a little from the chief subject to glance at this memorable by-episode in international amenities. The Philadelphia Congressmen said:

"We are desirous of the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are particularly desirous of furnishing you with the true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision. Your Parliament has done us no wrong. You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America." This apostrophe, which was addressed not to the Parliament of Ireland, but to "the people"—that is, the Catholics—for these were then, as now, the overwhelming majority of the population—produced something like consternation in the British Cabinet. The bill to enable Irish Catholics to testify their allegiance to the sovereign was the first actual fruit of the panic. This was accepted by the Catholics as a most important concession. It recognized the fact that they had a legal existence—a proposition that was denied by the penal enactments and embodied in judicial decisions. As the eminent historian, Plowden, says: "It gratified the Catholics, inasmuch as it was a formal recognition that they were subjects; and to this recognition they looked up as the corner-stone of their future emancipation."

Under the influence of this salutary alarm conditions for Catholics became so much improved that Dr. Butler was actually permitted

to live in a humble thatched dwelling in Thurles, on the site where the present episcopal residence now stands. Here he resided in comparative ease, poor, but unmolested by the minions of the law, for several years.

It was in Churchtown, near Mallow, an idyllic little southern town on the poetic Blackwater, that the late Archbishop was born, the son of a Catholic father and a Protestant mother. It was in the year 1824. The idea of Catholic Emancipation had not then become anything clearer than a dream, and the same dearth of educational facilities for Catholics which drove the young man who was destined to become the great Bishop of England to seek the fount of learning abroad caused the family of young Croke to send him to the Irish College in Paris, after he had acquired the elementary principles of a training in classics and mathematics at Charleville school. He had attracted such attention from the local clergy by his proficiency and his high spirituality of character that the belief in a vocation for the higher life was easily brought home to his circle. It was his

own ambition, too. Although fond of those field sports which are the delight of healthy Irish lads, he possessed that indefinable yearning after the hidden beautiful which in the Celtic temperament blends so strangely with the emulation for excellence in the manly games of strength and speed. To "put" the ponderous stone, to fling the hammer, to vault the high fence has been the delight of many of Ireland's holiest priests in the days when they were training for different service in the fields of spiritual renown. Among those young knights of Christianity it is said that none was doughtier than young Thomas William Croke; and it is remarkable that all through his life, and even down to the time that he took to his bed for his last illness, he manifested the keenest interest in the pastimes peculiar to the Irish race and gave them every encouragement in his power; he was, in fact, an enthusiast over Celtic games, and had been the patron of the Gaelic Athletic Association from its foundation. The results of this healthful training were visible in the robust frame and erect bearing that made the deceased prelate a conspicuous figure, whether in the sacerdotal assemblage or in the private gathering. Down to a very short time ago he was always the best living example of the old ideal of "a healthy mind in a sound body," and showed how subtly related the one condition was to the other. It was not only that his walk was firm and his frame straight as a pillar, but his clear complexion and undimmed eye might easily lead those who did not know the facts to believe him to be a man born at least ten years subsequent to the day of his nativity.

Some of those who have attempted biographical sketches of Dr.

Croke have laid such emphasis upon his fondness for field sports and his prowess at them that the reader might really be led to think that this feature of his character was his chief claim to be considered a great Irish bishop. He was what is styled a muscular Christian, no doubt, but he was so in much more than a physical sense. Behind the manliness of speech and action there lay that intense spiritualism which has given Irish hagiology a distinctive note—a harmony with the mystic, a harmony with the voices of the unseen universe, and a harmony with human ideals in the varied field of active endeavor. It is a curious illustration of the tendencies of this particular age that the spirit of the gladiator seems to stir men more than the spirit of the martyr. We can easily understand why such a prelate as Dr. Croke gave every encouragement to those manly sports which delight his energetic countrymen. He understood their temperament, and knew well that in the play of the natural faculties in youth there is always the surest preventative against the inroads of the brood that feed on idleness and introspection.

Six years was the term of young Croke's sojourn in the famous seminary on the Rue Irlandais. He was an exceptionally apt scholar, and during those years he had read and studied with rare diligence. His courses in moral philosophy, theology and canon law were brilliant and brought him much distinction. Having gained all he could from the Irish College, he left Paris and journeyed toward Belgium, with the view of completing his ecclesiastical education. In the little frontier town of Merim there is a college well known to Irish students, and here the young scholastic stayed for a year, accepting a professor's chair and teaching philosophy, rhetoric and the English language. But his goal was not Merim, nor any other place in Belgium. The star of his destiny pointed the road to Rome, and so Romeward he set his face in the year 1845. Three years he spent in the great capital. He read theology under the famous teachers, Perrone and Passaglia, attended lectures at the Roman University, the gold medal of which he carried off in the year 1866. Soon afterwards he finished his scholastic career with such honor that he was accorded the rank of doctor of divinity. It was not long until he was received formally into the ranks of the sacred ministry, thus fulfilling the sanguine anticipations of those early friends who recognized in him the talents and the steadfastness of purpose which are indispensable for the holy priesthood. The irrevocable step now taken, he returned to his native land to glad the hearts of his kin and the friends who had worked and prayed for such a blessed result for many years.

Dr. Croke's career as a teacher and Church administrator covered almost every phase of ecclesiastical life. His experience was of

two hemispheres. We see him going from the Roman University to take the chair of rhetoric in Carlow College, and in a little while afterward he is back in Paris teaching theology in the old familiar school, the Irish College. He was thence summoned to begin missionary work in his native diocese of Cloyne, and after nine years spent in this arduous labor he was invited to assume the presidency of St. Colman's College, in Fermoy. Whilst filling this important post he was made parish priest of Doneraile and also honored with the chancellorship of Cloyne Chapter. The manner in which he bore himself in all these changes and the unmistakable executive ability which he displayed could not fail to make their impression at the seat of collective wisdom. The Holy See had duly noted these things and marked out Dr. Croke for preferment. The Bishopric of Auckland, in New Zealand, was offered him in 1870, and he obeyed the call. It was comparatively new ground, and the work of building it up was arduous. For four years he toiled manfully at it, but it proved too much even for his sturdy constitution, and so he was compelled to return to his native air to rest and recuperate. Shortly after he landed the venerable Dr. Leahy, of the Cashel archdiocese, breathed his last. Exalted and important though it was, the dignity was not thought beyond the merits and the capacity of Dr. Croke, and the venerable Pontiff, Pius IX., testified his esteem for him by personally inviting him to Rome to ask the pallium. This was conferred in Consistory on July 5, 1875.

The Repeal agitation started by O'Connell was at its height when Father Croke, as a young Levite, had first returned to his native land. Into this movement he threw himself with all the ardor of a strong Celtic nature. It has been written of him by somebody who did not apparently know him very well that "he hated England." Such an expression does him an injustice. If he had been described as hating the system of English government which exercised so baneful an influence on the fortunes of his country, it would have been perfectly correct. The quarrel of many Irishmen is not with England or with its people, but with the principle of alien rule. Many good Englishmen sympathize with Ireland, and have no stancher friends than those Irishmen with whom they co-operate for the welfare of the country. Several of those distinguished friends of Ireland had made the acquaintance of the late prelate, and the only sentiments between them were those of mutual respect. But if it were not inaccurate to describe the feeling he entertained toward England as hatred, the circumstances under which he first made his appearance in Irish public life might very well have excused such a sentiment. It was during the period of the great famine of 1846-47. The corpses of thousands of starved peasants strewed his native

county, from Skibbereen to the outskirts of Cork city, and in nearly every case in which coroners' juries had investigated the deaths of these miserable beings a verdict of wilful murder against the British Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, had been arrived at, because of the fact that while the potato crop had failed there had never been a better harvest in other products, and enormous quantities of food had been shipped to England and other countries, while the wretched tillers of the soil, who, according to the moral code, have the first claim upon its fruits, were left to perish without any step being taken by the Government to stop the exportation of food or procure supplies in its place—until too late. These things left an indelible impression on the ardent mind of the young priest, and made him resolve to leave no effort untried to terminate the system of misrule which in the course of a single year had allowed a million and a half of people to perish by the most horrible form of torture.

Bearing in mind the contention of Bishop Berkeley, that were there a wall of brass a thousand cubits high around the kingdom of Ireland, the natives might nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably by tilling the land and reaping the fruits of it, he threw himself heart and soul into the Young Ireland movement, which had just begun to attract the brightest intellects of the country. But any movement which, while looking to force for a solution of national ills, has for leader one of such scrupulous honor as to forbid his forces from taking food from the agrarian population save for immediate payment, must necessarily fail in so poor a country as Ireland; and so it was that the chivalrous leader, William Smith O'Brien, soon beheld his motley army dwindle away and was forced to make the show of aggression which eventuated in the fiasco of Ballingarry. It is probable that the lesson of the failure was not lost upon Father Croke, for, though he did not cease to take a part in the political struggles of his country, he was found later on supporting those enterprises which looked to its liberation by means of constitutional movement rather than to the outcome of an armed struggle wherein the odds would be so unequal, as in the case of Ireland against the British Empire.

If any change took place in his views as to means for effecting his country's liberation, he never altered his belief that such an object was worthy of heaven's blessing. But in order to secure that blessing, he believed it should be sought with clean and blameless hands. Now, here was the very difficulty which had so often brought perplexity and confusion to the most devoted lovers of their country in the past. In all political agitations there is the danger of a certain ungovernable element. When Emmet led forth his forlorn hope

against the walls of Dublin Castle, the cause of noble enthusiasm was stained with the murder of a most upright and respected Judge, Lord Kilwarden. This shocking tragedy diverted sympathy from Ireland's cause in the breasts of many. So in previous years the excesses of the Whiteboys and similar secret organizations, even though they were provoked by intolerable oppression, brought shame to the cheek of those who loved their country not less than those midnight insurgents; but loved it more wisely.

As the Irish Bishops were compelled by their duty as well as their own love of country to denounce the system of midnight outrage in the previous century, so Dr. Croke and his brother prelates were impelled by conscience to repudiate and condemn certain developments of the Land League agitation in the early years of that movement. But this fact did not alter his allegiance to the principle of Irish nationality. He was in this, according to his own expression, "unchanged and unchangeable." But what he would have highly he would have holily, or not at all. When we remember that in the '48 movement, along with him, ardent men who would not hesitate, as John Mitchel avowed for himself, to use the fire of hell, if it were possible, to make war on England for Ireland's liberation, we may form some conception of the perplexities of Dr. Croke's position at various phases of his long connection with Irish politics. Yet the pole star of duty always pointed, clear and unmistakable, to the course he was to follow.

After the failure of the insurrectionary movement in 1848 the hope of Ireland seemed for the first time to have been crushed irretrievably. Gavan Duffy tersely described the country's condition when, on leaving her shores for the antipodes, he said he "left her a corpse upon the dissecting table." Dr. Croke does not seem to have ever despaired of the principle of life in that apparently inanimate body. There arose a small party, led chiefly by the late Isaac Butt and the late Sir John Gray, whose programme was "tenant right," based on the "Ulster custom" or, as it was styled, the "three f's"—fixity of tenure, free sale and fair rents. The evolution of this modest idea into the formidable Land League programme, whose ultimate aim is the rooting the tiller of the soil in the land as its owner as well as its cultivator, is an absorbing chapter in politico-economic history. It is only just to say that the masterly expositions of the law of tenant-right which were drawn forth from the great lawyer, Isaac Butt, were instrumental in opening the eyes of many to the grievous wrongs under which the Irish tenant-farmers groaned, and enabled acute minds like Dr. Croke's to grasp the possibilities for a resuscitation of Irish national effort which the problem of land tenure presented.

In the consideration of Dr. Croke's career as an Irish politician as great an injustice seems likely to be done him as in the case of his idiosyncrasies in the matter of field sports. Those who will persist in judging of individual character by peculiar traits fail to grasp the homogeneity of a great man's life. Such things were in Dr. Croke's mind only the incidental means toward one great ennobling end. The revival of the glories of a classic Hellas was not half so definite or so practicable in appearance as the possibility of a revivification of Ireland's nationality and renown to sublime enthusiasts like the Archbishop of Cashel. It was impossible that it could be otherwise. There was a glamor in the atmosphere of his royal see. The spirit of a mighty past brooded irremovably above and around it. He looked upon ruins whose very silence was thrilling with incitement to action. They spoke of glorious days when Ireland's Church and Ireland's nationality clasped hands in a mighty struggle for freedom. They told of still brighter days when the genius of the artist was consecrated to the service of religion and the spiritual life of Ireland found expression in architectural beauties that not even the destructive hand of the vandal nor the ravages of time have been able to deprive of their wizard charm. The Irishman, cleric or lay, who, knowing aught of his country's past, could stand on the hill of Cashel and gaze unmoved on the majestic relics of its grandeur and faith has yet to be born.

When the Land League movement was started there was imminent danger of another Irish famine. The crops had failed over wide areas of the country, and the law of self-preservation urged the people to respond to the summons of the leaders of the new movement. Dr. Croke had for nigh twenty years kept aloof from the field of politics, seeing no prospect of any relief in the dreams of the physical force party, and discouraged by the collapse of the Home Rule and tenant-right movement led by Isaac Butt. Now at last he saw the dawn of a new hope, and he grasped at it with all the ardor and energy of a spirit long pent up within artificial restraints.

To a good many estimable people the name of the Land League suggests only a reproduction, on a different theatre, of the French uprising against the aristocracy and differing only from the Reign of Terror in degree. Such sensitive souls can have no true conception of the conditions which preceded the formation of this defensive combination, for else they would not be so disposed to condemn the peasantry for turning at last against their hereditary oppressors. In the "Tale of Two Cities" there is a picture of the French peasantry under the feudal system, previous to the Revolution, which makes the blood tingle with indignation and sympathy for the victims of the tyranny. France was not alone in this condition of social misery.

There was hardly a feature of the degrading side of feudalism which the Irish tenant-farmer was not made to feel, while totally excluded, at the same time, from the beneficent and redeeming concomitants of the system—as, for instance, the responsibility of the feudal lord for the material welfare of his vassal. He could not be turned out, like the Irish cottier tenant, to die in the ditch; he must give him a roof and food, come what might. If any one take the trouble to read the evidence taken by the Land Commission, before Mr. Gladstone framed his first Land Act, he will find many of the loathsome features of the French system in existence on the big Irish estates nearly a century after France had swept it away. On very many of these estates the tenantry were not allowed to marry without the consent of the agent; on some it was said that even the custom known in France as the “droit du seigneur” was sometimes insisted on, and there was testimony given at least in one case, a Kerry estate, where a poor farmer’s wife going to beg the agent for a reduction of rent, was informed by him that she could have it only at the price of her honor. In other features the landlord system was far more iniquitous than anything that ever grew up out of the feudal bond. Every improvement which the tenant made on the land or in his cottage added to the value of the property, and led the landlord to place an additional rent on that very farm—a punishment, in other words, for the virtues of industry and progress. If he fell into arrears, the landlord swooped down, backed by the minions of the law, and cast him and his family forth on the roadside, confiscating at one blow all the improvements he had made on the holding, and consigning the victims of rapacity, practically, to death and despair. Some conception of the magnitude of the ruin which extortionate landlordism worked in Ireland, in those woful times past, may be formed from the legal statistics of the period. The number of ejectment decrees taken out by the various landlords at the quarter sessions throughout the country, for the year 1879-80, when famine appeared imminent, was 16,626. Five persons are usually allowed for the family ratio in Ireland, and on this basis the number of individuals sought to be evicted in the latter year was over 84,000. Were it not for the starting of the Land League the holocaust would have been made. Many families were thrown out as it was, but the action of the League prevented many more from having to follow.

Such were, briefly, the causes which led to the formation of the Land League. Before the tenant-farmers had this friendly beacon to look to, many a one took the law into his own hands and shot down the tyrant of his fields or the agent, just as opportunity offered. Tipperary was the scene of many a tragedy, and Dr. Croke knew better perhaps than any man that unless the hot-blooded peasant of

that region saw some prospect of amelioration in his intolerable condition the "wild justice of revenge," as landlord assassination was termed, must continue to claim its victims and make men criminals who otherwise would be the most guileless and upright of human beings. These were the reasons which induced him to espouse the new agitation with all the warmth of his great Irish heart. He did not do so, however, until he was sure of his ground. Mr. Parnell at first looked askance at the movement begun in a very modest way by Mr. Davitt, but it was not long ere his astute political vision enabled him to see what vast possibilities it presented as an auxiliary to the larger Home Rule plan which he had been propounding with partial success. He hastened to Thurles and laid his views before the Archbishop with all the calm and logical deliberation of a statesman. He soon convinced his listener that the plan meant the salvation of the Irish tenants, and from that moment Dr. Croke became a steadfast and enthusiastic supporter of it. Thurles became the stronghold of the League, and its Archbishop its fearless standard-bearer.

It was not to be expected that such a position could be assumed and maintained without bringing calumny and obloquy to him who sheltered the harried tenant behind the episcopal robe. The Vatican became the theatre of petty intrigues by the hangers-on of the British Government, and as a result Dr. Croke was summoned to Rome to explain his attitude in promoting the Parnell testimonial. He defended his action with great ability, but, with the whisperings of the English intriguers in his ears, the venerable Pontiff was led into the tactical mistake of condemning the idea of a testimonial. Nettled by this interference in what they conceived to be merely their political affairs, the Irish National party appealed to the people to prove their confidence in Mr. Parnell, with the startling result that the original sum intended to be subscribed as a testimonial to him was doubled. Forty thousand pounds, instead of twenty, was made up within the course of a few months.

Yet this unmistakable proof of the disposition of the Irish people did not deter the intriguers at the Vatican. They still kept up a pressure on the Pope to induce His Holiness to denounce the ways of the League, and the opportunity came when as a retort to a new outburst of coercion in Ireland, the imprisoned leaders issued the "no rent" manifesto, and later on, after the failure of this attempt, when certain prominent members of the League, without the knowledge of Mr. Parnell, originated the strike against excessive rents, on the lines laid down in the document known as the "Plan of Campaign." Briefly, this plan proposed that the tenants, and not the land courts or the landlords,

were to determine what amount of rent they should pay. Those on any given estate which was believed to be rack-rented were advised to assemble, consider the harvest conditions and their own family responsibilities, determine what amount of rent they could pay, after making due provision for themselves, put the collective sum into the hands of a chosen trustee, and through him offer it to the landlord. If he refused to accept it as satisfaction in full for that year's rent, and instituted legal proceedings to recover his full claim, the costs of such proceedings were to be deducted from the amount lodged in the trustee's hands. This was the line of action which the Holy See condemned as immoral, as it had previously condemned the "no rent" manifesto. In extenuation of the course pursued by those responsible for both these acts of the League, it is only just to say that whereas the strike against all rent was advised, not as a permanent but only a temporary measure, designed to put a stop to the wholesale imprisonment begun by Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary, acting in the interests of the landlords, the "plan of campaign" was determined on for a somewhat similar purpose a few years later, when there was a renewal of coercion methods. When weighing the moral issues involved in these momentous proposals it should not be forgotten that the position assumed by the tenantry as a basis for recalcitrant action, that they were being asked to pay more than the land yielded in return for their labor and outlay, has invariably been sustained by the decisions of the Land Courts, given upon the advice of Governmental valuers, from the time of the passage of the first Land Act until now.

The Irish episcopate were the best judges of the questions at issue between the Irish people and the Irish landlords, and were it not for their preëminently prudent action during those eventful years, so embittered became the mental attitude of the populace toward the Holy See that there needed but a single error of judgment on the part of the episcopacy to provoke a revolt that might have proved incurable. Archbishop Croke and Archbishop Walsh, of Dublin, at this critical juncture, stood as twin ramparts against a rising flood of anger and misunderstanding. When the Land League said: "No rent," the former at once put his foot down firmly in denial. He told the Leaguers that they were giving immoral advice, and this resolute action caused the mandate of the League to fall flat, in a great measure. Dr. Walsh's appointment to the See of Dublin was a pledge that the Holy See regarded the Home Rule movement with approval; and that eminent prelate lost no opportunity of undoing whatever mischief the English intriguers in Rome contrived to have effected by his masterly public expositions in the press of the true aims of the Irish National movement.

But that cause sustained a cruel blow when the moral collapse of the Irish leader was revealed in the London divorce court. Dr. Croke felt it, perhaps, more keenly than any of his fellow Bishops, inasmuch as he had been the first to take the Irish Protestant patriot by the hand and to commend him, thereby, to the confidence of the Catholic people. His grief over his fall was intense; his hopes for the regeneration of a country beloved not less than life shattered almost beyond possibility of revival. As the unhappy English King was said never to have smiled after the death of his son, so the great Archbishop never again shed the sunshine of his presence in any prominent public way upon the cause of Ireland. But in private he was still the same warm friend to the chiefs he had always trusted, nor did he despair of the ultimate success of the idea to which they still clung, in season and out. And the love of the Irish people for him continued in undiminished vigor. They understood his grief, and they respected the high motive which forbade his condoning an offense against a law which the Church holds as one of the most sacred of all her canons. If the people at large looked at the matter from a lesser point of view, there was not one to murmur at what this venerated spiritual guide thought it his duty to say or do. When the time of his jubilee came, a few years after Parnell's downfall and demise, they showed their unfaltering attachment to the Archbishop by one of the most impressive tributes that ever were offered. Irishmen from all parts of the world, indeed, joined in the effort to let all whom it might concern behold with what fidelity they still clung to the doctrine that the principles of Ireland's faith and Ireland's nationality are still so bound together that any cesura must be the death of both.

Dr. Croke's appearance in Ireland as Archbishop took place in August of 1875, when the whole population of the country seemed to have moved on the metropolis in honor of the centenary of Daniel O'Connell. There he saw a manifestation of Irish feeling for faith and fatherland, expressed in a thousand forms of artistic beauty, as the mighty all-day-long procession wound, to the unending strains of national melodies, through the streets and outward to Glasnevin, whither the Liberator's remains were to be transferred. If any one ever doubted of the intensity of Ireland's devotion, that vast dazzling blazon must have dispelled it forever. It could never be forgotten by those privileged to witness it. There was much that was similar in character between O'Connell and Croke, and the closing lines of Father Tom Burke's splendid panegyric on the occasion, are not inapplicable now to the great departed of Cashel:

"He is gone, but his fame shall live forever on the earth as a lover

of God and of his people. Adversaries, political and religious, he had many, and, like a

tower of strength
Which stood four square to all the winds that blew,

the Hercules of justice and of liberty stood up against them. 'His praise is in the Church,' and this is the surest pledge of the immortality of his glory."

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NATIVE AMERICANISM.

LOOKING back, from the threshold of a new century, at the movements of Nativism and anti-Catholicism which transpired in the United States during the period 1835-60, we can feel little surprise in the premises. The mighty immigration of the nineteenth century jostled the settled colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, established here in a political and industrial ascendancy. A total of over five million immigrants landed on our shores up to 1850; a total of nearly twenty million up to 1900. At the close of the century over ten million foreign born persons are residents of the United States and more than twenty-six million¹ of the sixty-six million white inhabitants are of foreign parentage; making it quite certain that a majority of the Americans of to-day are descendants of forefathers who came here since Jefferson was President—the old Americans of Revolutionary lineage being outnumbered by the children of ancestors who were not here when Washington lived.

So mighty an invasion, peaceable though it was, could not transpire without much collision and many readjustments. The arrival in our large cities of thousands of immigrants, differing in race and religion from the native inhabitants, created conditions for social and political compromise. The Irish, for instance, while exhibiting a capacity to assimilate their neighbors, and sometimes (as in the case of the Norman and English settlers in Ireland) to make them "more Irish than the Irish themselves"—also have, for some reason or other, excited antagonisms more bitter than assailed any other race of immigrants.²

¹ By the census of 1900 more than half the people of foreign parentage in this country are of non-English speaking races. More than half, too, are in race neither Teutonic nor Anglo-Saxon.

² Scisco, in his "History of Political Nativism in New York," says (ch. I.):

In the sequel, Nativism met with utter defeat in all its cherished contentions; yet substantially the victory was on the side of the Americans of the older lineage. There was always a larger-viewed element among them disposed to welcome the immigrants to this country as "the asylum of the oppressed;" to see in the imported brawn of the Irish and German material for national enrichment—the industrial army needed for the development of the country. History, too, records no more notable instance of speedy and complete assimilation of a vast influx of population. The social, political and educational institutions of the Americans of Revolutionary lineage survived and absorbed and won over the mighty army of immigrants, and welded all elements into a unified nationality.

There never was any deep-seated antipathy to foreigners, as such, in this country. Nativism in its restricted sense (dislike of European immigrants on account of their birth) was always more or less accidental and sporadic. It is usual in discussing the genesis of the Native-American movement to refer to the Alien act of 1789 as one of the first manifestations of this feeling, or to the mythical order of Washington at Valley Forge: "Put none but Americans on guard to-night."

That which gave Native-Americanism its real strength and animus, however, was anti-Catholicism; and the roots of this feeling lie far back in colonial days. The colonists carried the "No Popery" sentiment from their English homes. Founded on sectarian lines, the colonies naturally were more deeply tinctured with this feeling than was England herself; and circumstances, such as warfare with the French Catholics on the north and west, and with the Spanish Catholics in Florida, deepened the sentiment. One reason that the French-Canadians did not join with the American colonies in revolt against England was their sense of being fairly treated by the English in their religious interests; and although the revolting colonies sent a Catholic priest among its emissaries to them with proffers of an equal partnership and independent statehood, they distrusted colonial bigotry. France's providential assistance to the struggling colonies, the presence of her Catholic soldiers with their affable chaplains and courteous officers, remained a liberalizing memory with the Revolutionary generation.

"An anonymous writer to the press touched on the truth when he complained of the Irish Catholics that 'they are men who, having professed to become Americans by accepting our terms of naturalization, do yet, in direct contradiction to their professions, clan together as a separate interest and retain their foreign appellation.' No better statement of Nativist complaint could have been made." Yet to a large extent this going apart of the Irish was but natural, in view of the contemptuous manner in which the "native" Americans treated them, ridiculing their appearance, their country and their religion.

From 1780 to 1830—a period of fifty years—the sentiment of bigotry slept with but little awakening. The brief crusade against aliens during the latter part of Adams' administration was strictly incidental to the division between the parties—the Jeffersonian party, as the friend of France, having the adhesion naturally of all the French, Irish and Scotch immigrants of that time. The Alien act which had extended the period of residence required for naturalization to fourteen years, was repealed in 1802, and the five years' requirement of residence restored. The demand made by the Hartford Convention (1814-15), that aliens be debarred from civil office may have been suggested by the enthusiasm with which the Irish immigrants hailed the war of 1812—so unpopular with New England. British Minister Foster, who had labored to prevent this war, said that among the Congressmen who voted to declare war were six members of the Society of United Irishmen.³

There was really little ground for alarm in the number of immigrants which reached our shores in the decades ending with 1840. Up to 1820 foreigners came to America at the rate of 10,000 a year. From 1821 to 1830, inclusive, 143,439 landed. From 1831 to 1840, the immigration increased to a total of nearly 600,000, or about three per cent. of the total population (seventeen millions) in 1840. From 1840-50 (principally in the last half of the decade) 1,700,000 immigrants arrived, or seven per cent. of the population in 1850. The percentage of the foreign born population in the decades prior to 1850 was considerably less than it has been since the close of the Civil War. In 1850 the foreign born element was 9.7 per cent. of the whole population. During the period 1860-1900 it has varied between 13 and 14 per cent.

The really alarming symptom was the large proportion of Catholics among the immigrants. More than a third of the immigrants for the decades ending 1830 and 1840 were from Ireland, and nearly one-half of the 1,700,000 who landed from 1841-50 were Irish. More than a half, and probably nearly three-fifths, of the immigrants up to 1860 were Catholics.

It is probable that the English "No Popery" agitation (1815-29), which antagonized the movement for Catholic emancipation in Ireland and England had some influence in alarming the more sectarian portion of the American public. The opposition to Catholic emancipation in England necessarily reverted to the position of Elizabeth's and Cromwell's time—that the Catholic religion was not entitled to toleration—that it was a political danger—that it inculcated a divided allegiance, etc. This argument was adopted in America. The pulpit

³ See Alexander Johnston's article on "The American Party," in the "American Cyclopædia of Politics."

alarmist could point to new object lessons, up to this time unfamiliar to the American population: Bishops (there were only ten American Catholic Bishops in 1833), cathedrals (rather unpretentious affairs), sisterhoods in a peculiar garb and convents or nunneries.

The first outbreak occurred in 1834—the burning of the Ursuline convent at Charlestown, near Boston. In 1833 one Rebecca Reed had left this institution and told such tales of harsh treatment that when in the following year Miss Harrison (Sister Mary John) left the same convent in a dazed and hysterical condition, the public became excited. She suffered from nervous prostration, caused by overwork in preparing her pupils for an exhibition. Her brother induced her to return to the convent, where she was placed under a physician's care. On August 9, 1834, a mob composed of the lower element of Boston's population, surrounded the convent and, although Miss Harrison came forth and assured them that she was not detained against her will, they ransacked and burned the building. The better class of Boston citizens held an indignation meeting in Faneuil Hall, at which the Mayor presided, and the outrage was denounced. The perpetrators were put on trial, but weakly prosecuted and consequently acquitted. The Sisters never obtained compensation for their loss of property, although a committee of the Legislature recommended this act of public justice.

In 1836 a book was published which has been termed "The Uncle Tom's Cabin" of Know Nothingism.⁴ Maria Monk, a girl of evil character, had been placed by her mother in a Magdalen asylum at Montreal under charge of a Catholic Sisterhood. Aided by a former paramour, she escaped and shortly fell into the company of one Rev. J. J. Slocum, who with others concocted a sensational and obscene narrative of her experience in the assumed capacity of a nun. This book was brought out with Howe & Bates as nominal publishers—these men being employes of Harper Brothers (which publishing firm really stood behind the enterprise, but was reluctant to assume direct responsibility). Maria Monk's "disclosures" had an immense sale, exceeding that of any American book up to that time published. Ministers recommended it and churches feted its author. She was taken into the bosom of Christian homes, where, after a time, her depravity was perceived. It is to be regretted that one so useful to evangelicalism should have been allowed to sink in the social scale so that she afterwards died in a public institution. The parties to this literary enterprise began squabbling among themselves for the profits. A party of Protestant clergymen visited

⁴ There had been previous books of the same character appealing to erotic bigotry. We may mention "Rosamond; Her Life With the Priests." Born in Lebanon, N. H. A remarkable career. New York, 1836. 290 pp.

Montreal to verify the "awful disclosures" and pronounce them a fabrication. Colonel W. L. Stone, editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, also made a thorough investigation, visiting the Hotel Dieu at Montreal from cellar to garret. "The result," he wrote, "is the most thorough conviction that Maria Monk is an arrant impostor, that she never was a nun," etc.

These two early eruptions of anti-Catholicism are particularly dwelt upon because they are the prototypes of its campaign tactics in the following years. Edward Wilson in 1845, Gavazzi and the "Angel Gabriel" in 1853-5, and a score of others followed in the line of Maria Monk, and what Professor John B. McMaster calls the "riotous career of the Know-Nothings," was a repetition of the convent burning of 1834. The ex-priest, the escaped nun and the incendiary led the way, as the logical exponents of a cause, which nevertheless numbered among its followers some respectable elements.

In the years following 1830 a new exuberance overtook the electoral life of the American people. They talked politics with vigor and gesticulation; they interrupted each other's political meetings; they jostled each other at the polls. It became part of the election day programme for each party to be represented at the voting precincts by partisans, loud of lungs and strong of arm. The native American had practised all the tricks and frauds of politics, such as intimidating voters, stuffing ballot boxes, repeating and tampering with the returns, long before the foreigner was instructed in these processes. In the history of the abolition movement we have an illustration of the riotous spirit of the American politics of that generation. In 1835 Thompson, an Abolition advocate, was mobbed in Boston and forced to leave the city. Garrison, too, felt the wrath of "a broadcloth mob." November 7, 1837, Lovejoy, an Abolitionist editor, was murdered at Alton, Ill., because he refused to suspend his publication. May 17, 1838, Pennsylvania Hall, the Abolitionist headquarters at Philadelphia, was burned to the ground by the intolerant opponents of the anti-slavery movement. And thus on to 1860 did Abolitionism meet with disorderly and riotous opposition. The party factions quarrelled with each other, Whigs assailed Whigs and Democrats assailed Democrats. The expression "Loco Focos" applied to one of the Democratic parties in New York arose over the incident of an interrupted meeting. Emissaries of one Democratic faction turned off the lights at a meeting held by another faction. Immediately the engloomed Democrats, who had prepared for the emergency beforehand, took from their pockets the new Loco Foco match which had just come into use, and relighted their meeting. The Know-Nothings ran their course at a time

when this sort of exuberant politics had reached its climax. The Know-Nothings were not the inventors, but they carried the method, especially in Baltimore, to its worst excesses.⁵

From a survey of disorder of this kind we are led to wonder where the American notion of free speech developed; yet it did evolve. If a mere glittering generality; if more honored in the breach than in the observance; if more as a pretence than a practice it was nevertheless finally fixed in the customs and principles of the people.

The first political flurry of Nativism in the local politics of New York seems to date from the year 1835. It is associated with the name of Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph. Early in 1834 he published twelve letters in the *New York Observer* (a weekly paper), over the signature of "Brutus." These were afterwards republished under the title "Foreign Conspiracy Against the United States," a book much read up to 1860.

It appears that while in Europe during 1829-32, Morse had heard of the Leopold Foundation, an aid society established in Austria to help with financial assistance the missionary and poor Catholic churches of the New World. This was the most material fact in the dangers Morse discussed. The "Brutus Letters" had an important local influence. The Irish immigrants in the city were gathering antagonisms chiefly on account of their religion, and the "Brutus Letters" gave form to the argument. A Protestant association was founded to antagonize the Catholics, and it seems that on March 13, 1835, one of its meetings on Broadway was disturbed by Irish interruption, perhaps after the fashion common at that time of counter demonstrations at public meetings; but rather imprudent sport for foreigners.

In the fall election a Nativist committee put up Colonel Monroe (a nephew of ex-President Monroe) for Congress, and the Whigs endorsed him. But the Democrats, who cast three-fifths of the vote, elected their ticket. In the spring elections of 1836 the Nativists nominated Samuel F. B. Morse for Mayor, and he received about 1,500 votes out of a total of over 26,000 cast. A Democratic Mayor was elected. The Nativists tried a separate ticket again in the fall elections, with no better success; but in the spring of 1837 they put up Aaron Clark for Mayor, and at the same time drew up an address denouncing the Irish. The Whig party,⁶ which had all along ex-

⁵ Volunteer fire companies, which existed in the principal cities of the United States at this time, were largely responsible for street disorders. There was an intense rivalry between the companies, and sometimes fires were started on purpose to bring the rival firemen into collision.

⁶ In New York city the Irish vote was cast largely with the Democratic party. Admiration for Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans and a man of Irish

hibited a kindly interest in the Nativist doings, endorsed Clark, and he was elected by 3,300 plurality. The affair was treated as a Whig victory, and the Nativists disappeared as a separate political activity. Nativist sentiment continued, however, to exhibit itself in petitions to the State Legislature and to Congress, praying for a registry law and an extension of the period of residence required for naturalization to twenty-one years.

In other portions of the country the same sentiment manifested itself. A native American movement is said to have organized at Germantown, near Philadelphia, in 1837, growing out of an election episode. New Orleans felt the impulse also. The "Address of the Louisiana Native American Association," issued in 1839, contains this passage:

"So long as foreigners entered in moderate numbers into the States and Territories of the United States and became imperceptibly merged and incorporated into the great body of the American people, and were gradually imbued and indoctrinated into the principles of virtue and patriotism, which formerly animated the whole American community, so long their advent was an advantage and a benefit to our community. But when we see hordes and hecatombs (sic) of beings in human forms, but destitute of any intellectual aspirations—the outcast and offal of society, the pauper, the vagrant and the convict—transported in myriads to our shores, reeking with the accumulated crimes of the whole civilized and savage world, and inducted by our laws into equal rights, immunities and privileges with the noble native inhabitants of the United States, we can no longer contemplate it with supine indifference. We feel constrained to warn our countrymen that unless some steps are taken to protect our institutions from these accumulated inroads on the national character, from the indiscriminate immigration and naturalization of foreigners, in vain have our predecessors, whether native or naturalized, toiled and suffered and fought and bled and died to achieve our liberties and establish our hallowed institutions."

In 1841 a State convention was called in Louisiana to form an American Republican party. The convention favored the exclusion of foreigners from office. It exerted some influence in the succeeding municipal election in New Orleans.⁷

New York city, in 1840, had a population of 312,700, of whom not over a third were foreign born. The Catholic population of the city possessed eight churches and numbered perhaps 70,000. Philadelphia, in the same year, had a population of 258,000, of whom less than 60,000 were Catholics. (Bishop Kenrick, in 1840, placed the entire Catholic population of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Western New Jersey at 120,000.) Boston, with a population in 1844 of about 120,000, had less than 30,000 Catholic residents. It seemed strange, in view of what has come to pass in later years, that the presence in these larger cities of a foreign population not exceeding

lineage, had drawn the vanguards of Irish immigration close in sympathy with the Democratic party. The politicians of that party did not fail to use every means to attach the adopted citizen to their organization.

⁷ Congressmen Eustis, of Louisiana, in the House of Representatives, January 7, 1856, claimed that Louisiana was the first State whose Legislature called for an extension of the term of residence required for naturalization.

a fourth of the whole population, should have occasioned alarm in the minds of Americans during the '40's. Since these days the increased tide of immigration has foreignized, by actual majorities, counting all of foreign parentage, most of our large cities and even some of our Western States, without the slightest danger to our institutions or any similar alarm to our people.

Had the foreigners and Catholics remained quiescent, Nativism might have run its course as a milder disease. But this was not to be. The American atmosphere would not suffer any element long to demean itself as a subject class. The colonization of the nineteenth century challenged, in the name of religious equality, the Protestant ascendancy established by the colonists of the seventeenth century in the laws, and customs, and opinions of the several States. In Massachusetts, long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, Congregationalism was virtually the religion of the State. In the Carolinas a Catholic could not hold office. Other States, like New Hampshire, had similar sectarian provision in their Constitutions and statutes.

Immigration endangered this ascendancy, and as soon as that fact was apparent the Protestant pulpit became aggressive. The particular issue in which this clash of forces came had reference to the schools. Under the New York school law of 1812, denominational schools received a pro rata share of the school fund raised by the State. But in New York city a private corporation called the Public School Society gradually absorbed all the public funds for that city. It claimed to be an unsectarian body, and declared that it excluded positive religious instruction from its schools. The Protestant Scriptures, however, were read, and in some cases commented upon. The Catholics presented a petition to the Common Council, and Bishop Hughes spoke in its behalf, praying that eight Catholic schools be granted a share of the school fund (October, 1840). The Catholics do not appear to have asked the exclusion of the Bible, but prejudice was stirred up on the representation that such was their demand.

The Common Council, which was Democratic, rejected the Bishop's petition after a full hearing, in which the Public School Society fought strenuously for its monopoly. The Catholics then carried their grievances to the State Legislature at Albany. William H. Seward was then Governor of New York. He had expressed himself in favor of the establishment of schools where the foreigners, now debarred from public education by religious prejudices, might be instructed by teachers of their own race and faith. For twenty years (1840-60) this idea of Seward's made him the target of the political anti-Catholics in New York State, and he reciprocated that

antagonism by holding the major element of the Whig party intact as a bulwark against the successive waves of Nativist and Know-Nothing assimilation.⁸

The Catholic appeal to the Legislature again stirred up a Nativist party, Samuel F. B. Morse once more occupying the leadership. All local parties having taken sides with the Public School Society in the nomination of candidates for the Legislature in 1841, Bishop Hughes decided to put up a Catholic ticket—the so-called “Carroll Hall” ticket. He did this against the vociferous objections of the entire local press, Democratic as well as Whig. The result of the election was as follows :

Whig ticket	15,980
Democratic ticket	15,690
Catholic ticket	2,200
Nativist ticket	470
Anti-Slavery ticket	120

It was said that Bishop Hughes (himself, if anything, a Whig) had sought to show the Democrats that the Catholics held the balance of power in New York city as between the Whig and Democratic parties. He succeeded in the demonstration, at least to the extent of defeating the Democratic ticket, which would otherwise have won. But it seems that only a half or a third of the Catholic voters supported the Carroll Hall ticket. In a Catholic population of 70,000 there were at that time probably from 5,000 to 7,000 Catholic voters in New York city.⁹

In the following year the Legislature at Albany, doubtless through the influence of Governor Seward, extended to New York city the provisions of the general act relating to common schools, thus obliterating the private Public School Society corporation and putting the State and the people in its place as the controlling power over the city schools. This was a victory, in principle, for Bishop Hughes, but it brought no funds to his parish schools. The Nativist elements of all parties combined for some years in electing a union school ticket.

The year 1843 saw a new and better organized spurt of Nativism in New York city. The episode that served to arouse it was the

⁸ Colonel A. K. McClure, in his “Political Recollections,” asserts that Seward’s attitude on the school question lost him the nomination to the Presidency in 1800; that the leaders of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana were favorable to Seward personally, but on account of his stand in the New York school controversy they could not hope to attract to his candidacy the anti-slavery Know-Nothing vote in those States, which were regarded at the time as doubtful States.

⁹ This is the only instance in American politics of a Catholic ticket at the polls. It seemed necessary at the time to clear the political atmosphere. Of course it did not lack provocation either in the existence of a menacing anti-Catholic movement.

favor shown by the Democratic party to the Irish, in return for Irish support in the April elections. Not only were petty offices liberally bestowed, but market licenses were given to foreign born tradesmen. Heretofore these had been (as in the case of school control) a species of Nativist monopoly.

The American Republican party was formed,¹⁰ and it came into the fall elections with a statement of principles, among which was the following:

"That through this school law (the legislative enactment of April, 1842) there has been a preconcerted determination, followed up by an actual attempt in the Fourth Ward, to put out of our schools the Protestant Bible, and to put down the whole Protestant religion (therein) as being sectarian." (*Journal of Commerce*, November 4, 1843.)

The platform further demanded that foreign-born persons should not be naturalized until they had resided here twenty-one years. The Nativist party polled 8,690 votes in the November election, out of a total of 37,000. Its strength appears to have been drawn quite equally from both parties. Hammond, in his "Political History of New York," avers that "the wealth, talent and respectability of the community" went into its ranks. In the ensuing election (April, 1844) the Nativist party selected James Harper, of the firm of Harper Brothers, publishers, as its candidate for Mayor. Both Democrats and Whigs made their customary nominations; but there was a tacit understanding among the Whigs that their support should be thrown largely to Harper (who had been a Whig). Harper was elected. The vote stood: Harper, 24,510; Coddington (Dem.), 20,538; Franklin (Whig), 5,297. The *Journal of Commerce* (April 12, 1844) figured that the native American vote was made up of 14,100 Whigs, 9,700 Democrats and 601 new voters.

Harper's election was the occasion for a revival of the former alliance between the Whigs and the Nativists. In the fall election of

¹⁰ The following appears among the declarations of the Nativist meeting held in New York, June 10, 1843:

RESOLVED, That we as Americans will never consent to allow the government established by our Revolutionary forefathers to pass into the hands of foreigners, and that while we open the door to the oppressed of every nation and offer a home and an asylum, we reserve to ourselves the right of administering the government in conformity with the principles laid down by those who have committed to our care.

From this time on we hear much about the degeneracy of American local politics, due, so it is alleged, to the influence of the foreign-born voters. There has always been a strong suspicion that this opinion was merely the result of Nativist prejudice. Bryce (Volume II. of his "American Commonwealths," page 241), says: "Nevertheless the immigrants are not so largely responsible for the faults of American politics as a stranger might be lead, by the language of many Americans, to suppose. There is a disposition in the United States to use them, and especially the Irish, much as the cat is used in the kitchen, to account for broken plates and food which disappears. The cities have, no doubt, suffered from the immigrants—but New York was not an Eden before the Irish came."

1844 (which was also a Presidential election) the Whigs threw their strength solidly to the Nativists' local legislative ticket, but the Nativists did not fully reciprocate. The Nativist legislative ticket was elected, 27,440 to 26,230 (Dem.), but Polk, the Democratic candidate for President, carried New York city by several thousand plurality over Clay. Seward had openly disapproved of the Whig alliance with the Nativists, and this experience strengthened the position he had taken. The Whigs proceeded to drop the Nativists. At the city election in April, 1845, Harper was defeated and a Democratic Mayor elected, the poll showing 24,210 Democratic votes, 17,480 Nativist and 7,030 Whig. The Nativists were almost completely wiped off the official roster, electing but one of their candidates, a constable. They continued to put up local tickets up to April, 1847, but their vote diminished from 8,370 in November, 1845, to 2,080 in April, 1847. They put up a State ticket in 1846, which received an aggregate of 6,170 votes.

Bishop Hughes, in an editorial published February 3, 1844, in a weekly paper regarded as the organ of the diocese, had alluded to the new party as a movement in "local politics." "Many will probably join this party who are really friends of foreigners," he said, "but who, for the moment, will coalesce with their enemies to accomplish some local purpose, of which foreigners form no part. The true issue is for the loaves and fishes of office, and as but a small share of these, if any, falls to the lot of foreigners, so, notwithstanding the abuse of their name, they may consider themselves as scarcely interested in the quarrel. The true issue is between natives and natives; there let it remain."

While most of the foreign-born vote was Democratic, the Whigs were not without a share of it. Bishop Hughes, for instance, tells us that his first vote was cast for Henry Clay. In the campaign of 1840 the Democratic leaders in New York corralled almost the solid naturalized vote by representing that Harrison was opposed to the "adopted citizen." This provoked Whig resentment. "Do we not hear of the organization of a party against the Catholics?" wrote Seward to a friend in 1840.

The school question was also one of the mainsprings of the Nativist movement in Philadelphia. In this connection it may be remarked that in the many subsequent clashes with Protestant ascendancy, of which the New York and Philadelphia instances were among the earliest, the Catholic contention was, ultimately, almost everywhere successful, because it was grounded on the logic of religious equality.

If the Maine supreme court in 1854 (*Donohue vs. Richards*) decided that Catholic pupils in the public schools might be compelled

to read the King James Bible, the victory of sectarianism was only temporary; the decision of the Wisconsin supreme court in 1890 (Edgerton Bible case) brought to a climax a series of educational rulings, both in law and practice, which have quite generally excluded the Bible from the public schools and more or less eliminated the offensive tone to Catholics of many of the text books, against which there was mild protests in 1840. In November, 1842, Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia, while not asking that the Bible be excluded from the public schools of that city, petitioned the School Board that Catholic children be allowed the liberty of using the Catholic version where Bible reading was prescribed.

In January, 1843, the Philadelphia School Board voted that no children whose parents objected to Bible reading be obliged to be present at Bible exercises. Out of this matter a controversy ensued, and Bishop Kenrick, on March 12, 1844, issued a statement that "Catholics have not asked that the Bible be excluded from the public schools."

The Philadelphia riots of May, 1844, are connected with this episode, at least in the opinion of the prejudiced grand jury called to investigate the affair. The grand jury attributed the riots to "the efforts of a portion of the community to exclude the Bible from the public schools." The Catholics denied this and claimed the jury was packed. But the charge, even as it stands, would not in our day seem to justify or provoke rioting or incendiarism. These riots undoubtedly gave Nativism a set back throughout the country. The popular verdict blamed the anti-Catholic party. The disorder arose over some collision in the streets as a Native American meeting was dispersing before a rain storm. The riots which followed lasted for three days. Though the Mayor was knocked down in one of the encounters, it is probably true, as the Catholics alleged, that there was half-heartedness, if not actual collusion, in the way the authorities met the disorder. The mob moved upon the Irish quarter in Kensington and burned twenty-nine houses. Next day two Catholic churches, St. Michael's and St. Augustine's, were destroyed and a convent set ablaze. A number of lives were lost. Bishop Kenrick issued a card suspending "the exercise of public worship in the Catholic churches which still remained until it can be resumed with safety and we can enjoy our constitutional rights to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience."

This was, at least, furnishing subject of meditation for the thoughtful.¹¹ In New York Bishop Hughes, admonished by these events,

¹¹ Scisco, "Political Nativism in New York," page 47, says: "The Philadelphia riots nevertheless lost much sympathy to the cause of Nativism, and their occurrence was deeply regretted."

took legal advice as to whether compensation could be obtained for property destroyed by rioters. Being advised in the negative, he said: "Then the law intends that citizens should defend their own property." He issued an extra edition of the *Freeman's Journal*, calling on Catholics to defend their churches with their lives. The Native Americans, who had called a public meeting, revoked their call in view of this action. Bishop O'Gorman ("History Catholic Church," p. 375) tells us that a large Irish society in New York, with divisions in every district, resolved that, in case a single Catholic church were destroyed, to fire buildings in all quarters and involve the city in a great conflagration. Boston had a Nativist Mayor, Thomas Aspinwall Davis, in 1845 as a result of a triangular contest. In the following year the control of the city reverted to the Whigs.

Though the field of its action was mostly confined to local politics, the Native American movement had some results in the broader field (1830-40). Some of the Whig leaders, like Clay, Scott and Fillmore, undoubtedly sympathized with the principles of the Native American party. In 1844 Clay wrote to a friend: "There is a general tendency among the Whigs to unfurl the banner of the Native American party" ("Von Holst" II., 524. Scott in the *National Intelligencer* (December, 1844), advocated the practical exclusion of all foreign-born persons from the suffrage. Later he claimed that the Mexican war had removed the cataract from his eyes. ("Von Holst," IV., 158).

New York was a pivotal State in the Presidential election held in November, 1844. Polk polled just 5,106 more votes in New York than Clay, and this gave him New York's thirty-six electoral votes, and the Presidency. Millard Fillmore, in a letter to Clay, attributed the loss of New York to Catholic defection from the Whigs, occasioned by the affiliation of Native Americanism with that party. Anti-Masonry had deprived Clay of the Presidential nomination in 1840, and between Native Americanism and the Liberal party he lost the election in 1844. But the resentment of the naturalized voters was not all due, properly, to the Whigs. The aid of a fair percentage of the Democratic party always went to the proscriptive ticket. In the fall election of 1844 this Democratic contingent, while voting generally for the Polk electors, in Philadelphia and New York enabled the Native Americans to elect their local tickets.

In April, 1845, the Nativist movement claimed 48,000 members in New York State (of whom 18,000 were in New York city), 42,000 in Pennsylvania, 14,000 in Massachusetts and 6,000 scattered in other States. (*Rochester American*, April 26, 1845). A convention of the native Americans convened at Philadelphia July 4, 1845, with

141 delegates present, representing fourteen States. It adopted a national platform and an address to the people. A second national convention met May 4, 1847, at Pittsburg, with eleven States represented. At its second session at Philadelphia, September 10, 1847, it recommended Zachary Taylor for President.

Six native American Congressmen (four from New York and two from Pennsylvania) were elected to the Twenty-ninth Congress. But one native American Congressman appeared in the Thirtieth Congress and none in the Thirty-first.

The Mexican war had come and gone (1846-8). A great event had set new currents afloat. Native Americanism began to disappear.¹² Both parties were again courting the naturalized citizen whom the Irish famine was sending to our shores in vaster numbers. Candidates were found purging themselves from the suspicion of affiliation with Nativism. Even Scott, the Whig candidate for President in 1852, said *peccavi*. In the lull which followed the prostration of the Whigs a new form of the old movement was, however, starting into vigorous growth. This was Know-Nothingism.

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SPANISH FRIARS IN CALIFORNIA.

THE settlement of Upper California was the last colonial expansion of Spanish rule in America. It was begun in 1769, the birth year of Napoleon when already the forebodings of the American Revolution were being heard in the colonies of England. Its motives and its methods were typically Spanish. They were almost identical with those of the settlement of the Philippines by Legaspi two hundred years earlier. Each was carried out directly under supervision of the Central Government and on the principles of public morality and policy recognized by the rulers of Spain. In this both California and the Philippines had a distinctive character of their own unlike that of most settlements in Spanish America. Mexico, Peru and Chile were each conquered by bands of private adventurers, who at the most received licenses

¹² Seisco, in his "Political Nativism in New York," page 252, says: "The Nativist political movement in national and State affairs was a sham and a pretext. The nation as a whole was never Nativist in feeling. Probably no one State, as a whole, was ever genuinely worried over the existence of the foreign element. In State and national campaigns Nativism was a politician's movement rather than a popular one."

to occupy new lands from the government, and who were practically independent of its wishes in the organization of the territories occupied. It is but reasonable to form our judgment of the real principles of Spanish colonial policy by their application in those cases where the government had the power as well as the will to apply them in practice.

The occupation of new lands as a field for European colonization or a source of revenue was not the motive which inspired the settlement of California. It was entirely too remote from the civilized world at the time and Spain's other colonies offered ample occupation for her population on more favorable conditions. The political interest of Spain in California was only to prevent its occupation by some other European power as Russia or England. As there was no threat of war a couple of small garrisons would suffice to secure Spanish occupation, and the material interests involved went no further. The conversion of the savages to Christian belief was, however, always regarded as a desirable object for its own sake by the public sentiment of the Spanish people and its rulers. It was provided for in California with as much care and detail as the military and naval details of the occupation. The earnestness with which Spanish public men sought such an end as the conversion of savages may seem fanaticism to modern non-Catholics, but there is no reason to doubt its existence and still less to attribute it to greed, ambition or hypocrisy.

The preparations for the colony were begun in 1766, when Jose Galvez was sent to Mexico as Visitor General to investigate the condition of the Viceregal government. His powers were superior to the Viceroy, and the details of the proposed colony were left entirely in his hands. His methods and personal activity show little grounds for unfavorable criticism and certainly are widely different from the popular ideas of Spanish colonial administration. Spain at the time had no naval force on the western coast of Mexico. Galvez began by building a dockyard at San Blas, where vessels might be built and repaired for a regular service to California. Three "packets" of about two hundred tons each were considered sufficient for this purpose and they were finished after considerable difficulty in obtaining materials and skilled mechanics in the remote settlement. It is an indication of the attention to details of the Spanish official that he introduced the culture of hemp to the country near San Blas to provide cordage for the new shipping there.

Two garrisons were to be established permanently in Upper California with a force of about a single company. The soldiers and a few mechanics and laborers were the only colonists Galvez proposed to send. If settlers desired to come from Mexico they would be

encouraged, but Galvez saw little reason to expect many. The soldiers were allowed to marry and bring their wives and families if they so desired. Their pay was fixed at the liberal rate for the time of twenty-five dollars a month each. For the conversion and civilization of the natives the Franciscan friars were selected as agents. The Visitor applied to the missionary college of San Fernando in the Mexican capital to supply whatever number of priests might be needed. He engaged that they should receive full control of any converts they might be able to win over without any interference from the military authorities, and he further provided cattle and other farming requisites for establishing agricultural settlements among the natives. Each missionary was also allowed a salary of three hundred dollars, but this was drawn not from the treasury, but from the Pious Fund. The latter consisted of some landed property which had been given by private charity for the support of the Jesuit missions, and which was now administered for that end by government.

Monterey and San Diego were chosen as sites. These ports had been known to Spanish navigators for a hundred and fifty years and their latitudes marked on the pilot books, but neither had been visited since the time of Philip II. There was some uncertainty whether they could be reached from Mexico owing to the prevalent winds, though the galleons from the Philippines were accustomed to sail down the coast from Cape Mendocino and were familiar with its chief landmarks. For this reason Senor Galvez sent two vessels by different courses, one keeping near the shore and the larger holding a course in the outer ocean. The event justified his precautions. The last to leave Cape San Lucas reached San Diego in forty-six days, while the San Antonio spent a hundred and ten on her trip and arrived with a crew decimated by scurvy. There were not enough healthy men left even to put out a boat when the anchor was dropped in San Diego.

The land expeditions crossed the two hundred miles between the most northerly mission of the peninsula and San Diego without any opposition. Each was made up of twenty-five or thirty soldiers with a few mule drivers and some Christian Indians from the peninsular missions. The soldiers were drawn from two branches of the Spanish military service—regulars of the Catalan dragoons and frontier militia of the corps known as "leather jackets," from the cuirasses of that material which they wore in Indian campaigns. The militia division under Captain Rivera was the first to reach San Diego after six weeks' journey across the desert. Both vessels were there before them, and the sick from the San Carlos had been landed and placed under tents. Captain Portola, the commander of the

whole expedition, got in six weeks later, and during that time nine sailors had died and the epidemic had spread to the soldiers and the crew of the other ship. There were not enough sailors left to work even one vessel up to Monterey, which was the second place Portola had orders to find and occupy. Twenty-nine more died in two weeks after his arrival, and the plague showed no sign of abating. Half the soldiers who came by sea were among the deaths. The outlook was a dismal one at fifty days' journey from any settlement. Portola carried out his orders, however, with military devotion to duty as best he could. Twelve of the sailors were still in a degree fit for duty, and with them Captain Perez in the *San Antonio* undertook to run to *San Blas*. It was a veritable race against death, as nine men died during the twenty days of the voyage and the survivors were so weak that they could not even drop anchor until succored from the shore. Vila, the senior captain, remained with five men and two boys on the *San Carlos* in the infected port. Portola had but forty soldiers left. He determined at all risks to make the long march of five hundred miles through the unexplored land to Monterey. Eight soldiers were left as a guard for the sick, and Portola with the rest and some muleteers and Indians set out on their march on the 14th of July, 1769.

They reached Monterey on the 1st of October, but in the absence of any seaman among the party none of them could recognize the wide roadstead as a port. They pushed northwards for another month until further progress was barred by the Golden Gate of *San Francisco*, then first seen by white men. The Governor had to turn back with his mission unaccomplished, though with a discovery of far more importance than Monterey. He reached *San Diego* in the end of January only to find that half of those he had left there had perished in the epidemic.

The Indian population had been friendly all through Portola's expedition. They brought fish and seeds to the Spaniards, conversed with them by signs and got beads and trinkets in return. The record of this Spanish military exploration, like that of Legaspi in the Philippines, was wholly bloodless. Its contrast in that respect with English or Dutch colonial history is marked. At *San Diego* there was a skirmish in the meanwhile. Some natives tried to rob the sick Spaniards and kill their guards. They came in a large body, killed a Mexican and wounded two others, but were driven off by the four soldiers on duty with the loss of two or three killed. A few days later the hostiles came to offer peace and even brought their wounded for treatment by the Spanish surgeon and the friars, which was cheerfully given. No attempt at reprisals was made by the Spaniards either at the time or after the return of Portola's force.

No tidings had been received from Mexico in the meantime, though it was six months since the packet had sailed for San Blas. Provisions were running out, and Portola decided to abandon San Diego if no vessel arrived by the 20th of March. By a providential concurrence of orders and mishaps the *San Antonio* appeared off the harbor on the 19th and then disappeared to enter it again three days later. She had been ordered to sail directly to Monterey, while a companion vessel was sent to San Diego. The latter was lost at sea and the *San Antonio* after reaching the Santa Barbara Channel had to put back in consequence of the loss of an anchor there. Her opportune arrival alone prevented the abandonment of California after all the efforts of the Spanish authorities to occupy its distant territory.

Portola journeyed again to Monterey, and this time had no difficulty in recognizing its anchorage. The sea breezes were blowing from the north and made the form of the harbor visible even to a landsman by the pondlike surface of the water sheltered by the promontory of Ano Nuevo. The *San Antonio*, too, arrived at Monterey, and the post was formally established just a year after Portola's arrival at San Diego. A stockade and cabins for the garrison were built, and California became for the first time a recognized province of Mexico. Portola, in obedience to orders, sailed to San Blas and never returned. A lieutenant of dragoons and about fifty soldiers remained to maintain Spanish authority in California.

Such were the methods used in the latest colonial enterprise of Spain, and it cannot be denied that they show small warrant for the current legends of Spanish cruelty or tyranny. During five years there is only record of a single affray between the soldiers thus left alone in the wilderness and the savages around them. At San Diego six years after the first settlement several hundred natives attacked and burned the mission which lay some miles from the soldiers' stockade. One of the priests and two workmen were killed on this occasion and the surviving friar with three soldiers had to stand a seige during a whole night with no better shelter than the mud walls of a kitchen, the roof of which was burned over their heads. A company of soldiers from Arizona arrived shortly afterwards, but at the urgent request of the Franciscan superior no punitive measures were adopted beyond flogging some of the leaders in the attack. The policy of forgiveness, it may be added, was formally enjoined by Bucareti, the Viceroy of Mexico.

When one compares this with the usual conduct of Europeans among savage races, with Grenville in early Virginia or Mason in Connecticut, it is hard to see on what grounds a writer like Lecky makes the assertion that "blind folly, ignoble selfishness, crushing

tyranny and hideous cruelty mark every page of Spain's colonial history." This remarkable judgment, by the way, forms the heading of Mr. Bigelow's chapter on Spanish colonization in a recent work.

It is in the Spanish friars, however, rather than in the Spanish soldiers or government that the interest of Californian history centres. There was no need for military exploits beyond the ordinary performance of soldiers' duty during the whole existence of California as a colony of Spain. There were few colonists and no special legislation during the fifty years which followed the discovery of San Francisco Bay and the settlement of Monterey. The chief work of settlement was the collection of the Indians into agricultural communities around the churches built by the Franciscan friars. In 1772 Father Serra gathered twelve priests in Monterey, while its garrison was scarcely twenty-five soldiers. Spanish friars all through were nearly half as numerous in California as Spanish soldiers, and the total of both scarcely equaled the American garrison of Guam at the present time. It was far less than the English detachments which exterminated the Tasmanians in about the same time at the other side of the world.

Five Franciscans accompanied the first settlement in 1769. Ten more were sent from San Blas in 1772, and seven came with Father Palou from the Lower Californian missions the next year. The president of all was Junipero Serra, who came with Portola by land to San Diego. The others of the first band were Fathers Crespi, Parron, Gomez and Viscaino. Fathers Serra and Crespi, with several of the other Californian missionaries, were natives of Mallorca, in the Mediterranean. They had entered the order in boyhood, and both had been sent to follow the courses of philosophy and theology in the University of Palma, the capital of that island. Serra had passed several years after his ordination in the usual work of a Franciscan in the country districts. He had been professor of philosophy in the university and distinguished as a zealous preacher before he volunteered for the task of missionary among the savage tribes of New Spain, at the age of 36. He had been employed among the savages of the Sierra Gorda in Mexico for over sixteen years before his mission to California, where he passed fifteen as president. Father Serra had the advantage of a biographer in his colleague Palou, whose friendship began in boyhood and continued all through his varied life in Mallorca, Mexico and California. Palou's life of his friend was published in Mexico in 1787, and thus gives a contemporary picture of the work of Spanish friars in California. Their motives and methods, their objects in life for themselves and others were different from those of modern Americans, but they were as far apart as heaven from earth from the pictures

of them so freely offered to-day in English and American literature.

Serra's first part in the California expedition was the arrangement with the Visitor Galvez of the location and naming of the first missions. The first point had necessarily to be determined by the position of the Spanish posts, but on the second there was a difference of opinion between the official and the friar. San Diego had already received the name of a national saint, Diego de Alcala, and its mission should also bear his name. That of Monterey was given to the namesake of the King, St. Charles of Milan, and the third was by Galvez assigned to the Franciscan, St. Bonaventura. Father Serra urged the claim of St. Francis himself to a local habitation in the land which his spiritual children were to convert. Galvez was not disposed to change, and jokingly remarked: "If St. Francis care for a mission let him show us a port for its location." Serra accepted the remark seriously. As a matter of fact there was already a port near Point Reyes marked by the name of San Francisco on the Spanish charts, but it was beyond the limit of occupation planned by Galvez. On Portola's expedition to Monterey, however, his party went north in the belief that Monterey itself really was north of the latitude usually given it. The error was only recognized when the unmistakable Point Reyes came in sight of the travelers. It was impossible to reach it owing to the great bay without a name which lay south of the old haven. The enthusiasm of Serra transferred the name of the Franciscan founder to the new discovery, nor did he rest till a mission and garrison were formed on its shore under the venerated name of Francis d'Assisi, the first of the "degraded" friars.

Another characteristic incident marked his journey to San Diego in company of Portola. Serra was 56 years of age and had suffered for many years from an ulcer on one leg. He had contracted it on his first arrival in Mexico, when he and a companion as true Franciscans journeyed on foot, and with only sandals to cover their feet, up the steep road from Vera Cruz to the capital. Before setting out for San Diego he felt it his duty to visit all the missions of Lower California which had been placed under his charge and which he now was leaving to his friend Palou. This trip of several hundred miles brought on an inflammation, and a day after entering the desert beyond the last mission he was unable to mount his mule. The Governor urged him to return to the mission and offered to have him carried there in a litter, but Serra positively refused. He would go on to San Diego at any cost of pain, and as a friar he would not let men be made as beasts of burthen for him. There was no physician at hand, so the Franciscan called the help of one of the mule drivers and asked him to treat the inflamed leg as he would the chafed back

of a mule. The muleteer tried a poultice of herbs and tallow, and the next day Serra, though suffering much pain, was able to mount and go on. At the end of the forty-six days' journey he wrote joyfully to Father Palou that the afflicted leg was better than the other, though he still retained a lameness which lasted till death.

At San Diego the sufferers from the epidemic occupied his attentions for the first six months. Fathers Crespi and Gomez were sent with the party in search of Monterey, while the other three friars remained with the sick at San Diego. Serra formally founded its mission the day after Portola's departure, amid all the ravages of the plague. It was only a name and a large cross, with two or three huts of branches to shelter the friars at night and say Mass in the mornings. When the natives attacked the strangers a few days later Father Viscaino was wounded by an arrow, and all three priests subsequently caught the epidemic from their patients. They recovered, but food was scarce and none of the settlers was fit to work, so the mission buildings had to be postponed till the return of Portola.

The Governor's return was a fresh disappointment. Portola felt that San Diego must be abandoned unless help came, and he declined to let his men put up any buildings. The Indians showed no inclination to conversion during all this time. Once Father Serra asked to baptize a dying infant, but when he was beginning the ceremony an Indian snatched the child and ran off. Palou tells how the grief of this loss to the little savage remained keen with the old priest to the close of his life. Possibly such feelings indicate the "hideous selfishness" so strongly urged by Mr. Lecky as a prominent trait in Spanish character.

The most that Serra and his two companions could do for the conversion of the heathens was to make friends with a solitary boy. He came regularly to visit them and learned a little Spanish, but the feasts of his *rancheria* were always enough to carry him away. The friars labored hard to learn the dialects of their future flock, but with little result at first. Food, too, was running scarce, and Father Serra declared a tortilla a day with the Indian seeds was quite enough for his own needs. Under all these difficulties he determined not to abandon San Diego even if the garrison was withdrawn. He conferred with Captain Vila on the subject, and the sea captain also decided to remain with his vessel while an ounce of food was left. The appearance of the *San Antonio* on St. Joseph's day prevented the endurance of the friars being put to the test of solitary residence among the greedy savages of San Diego.

When Portola started again for Monterey Father Serra went there in the packet and Crespi again made the long land journey. The

wounded Father Viscaino had been sent back to Lower California. Fathers Gomez and Parou stayed with the corporal's guard of eight men which formed the garrison of the San Diego stockade and tried to win the good will of the fickle natives. The identity of the port of Monterey having been satisfactorily established, Portola took formal possession of California for Spain by raising the royal standard and the "usual pulling of grass, piling up stones and taking note of the same," as Crespi's diary quaintly puts it. Before the official ceremony Father Serra sang High Mass under the same old oak where Mass had been said a hundred and sixty-eight years before by Viscaino's chaplains. After its conclusion Father Serra as chief of the mission also formally founded the mission of San Carlos by the spiritual powers vested in him by the Holy See and the College of San Fernando. The distinctive functions of Church and State, though working together, were clearly defined by the Spanish friars. The mission's beginning was a very modest one. A palisade was built and a few huts run up within it to serve as church and residences, the soldiers and sailors helping in the works with four Californian Indians from the Peninsula. None of the natives appeared at either mission foundation for some days, but then they commenced to call on the strangers. Fathers Serra and Crespi made it their first care to study the dialects of the district and then gradually brought the main doctrines of the Catholic faith to their notice. The Monterey Indians made no objection to the new teachings, but it was a considerable time before the friars considered their intelligence of them such as to warrant their admission to baptism. The first baptism was administered in December, six months after the foundation of the mission. To make intercourse more free and also to get better land for cultivation, the mission settlement was removed about six miles from the presidio the next year. Five soldiers, four Christian Indians and the two priests were its first population. The Indians came in more freely and the friars began the cultivation of patches of wheat and corn, in which, too, the savages were invited to take part. The supplies for the first three years were chiefly drawn from the packets, which brought corn, flour and dried beef from San Blas for the friars and their help, as well as for the soldiers. With the increase of tillage and the small number of cattle which had been brought from Lower California the friars at the end of that time were self-supporting and had provisions to distribute to the natives. Some of the latter came regularly to instructions and were baptized, but only a part of these converts came to dwell in the mission settlement. Others still gathered nuts and seeds in the woods for their food while coming to Mass and teaching. By the close of 1773 a census made by Father Palou for the Mexican authorities

gave an account of the five missions then established. In that of Monterey a hundred and seventy-five converts had been baptized, and others were coming from their rancherias for instructions. Twenty-eight marriages of Indians and three between Spanish soldiers and Indian women had been blessed in the first three years, while eleven dead had got Christian burial. The harvest had failed the year before and only five fanegas of wheat were saved for seed. The mission establishment had forty-seven head of cattle, twenty-eight hogs, nine horses and twelve mules. It also had a carpenter shop and six plows, with other tools. Such were the beginnings of a Franciscan mission.

San Diego had even harder experience than Monterey. Fathers Gomez and Parron both broke down in health and had to be sent to Lower California to recover before Monterey was founded. Two new arrivals, Dumetaz and Jayme, succeeded them, but Father Dumetaz also had to be sent away, though he returned later and passed nearly forty years on the missions of Upper California. Father Fuster took his place, and the friars at last seemed acclimated in San Diego. The natives, however, still continued indifferent or unfriendly, and the crop of the first year was washed out by a flood, and that of the next season failed for want of rains. The country around the port was explored for a fertile tract for four or five years, and finally in 1774 the Indian mission was moved five or six miles away from the fort and buildings erected in the new site. Though there were eleven or twelve rancherias of natives within a radius of twenty miles, very few converts—only ninety-seven—were won in six years of dreary toil. The establishment of the mission in the new site brought an improvement, and in 1775 Fathers Jayme and Fuster enrolled sixty converts, though their first harvest of grain was a failure. The hostility of the heathen savages was aroused, and in November a band of several hundred attacked the mission by night. Its inmates beside the two friars and the Indian converts who lived in their huts near by were only seven or eight white men. Four soldiers and three mechanics with an invalid boy formed the number. The savages crept into the palisade in the darkness, having first put guards over the huts of the Christian Indians. They set fire to the church, which, like the other buildings, was only of rough timbers thatched with reeds, and in a moment its roof was in a blaze. Father Jayme rose hurriedly and came out to call help. He was pierced with a cloud of arrows, knocked down and beaten brutally till life was extinct. The mission smith was also killed and another man badly wounded. The survivors took refuge in the kitchen, which had adobe walls a few feet high on three sides, and in this they defended themselves stoutly all the night. Two of the

soldiers were disabled by arrows and the roof was burned over the heads of the occupants, but the three soldiers continued to load and fire, and the savages shrank from coming to close quarters despite their numbers. A sack of fifty pounds of powder was stored in the kitchen, and while the roof was burning Father Fuster, who as a priest would take no part in slaying men, even in self-defense, seated himself on the powder and covered it with his habit against the falling sparks and brands. The corporal was the best shot of the party, and the other two loaded the flint-lock muskets and handed them to him for use. He killed or wounded so many of the assailants that at daybreak the savages retired. Four soldiers came up from the fort near the port, which had also been attacked and successfully defended by the ten men who formed its garrison. Search was made for the bodies, and that of Father Jayme was found at some distance stripped and pounded out of all resemblance to human features. It was carried to the fort and buried there with due religious ceremonies as well as the other victim. The carpenter of the fort, who had been mortally wounded, died a few days later. The whole of the mission buildings were destroyed as well as the provisions and church furniture.

The action taken towards the treacherous natives after this destruction was somewhat uncommon. The twelve soldiers in San Diego could take no punitive measures beyond threatening the hostiles, but within a couple of months Captain Rivera came down from Monterey with twenty men and Captain Aroza, who was leading a colony from Arizona, also brought a similar force of frontier soldiers. The two Spanish officers visited all the lately hostile rancherias, who were now thoroughly scared, and arrested most of the leaders. Father Serra, as head of the Franciscans, interceded with Rivera that no death punishment should be inflicted for the murder of Jayme, and he wrote to the Viceroy Bucareli to the same effect. His own sentiments were expressed characteristically when the news of Jayme's death reached Monterey. "Thanks to God, the land is irrigated, and now the conversion of the San Dieguinos will come." Rivera yielded so far as to confine the punishment inflicted on the culprits to flogging and imprisonment until the Viceroy's letters should come to hand. Bucareli's answer arrived in June. It ran thus on Serra's request: "In view of the wise and Christian suggestions in the letter of your Reverence that it is better to win the rebels by kindness than to cow them by punishment, I have ordered Captain Rivera so to act. It may, too, be the best policy for winning over the other tribes, and I have ordered the officials to rebuild the ruined mission and found another." The murderers were all released on Michaelmas day except one who had

hanged himself while in confinement. Palou notes that this individual had attempted Serra's life just six years before.

Two other incidents are worth notice. The carpenter who was mortally wounded in the night attack bequeathed by will his accumulated wages to the benefit of the mission to the Indians from whom he had received his death. Later when Captain Rivera was arresting the hostiles a renegade Christian who had joined in the attack was denounced by his own people. He took sanctuary in the Presidio Chapel and Father Fuster maintained the rights guaranteed by the canon and Spanish laws to suspected criminals of exemption from arrest while within church walls. The fact that Carlos, the Indian in question, had been one of the murderers of his own colleague did not affect Father Fuster's determination. Rivera disregarded it and took Carlos by force out of the church. The friar thereon placed the Governor under interdict of attending Mass or receiving the sacraments until he should return the prisoner to sanctuary. He wrote his reasons to Serra as his superior and sent them by Rivera himself. Father Serra on examination approved of his subordinate's course. Rivera was much irritated and showed it by his refusal to allow the mission to be restored, an object specially desired by Serra. Neither the Governor's irritation nor its effects on his own interests could move the Franciscan to recede from the line of duty to the law of the Church. The incident throws strong light on the character which has generally marked the Spanish friars in America of strict devotion to law for themselves and indulgence for the defects of native character. The mission was finally rebuilt, after more than a year's delay, in obedience to the Viceroy's orders. Within the next six years Father Serra's anticipations were fairly realized, and over seven hundred Indians were enrolled as converts in San Diego.

San Diego and Monterey as ports and military posts might be regarded in a degree as European settlements. Most of the twenty Franciscan missions were pure Indian villages apart from European intercourse. There were usually two friars in each, with three or more soldiers as a police force and occasionally Spanish or Mexican mechanics as instructors or workmen. San Antonio and San Gabriel, the first founded, will show the ordinary mission better than Monterey or San Diego.

About a year after the occupation of Monterey Father Serra with two newly arrived priests and half a dozen of soldiers as an escort set out for a valley in the heart of the Sierra de Santa Lucia, which had been pitched on as a good location for a mission farm. It was about sixty miles south of the Monterey post and had wood, water and fertile land. Four Christian Indians went along as farm helpers,

and a train of mules carried enough corn meal, flour and dried beef to support the little body for a season until a crop could be raised.

Some cattle and sheep also were driven along. When the site was reached the church bells were hung on an oak, a large cross cut and raised and some cabins built of branches for shelter and one for a church. On the 14th of July, 1771, the President formally began the mission and placed Fathers Litjar and Pieras in its care as lawful pastors and legal administrators of its little possessions. The singing of High Mass began this function and the bells were pulled vigorously to announce it. There was no sign of human habitation in sight, but as Mass began a naked Indian stole up to gaze at the spectacle. Serra noticed him from the altar and drew glad augury of numerous conversions here from the fact that a heathen presented himself at its first Mass, a thing which had not happened at either of the two former foundations. Father Serra remained two weeks to make acquaintance with the natives, who did in fact come in numbers from the rancherias, but the difference of language did not allow him to offer any instruction to them. His brother friars when left to themselves took up the task of learning the native language with success while working at the buildings and plantation of the mission.

Another establishment was begun at the same time at San Gabriel, about fifty miles from San Diego. Two Franciscans, Cambon and Somera, were charged with its foundation. The Governor thought there might be danger from the Indians and sent ten soldiers along with the two friars. The latter spent some time in choosing a site suitable for an agricultural settlement, and finally decided on a spot near a flowing stream which since retains the name of the mission's patron angel. When the party began to raise the large cross which was the first work in every Franciscan establishment, a crowd of natives, armed with bows and arrows, gathered around. The soldiers prepared for an attack, but Somera suddenly displayed a banner bearing a representation of Our Lady which struck the admiration of the savages. They came to lay their arrows before the picture and friendly relations were at once established. The foundation was made in the same fashion as at San Antonio, except that it was not one, but over a hundred naked savages who witnessed its first Mass.

The good will thus established by Father Somera's presence of mind was soon disturbed by the misconduct of a soldier. Some of the Spaniards went to visit the rancherias and an insult to a woman brought on an affray in which an Indian was shot dead. The corporal in command thought it well to strike terror into the natives. He caused the body to be beheaded and the head placed on a pole

before the mission palisade. By urgent remonstrances the friars had it taken down and restored to the tribesmen, but a feeling of distrust on both sides remained. Comparatively few natives would come for instruction to the mission, and the commander at San Diego, though he recalled the homicide soldier, made matters worse by adding six men to the guard. Father Serra in his address to the Viceroy attributed the slow progress of the mission to the number and misconduct of the soldier guard there. Both friars also broke down in health and had to be replaced by new men, which also impeded the growth of intimacy between the Franciscans and the Indians. In addition to the local troubles Lieutenant Fages refused to allow other missions to be established on the plea that a larger force of soldiers was needed in California. Father Serra finally had to send to Mexico and obtain positive orders from the Viceroy before the nineteen Franciscans already in the country could go on with their work of conversion.

The troubles of early mission life are well shown in the report forwarded to Mexico in 1773 by Father Palou, who acted as superior in the absence of Serra. Five missions had been founded in four years and priests were waiting for three more which the military commander did not think safe. In two of the first the whole of the buildings had been changed to other localities five or six miles from the original sites after a year's experience. In San Diego crops had failed two years in succession, and the Christian Indians were living like the savages on wild seeds and berries. The missionaries had sent to San Blas for a fishing boat and nets to help in their support. The Franciscans had only baptized eighty-three, including children, in four years, and of those eight had died. They had married twelve who lived in huts of their own fashion beside the mission church. The priests and soldiers lived in log huts thatched with reeds within a little palisaded inclosure. The church was of the same material, but they had begun the foundations of a church eighty feet long of adobe and had made several thousand sun-dried bricks with the help of the natives when the friars had supplies to feed them. In cattle the establishment had fared better than in agriculture. It had begun with eighteen cows and calves and it now had forty head of beef cattle, twenty-nine horses, twenty-two mules, four asses, seventy-six sheep, fifty-two goats and nineteen hogs. Pasturage was abundant and the stock thrived and increased.

In Monterey at the time the Indian baptisms had been a hundred and sixty-five and there had been thirty-two marriages, of which three were between Spanish soldiers and Christian Indian women and one of a Mexican workman with an Indian. There had been eleven deaths, and there were several Indians coming for instruc-

tions who lived in their old savage way as far as cabins and food. They had raised a hundred fanegas or half bushels of wheat the year before, but the padres had thought best to reserve it for seed. The cattle were forty-six, with twenty-eight hogs, but no sheep. The mission had nine horses and twelve mules as well as a blacksmith's shop and carpenter house with all the necessary tools.

In San Antonio the site had been changed on account of the failure of water at the place first selected. In the new location irrigation ditches had been made and wheat, beans and corn planted. The friars, however, had only a bushel of seed wheat, and it would take some seasons before they could hope to have enough to give bread to their converts who meantime lived on pine nuts, acorns and rabbits which they snared. A hundred and fifty-eight had been baptized and fifteen Indian couples married. The latter were all living well content at the mission in their own huts as well as three of the Spanish soldiers who had taken Indian wives. The stock was thirty-eight beeves, thirty hogs, nine horses and eleven mules. The number of mules in all the missions is explained by the fact that all burthens were packed. There is no mention of carts or carriages in the primitive mission life.

In San Gabriel from the causes already mentioned the conversions had been only seventy-three. There were five married couples of natives of the Peninsula settled at San Gabriel and six other Californians and the farming had succeeded better than elsewhere. The live stock was a little less than at San Antonio or Monterey, but was thriving. The Indian population around the mission was very numerous according to Palou's report.

Palou's methodical story gives a clear view of the privations and disappointments of early mission life. The number of the friars who broke down under them was very large. The first missionaries at San Gabriel only lasted a few months, though they afterwards returned with renewed energy to Upper California. Father Cambon even crossed the Pacific as chaplain to a vessel which was transferred from San Blas to Manila. The few conversions of the early years must have been a keen trial to the zealous missionaries who had left home and friends for that object alone. The absence of hostilities with the natives is also noticeable. The burning of San Diego mission was the only real fight recorded. A conspiracy to the same end was discovered there in 1778, and Ortega, the military commandant, executed four Indians on that account. The killing of the Indian at San Gabriel was the only other incident of the kind in the first seven years of mission establishment in the wilderness.

The refusal of Lieutenant Fages to allow any new foundations threatened to stop all hope of making Christians of the Californian

Indians. In this emergency Serra went himself to Mexico and laid the matter before the Viceroy Bucareli. It was well he did, as at the time economists in the Mexican Council were seriously urging the removal of the dockyard at San Blas, without which regular communications would be impossible between California and the outside world. The Viceroy's Council on Serra's representations decided to continue it, and further ordered that every facility should be given the friars for as many missions as they could supply priests for. Fages was replaced as Governor by Captain Rivera, the second in command, formerly under Portola. On Serra's return the work of mission expansion was resumed. San Francisco, Santa Clara, La Purissima and San Juan Capistrano were established before the end of 1779. A new obstacle arose, however, when the northern provinces of Mexico were formed into a government independent of the Mexican Council about this time. De la Croix, a military officer, was appointed Captain General of the frontier provinces with residence in Sonora and a new Governor Neve was sent under his authority to California. The new officials were men imbued with what were called liberal ideas in the eighteenth century, and among them a desire to subject the clergy and religious observances to state regulations on an extensive scale. De la Croix decided to plant colonies of married soldiers and farmers as centres round which the savage Indians might be gathered and civilized by the mere force of example. The friars were to give instruction and administer the sacraments, but were to have no part in the management or settlement of the Indians otherwise. It was in fact a revival of the ideas put forward by the first settlers in the West Indies in the time of Columbus and which had been found so disastrous in practice to the natives. The Captain General went even further in his interference in religious matters. He endeavored to have the Franciscan missionaries in California formed into a custody or province independent of the Missionary College of San Fernando, from which they had been drawn. This in fact would make any regular supply of missionaries impossible, as it was not to be expected that friars like Serra, Crespi or Palou would be found among the newly converted savages. The friars themselves protested against this measure, which, however, was only dropped after several years. De la Croix pushed his meddling in Church affairs so far as to forbid Father Serra from confirming the Indians. Serra had that privilege by concession of the Holy See, but De la Croix insisted that his approval was also needed for the lawful administration of the sacraments of the Church.

His policy was only given up after events in Arizona had proved its folly. Two settlements were made near the Colorado on his

methods, and both were destroyed by an Indian rising. Four Franciscans, Captain Rivera, the former Governor of California, and twenty-five soldiers with their families were massacred in a night. It was only after this blood-stained lesson that the Franciscan friars in California were allowed to continue their work in their own way. San Buenaventura, on the Santa Barbara Channel, was established as a mission in 1782, fourteen years after it had been ordered by Galvez. It was in fact the tenth of the Franciscan missions and the last foundation of Junipero Serra.

Years and work were telling on the President of the missions. In 1784 the number of converts had grown to five thousand eight hundred and over five thousand had been confirmed by the hands of Father Serra. His faculties for confirmation expired in July, and to exercise them in every mission he made the journey from San Diego to Monterey on foot at seventy years of age. He suffered keenly from the inflammation of his leg and an asthmatic affection, but though visibly near his end he continued to teach and pray with the Indians in his mission. Three days before death he superintended a distribution of clothing and provisions among them which had just arrived by sea. The next two days he spent chiefly in prayer and made a general confession of his life to Father Palou. He insisted on going to the church to receive the Communion and received extreme unction while seated on a chair and surrounded by Indians. His bed was only of rough boards covered with a blanket, but even on it he only laid down for a few hours in the night. On the 28th of August he asked Father Palou to recite the prayers for a soul departing and answered the responses clearly himself. When the prayers were ended he remarked: "There is nothing more to fear," and "let us rest." He then lay down on the board couch while all left the room, and quietly passed away alone. It was a typical ending of the life of a typical Spanish friar.

It was noted that conversions increased notably immediately after Father Serra's death. Nearly a thousand Indians were enrolled within the four months following his death. Its lesson was not lost even on the limited intelligence of the natives. The movement continued under the administration of his successor, Father Lassuen, who directed the destinies of the missions for eighteen years in the same spirit as their founders. By the close of the century the Christians settled in the missions amounted to nearly fourteen thousand, and twenty-five thousand had been instructed and baptized during the thirty years of Franciscan work. The primitive huts and palisades of the first establishments had grown into villages of adobe houses with large central buildings for use as granaries, workshops, school rooms and lodgings for the priests and their assistants in the

general direction of the labor of the natives. The value of these buildings and the cattle and other property created by the labor of the Indians was reckoned at nearly a million dollars in 1796. This estimate does not represent anything like the same sum in our days. The missions in 1800 owned sixty-seven thousand head of cattle and horses and eighty-six thousand sheep, all sprung from the three or four hundred which had been driven across the desert from Lower California thirty years before. The industry of the Franciscans had got over the difficulties of the first dry years in the matter of cultivation. In 1800 the crop of Indian raising was seventy-five thousand bushels. That raised by the settlers of Spanish origin, who had gradually come in to the number of over twelve hundred was reckoned at only nine thousand bushels and their cattle at sixteen thousand, with about a thousand sheep. The comparative wealth of the white settlers and the converts under Spanish rule was not very unequal if divided proportionately among each class. To every white a dozen of cattle and a yearly yield of seven bushels of grain would be a fair distribution of the common wealth. Every Indian convert under a similar rule would receive five cattle, seven sheep and about six bushels of grain. It may be added that whatever manufactures existed were entirely confined to the missions and their value should be added to the common stock of the converts.

The list of these industries introduced among the native Indians was rather large. It included the making of wine and oil, of cordage from native hemp, of blankets and coarse cloth from native wool, of soap and tallow, tanned leather and coarse saddlery, salt, pottery and flour. Flouring mills run by water existed in several missions before the close of the eighteenth century. Stone cutting, brick making, carpentry and smelting were among the trades practiced by the California Indians. Mechanics had been brought from Mexico to act as instructors in those branches by Father Lassuen. In the management of cattle and horses the Indians were well skilled, and twice the Military Governors complained that the converts were liable to become as dangerous as the Apaches if any trouble should break out owing to their dexterity as horsemen. It was altogether a remarkable result obtained in thirty years among a race whose condition thirty years earlier was that of naked savages.

The means by which this change was brought about was equally noteworthy. The Franciscans brought the heathen natives to settle around the missions by persuasion alone. When enrolled as residents they had to submit to no more personal restraint than was the lot of most European communities. They were required to remain in their settlements and do the work allotted to them, but if any ran away or neglected work the penalties imposed were very light and

determined by the missionary. In San Francisco when at one time the friar in charge authorized some cases of flogging the Superior, Father Duran, forbade the practice. The military commanders were harsher, but their interference with the mission Indians was limited by the general law unless in cases of serious crimes like murder or rebellion. The instances of the latter were few indeed. The murder of Father Jayme at San Diego was the only instance of violence offered to any of the unarmed Franciscans during the eighty years of their mission experience. In two or three cases individual friars like Father Danti and Father Horra were removed by the Superior for undue severity in the management of the natives, but these exceptions only show the general character of a system which rested on the moral influence of unarmed priests as rulers of a savage population during over sixty years.

Father Lassuen died in 1803 at more than eighty years of age. Vancouver, who visited in California in 1792, describes him as a man of seventy-two, whose gentle manners, united to a most venerable and placid countenance indicated that tranquilized state of mind that fitted him in so eminent a degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution. The Protestant Bancroft declares him the first in California's history both as a man and missionary. "In him were united the qualities which make up the ideal padre without taint of hypocrisy or cant." His management of the missions affords abundant evidence of his untiring zeal and his ability as a man of business. His writings prepossess the reader in favor of their author by their comparative conciseness of style. Of his fervent piety there are abundant proofs, and his piety and humility were unobtrusive, blended with common sense." One asks how many Indian Agents in our own history have merited a character like this Spanish friar's.

Father Tapis succeeded Lassuen as Superior, and during the next ten years twelve thousand converts were enrolled, though only one new mission, Santa Inez, was founded. The lack of new missionaries owing to the troubled state of Spain and Europe during the wars of Napoleon was the chief cause of the arrest of mission development. The Franciscans explored to the east of the coast range and explored Tulare and Kern counties in different expeditions. They examined the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers as far north as Shasta and found numerous sites for missions and thousands of natives, but they had no priests to spare. The whole number in California at the death of Father Lassuen was only forty, and ten years later it was thirty-eight, all employed in the nineteen existing missions. These averaged each a thousand of Indian population, and their management occupied fully the energies of the friars who in addition acted as priests to the white population, which was over

two thousand. The Indian industrial development, however, continued. Cattle of the missions numbered a hundred and forty thousand and sheep a hundred and sixty thousand. The grain yield was nearly ninety thousand bushels. The last companion of Serra, Father Dumetez, died at the beginning of 1811.

The invasion of Spain by Napoleon and the rejection of Joseph Bonaparte by Spanish America made the arrival of new Spanish priests almost impossible. The College of San Fernando was entirely recruited by volunteers from the different provinces of the Spanish speaking Franciscans. The great majority had come from Europe, though three or four Mexican religious had volunteered for the Californian mission. It had been the rule of the college only to send priests for a term of ten years to the difficult task of administering a Californian mission, but in 1815 Father Payeras, the Superior, warned his brethren that they would have all to remain till death, as there was no prospect of others coming to relieve them. A circular of Father Payeras in 1821 on this subject gives a good illustration of the personal habits of the Spanish friars. He had previously warned his brethren against practices opposed to the spirit of the rule of poverty as vowed by Franciscans. The points mentioned were that some of the fathers occupied cells too large and better furnished than Father Serra's, and that others were accustomed to travel on horseback or even in carts instead of making their journeys on foot after the model of Francis of Assisi. The directors of San Fernando had even ordered in consequence that any carts for personal use of the friars should be burned. This regulation was modified by Payeras, who with much simplicity declared that there need be no scruples on the practice in view of the large number of old men among the missionaries. He added that it was their duty to save their strength as much as possible for the benefit of the Indians, even at the cost of abandoning the bodily mortifications which were so dear to most of them as Franciscans. The circular is a strange comment on the "hideous selfishness" in Mr. Lecky's words which marked the lives of Spanish friars in California.

In spite of the horrors of Napoleon's Spanish invasion, nine Spanish friars made their way to California between 1810 and 1820. There were thirty-seven in the missions in the latter year and about twenty-one thousand Christian Indians. The priests had baptized eighteen thousand in the decade, but the number of deaths from epidemics and other causes was very large. The white population had grown to thirty-five hundred, or about a seventh of the population of California. The chief material production, however, was in the missions under management of the friars. Five thousand horses, a hundred and fifty thousand cattle and two hundred thousand sheep

represented the possessions of the natives. In 1821 they harvested a hundred and eighty thousand bushels of grain and furnished flour, cloth, cordage and leather to the whole of California. Trading was carried on to some extent with both Mexican and foreign vessels, American ships being well represented. There were ominous mutterings of secularizing the missions among the politicians of Mexico and Spain, but the general opinion of all the Californians was opposed to it. With diminished numbers the Spanish friars continued to administer their missions for thirteen years after the separation of Mexico from Spain.

The Spanish Cortes, after the downfall of Joseph Bonaparte, had decreed the secularization of the California missions. In 1821 the Viceroy of Mexico notified the Governor of California of this order, but the Governor decided its execution would ruin the country. The independence of Mexico and the frequent revolutionary changes of government there which followed left the California mission system untouched till 1834. The Franciscans were then only twenty-six and the Indian population and their property slightly less than in 1820. Governor Echandia, on his own authority, in 1831, decreed that several of the missions should be made pueblos, and sent commissioners to hold elections among the Indians for town officials to control their affairs. At San Miguel, San Antonio and San Luis the natives voted to retain the existing administration of the friars, and the scheme was abandoned for the time. Ten Mexican friars were sent from Zacatecas in 1833 by the Mexican Government to take the places left vacant among the Spanish friars. Congress, however, did not give much time to try whether the newcomers could carry on the work. In 1834 sixteen missions were placed in charge of commissioners for their administration, and the priests were left to perform religious services exclusively. There were subsequently attempts made to restore the old order, but the mission property disappeared so rapidly under the commissioners that the native population had wandered away. In 1840 the Indians at the missions were less than six thousand, and their cattle had shrunk to one-third of its amount at the date of secularization. The decay continued under the American occupation. The mission buildings and a few acres of ground were confirmed to the authorities of the Church, but the Indian lands and herds were swept away by private spoliation, and the Christian Indians themselves have almost melted out of existence. The last survivor of the Spanish friars who had built up the old missions died in 1875. Father Gonzales, in the words of Bancroft, "was a man beloved and respected by all from the beginning to the end of his career."

One cannot but ask, in the face of the history of California, on

what grounds a large part of the American public is so ready to assume that the Spanish friars of the Philippines must have been an immoral and tyrannical body of men because they have been engaged on a larger scale in work like that of Junipero Serra and Fermin Lassuen. From the first settlements in what are now the United States the conversion of the natives to Christianity has been proclaimed as a desirable object. Men like Bishop Berkeley, Elliott and Mayhew have tried it in New England, but tried in vain. Almost since the foundation of the Republic the statesmen of America have proclaimed the desire of civilizing the savage tribes within its borders, and have spent many millions on the attempt. A hundred Spanish friars in California, with no financial aid beyond the Pious Fund of Mexico, created by private charity and which never gave them twenty thousand dollars a year, have done a work in the way of Indian civilization greater than all that has been accomplished by the Government of this great Republic. That it did not survive their extinction can hardly be laid as a charge against their methods until some agency can be named which even began a work like theirs. If every noble work be condemned because it is not eternal in duration, then the California missions may merit condemnation; but as it is, the Spanish friars must be allowed to have been the truest friends of the natives yet seen within the territory of the United States.

There is a curious resemblance between the old English Protestant idea of the Jesuits and the new American view of Spanish friars. Both legends have arisen from prejudices already accepted rather than facts. It is strange, indeed, for a Californian to find a man of Mark Twain's ability speaking confidently of the "degraded Spanish friars" and wondering whether heaven could inflict a greater curse than "friars" on the natives of the Philippines. The view of mankind which finds only degradation in fellowship with the names of Junipero Serra and Fermin Lassuen and Payenas and Gonzales, with the plea for mercy to the murderers of Father Jayme, with Fuster calmly covering the powder sack with his habit amid the brands of the burning building at San Diego, with the old mission prefect, Father Savria, dying of hunger at the altar in 1835 among the few Indians who still clung around the plundered church must be either superhumanly high or frankly idiotic. In justice to Mr. Clemens we may add that it may be supremely ignorant of the character and history of the Spanish friars so recklessly defamed by him.

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EDUCATION BY THE STATE; OR, THE EVOLUTION OF
A STATE RELIGION.

I N *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* for April, 1899, Rev. William Poland, S. J., declares that "education having run its course for a generation or two with the most important factor, the indispensable factor, excluded from the formula for the problem of human life, wise men are at length awakening, startled by the awful logic of results. And so it is that we have, now, what we may call an ethical movement in education." He lays down his pedagogical thesis that "this ethical movement in education has been planned along paths by following which it is doomed inevitably to be a practical failure." And, again, he says: "The question demands a settlement upon the basis of fact and argument, and not upon the shifting uncertainties of mere opinion."

It would be interesting to follow this ethical movement and see how far it has succeeded or failed. But this is not possible in a general way, because our public educational system is so widespread. Nor has the ethical movement in education extended to all parts of the country yet. The same end can, however, be served by considering the case in some one state.

We have, therefore, endeavored to apply this principle to the educational movement in Minnesota, as evolved by the state authorities; and we here lay the results before the readers of the *Catholic Quarterly*, leaving them to judge how far the facts, in Minnesota, sustain Father Poland's contention that the movement, as planned, "is doomed inevitably to be a practical failure." We have abundant reasons to believe that, as it is in Minnesota, so is it in other states: the results here fairly indicate the results everywhere.

We take our information exclusively from our State Constitution, school laws, Attorney General's opinions, reports of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the "Minnesota Teacher," during the time that it was the official organ of the Department of Education. We let these authorities proclaim their own doctrines and relate their own facts; and we throw no element of mistrust over the testimony, in the eyes of non-Catholic readers, by introducing even one Catholic authority in stating facts or drawing conclusions.

The necessity for an efficient system of education was kept carefully in view, in what now constitutes the state of Minnesota, from its earliest beginnings as an independent Commonwealth. The qualifications of teachers, the fine character of the buildings, the infusing of zeal and efficiency into the great body of County Superintendents, the jealous care for the fullest development of the Normal

Schools, the establishment of the State University upon a solid and lasting basis, the perfecting of a thorough system of secondary education as a feeder to the University, and the warm advocacy of the rights and duties of the state in securing a thorough education to each and every one of *its children*—were all deemed matters of prime importance, overshadowing all other means adopted for the safety and general prosperity of the state.

In the Organic Act of Minnesota provision was made for the reservation of certain lands, to be used exclusively for the advancement of the cause of education. In the Act Authorizing a State Government, reservation is again made of certain lands exclusively for school and university purposes. When the Constitutional Convention met, the friends of education by the state were evidently again vigilant; and we, therefore, find the following provisions incorporated in the new Constitution:

Article I., Section 16. "The right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed, nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship or to maintain any religious or ecclesiastical ministry against his consent."

Article VIII., Section 1. "The stability of a republican form of government depending mainly upon the intelligence of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature to establish a general and uniform system of public schools."

Article VIII., Section 3. "The legislature shall make such provisions, by taxation or otherwise, as, with the income arising from the school fund, will secure a thorough and efficient system of public schools in each township in the State. (But in no case shall the moneys derived as aforesaid, or any portion thereof, or any public moneys or property, be appropriated or used for the support of schools wherein the distinctive doctrines, creeds or tenets of any particular Christian or other religious sect are promulgated or taught."—Adopted November 6, 1877.)

The school laws adopted, which bear on the subject of this article, are few in number. Their genesis, however, is an interesting study, giving us our first insight into the mind of the State upon education. References are to sections of Revised Statutes of 1894, and year of enactment.

3648. "All schools supported wholly or in part by State school funds shall be styled the public schools, and admission to them shall be free and without charge to all persons between the ages of five and twenty-one years residing in the district."—Adopted 1877.

3778. "Every parent," etc., "having control of any child . . . between the ages of eight and sixteen years shall be required to send such child . . . to a public school, or private school, taught by a competent instructor, for a period of at least twelve weeks in each year, at least six weeks of which time shall be consecutive, unless such . . . children are excused from such attendance by the board . . . of the school district in which such parent," etc., "resides, upon its being shown to their satisfaction that such parent . . . was not able . . . to clothe such child properly; or that such child's bodily or mental condition has been such as to prevent his attendance at school or application to study; . . . or that such . . . children are taught at home, . . . subject to the same examination as other pupils of the district; . . . or that he has already acquired the ordinary branches; . . . or that there is no school taught within two miles. . . ."—1878 and 1885.

3889. "All school officers . . . may introduce, as part of daily exercises of each school, . . . instruction in the elements of social and moral science, including industry, order, economy, punctuality, patience, self-denial, health, purity, temperance, cleanliness, honesty, truth, justice, politeness, peace, fidelity, philanthropy, patriotism, self-respect, hope, perseverance, cheerfulness, courage, self-reliance, gratitude, pity, mercy, kindness, conscience, reflection and will."—1891.

3890. "It may be the duty of the teachers to give a short oral lesson every day upon one of the topics mentioned, . . . and to require the pupils to furnish illustrations of the same upon the following morning."—1881.

3891. "Emulation may be cherished between pupils in accumulating facts in regard to the noble traits possible, and in illustrating them by daily conduct."—1881.

3892. "It shall be the duty of the boards . . . in charge of schools . . . supported in whole or in part by public funds to make provision for systematic and regular instruction in physiology and hygiene, including special reference to the effects of stimulants and narcotics upon the human system."—1887.

3893. "It shall be the duty of all teachers . . . to give systematic and regular instruction in physiology and hygiene, including special reference," etc., "and any neglect or refusal on the part of such teachers to provide such instruction shall be deemed sufficient cause for annulling his certificate."—1887.

3894. "No certificate shall be granted . . . to teach" in the public schools without "a satisfactory examination in physiology," etc.—1887.

3895. "In case of failure to impart said instruction" the superintendent may withhold the apportionment for that year from the district.—1887.

3896. "That the superintendent of public instruction and . . . presidents of . . . normal schools . . . be directed to recommend some suitable textbook, and to furnish the same at cost to the several . . . districts . . . for the study of physiology and hygiene, including special reference," etc.—1887.

3750. Among the branches required for a teacher's certificate are "intellectual philosophy, moral philosophy, civil government, and school law, history of education and the theory and art of teaching."—1893.

Turning to the reports of superintendents, opinions of Attorneys General and "Minnesota Teacher," we glean many interesting facts.

I.

THE PROTESTANTS.

The Rev. E. D. Neill is the first to act as State Superintendent. He has to face a local controversy as to the use of the Bible in the public schools. To extricate himself from so delicate a position he falls back upon the Attorney General, who, in turn, straddles the question in true Protestant style as follows:

"I would call your attention to the fact that in the first sentence of the Constitution . . . there is a grateful recognition of God, and also that the School Law requires 'that no teacher shall be employed who shall not be . . . found qualified in moral character.' Thus, Minnesota, in common with all enlightened countries, recognizes the importance of sound morality. By common consent the morality of the Bible is esteemed superior to the ethics of any book. . . .

"Some profess to be scrupulous in relation to sending children to any public school where moral instruction is given; and others equally honest do not wish to patronize a school where there is no recognition of God. Now, it is unfair that either party should deprive the children of the other of the privileges of a school supported by common taxation. . . .

"I therefore recommend that the teacher, a few minutes before or after the recitations of the day, read a portion of the Scriptures, and unite with the scholars in offering the Lord's Prayer, with the express understanding that when parents . . . make the request, the children of such are not to be compelled to attend the Scripture services."

We here have the first application of the policy steadily pursued henceforth. In cases of difference of conscience upon any point touching religion, the rights of conscience are to be secured by the immediate exclusion of the religious teaching objected to. The Indifferentist, or Non-Religionist, is to prevail; the believer in religious teaching, or Religionist, is to be mercilessly trampled upon,

to secure "harmony" in the schools, and to make them "free to all the children of the State!"

Dr. Neill is succeeded in office by a brother clergyman, Rev. B. F. Crary, D. D. The latter pleads eloquently for the reading of the Bible in the schools, and points out the beneficial effects of prayer and religious exercises in preparing the mind for study and the acquisition of knowledge. He says:

"If the people do not believe the word of God, use whatever *sacred book* they prefer . . . read Milton or a selection from Shakespeare. These three books are the fountains of English literature, . . . and the Bible is incomparably superior to the other two. . . . All sects here believe the Bible, and very many believe it who do not belong to any Christian denomination. . . . To expel our only sacred book from seats of learning would be madness that Pagan superstition could alone justify. . . . We would banish every other reading book from every school in the land in preference to dismissing the Bible. . . . Believing that education will be fatally defective without moral culture, we could not stand by and see the Bible, printed without note or comment, thrust from our schools."—Report, December 5, 1861, p. 48.

The good Doctor need not have waited long to witness the complete upheaval of his little plan for maintaining Protestantism as the State Religion in our public schools, by that very "pagan superstition" which he foresees threatening our educational system. We may feel the less regret for the failure of his plans, from the conviction that they would have proved utterly inadequate to meet the needs of religious instruction in the schools; and would simply have substituted Protestantism for Indifferentism, or "paganism," still leaving the Non-Religionist and the Catholic to be trampled out for the sake of "harmony." For we may as well recognize, right here, the self-evident fact that this whole educational problem involves the question of equal justice to three great divisions of citizens: the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Non-Religionist, Indifferentist, or Secularist.

Dr. Crary pleaded and worked zealously for the predominance of the Protestant Rule of Faith in the public schools; but the Catholics *could* not accept it; and the Secularists *would* not, as they had plans in view, better adapted to their own opinions. These plans soon triumphed; and our glance at Dr. Crary's policy will enable us to realize the great distance to which we have since fallen away, from even this lame and wholly inadequate system! Catholics will see at once that Dr. Crary's system, however well meant on his part, could never be adapted to the proper rearing of their Catholic children; but, should we have any readers who sympathize with his efforts to preserve, at least, some broken fragments of Christianity in our schools, though carefully excluding therefrom the very name of Christ, let them follow us a little further, and see the fate of this system, borne down irresistibly before the insistent demand for a "tolerance of all shades of religious belief;" to be obtained, in practice, *only by the exclusion of all*, with equal firmness, from the school

rooms of our State schools, to be supplanted by what Father Poland calls the "Ethical Movement in Education."

Dr. Crary collected statistics, from the County Superintendents, as to the extent to which religious instruction or prayer was carried on in the schools. The schools in the City of St. Anthony opened with prayer and Scriptures. In St. Paul the course of study included "Elementary Moral Lessons," but no mention of either prayer or Scriptures. In the city of Winona most schools opened with prayer, all with the Scriptures. About 175 districts made reports. Some 52 of these have prayer or reading of some sort, about half of them using the Scriptures. Whether the other half substituted Milton or Shakespeare, as the worthy divine recommended, is not stated! Ten districts are mixed, some using religious exercises, others not. One superintendent reports neither prayer nor Scriptures used, but they soon will be in one of the schools. He is evidently using his influence to this end. One select school is kept in a church, opening with both prayer and Scriptures. One school varies the monotony by closing with prayer. One district has a "Population mixed in religion," hence no reading or prayers. In another "It would not tend to promote harmony" to read the Scriptures or pray in opening school. Has not Holy Simeon told us:

"Behold this child is set . . . for a sign which shall be contradicted." (Luke ii., 34.)

And has not a higher than Simeon expressly declared:

"Every one therefore that shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before My Father who is in heaven: but he that shall deny me before men, I will also deny him before My Father who is in heaven. Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth: I came not to send peace, but the sword; for I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and a man's enemies shall be they of his own household." (Matt. x., 32-36.)

But the Jews easily disposed of such exacting claims as these:

"If we let him alone so, all will believe in him: and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation. But one of them named Caiphas . . . said to them: You know nothing, neither do you consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." (John xi., 48-50.)

And, interpreting these words to suit their own purposes, the people cried out, a little later: "Away with Him, away with Him; crucify Him." Our county official thus has a strong precedent, far back in history, to sustain him in his method of securing "harmony" in the schools! Later we will find Dr. McCosh echoing the old warning: "The Romans will come and take away our place and nation!"

In one district, reading the Scriptures and prayer "depends upon the teacher." Yet, despite this delicate regard for the "conscience"

of the people, in a large proportion of the districts complaint is made that the people are not interested in "popular education;" and one district official mentions that, amongst the people, "some have to rely mainly on private schools;" evidently, in his eyes, a great disadvantage. Dr. Crary's efforts to blend Christianity and Secularism in the State schools, cover one year; and that year marked the zenith of this strange, mongrel system.

David Blakely next serves for four years. No further effort seems to have been made, during his administration, to push the religious question. Attention is centred upon building up the material features of the system: classifying the schools; securing better teachers; interesting the people in the schools; obtaining better school houses, improved ventilation, and many other things essential to a thoroughly equipped and efficient system of public education—all, of course, under the absolute control of the State authorities.

In June, 1865, a convention of County Superintendents and Examiners, amongst other resolutions, adopted the following:

"Resolved, That there is no interest of a civilized society which is paramount to that of educating the *whole* people and of generating that intelligence and virtue which alone can create, conserve and perpetuate the blessings of national liberty," etc. Therefore, they ask for "the prompt organization and equipment of an independent department of instruction."

State Normal Schools are also started, as necessary for securing teachers of such a high proficiency as is required in properly conducted State schools. The words of Superintendent McMinn, of Wisconsin, are quoted approvingly: "If we are to have State schools for the education of our children, we must also provide State schools for the education of their teachers."

In 1866 H. C. Rogers, Secretary of State, acting as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, makes the annual report. To follow, here, each Superintendent at any length, would be impracticable. We have, however, carefully done so, in our researches for this article; and can, therefore, lay before our readers the cream of our discoveries, as concisely as possible.

II.

THE SECULARISTS.

In 1867 Mark H. Dunnell holds the reins as State Superintendent. He takes hold with a vim and earnestness that recall to mind Dr. Crary's eloquent pleas; but he zealously guides the Ship of State into very different channels in educational work. He deals the death-blow to the Crary system already outlined; spares no pains to accomplish the absolute secularization of the public schools; and ventures as far as he dares, under existing circumstances, towards forcing

every citizen, regardless of religious predilections or conscientious scruples, into these schools, for his education or that of his children. From our copious notes, from his reports, we quote but little here; but that little represents what he repeats, reiterates, and insists upon, in page after page. He points out to the Legislature their duty in this matter; rebukes those poor overscrupulous people who stand back from a "loyal" adherence to our school system, through mere scruples, or so-called "rights" of conscience; and urges on, with every encouragement, those who fall in with his plans for absolutely secular education! We quote a few of his abundant dogmatic utterances:

"The proper and systematically conducted education of the youth of the State is, indeed, a question of far more vital importance than local or material interest can ever become, for it takes hold of those immaterial and otherwise uncontrollable forces which give character to the entire commonwealth." "The State in its adoption of a system of public instruction has recognized its obligation to educate every child within its borders, to meet every aspiration for mental development, for intellectual food, no matter how poorly clad may be the child in whose heart beats this immortal longing."

In 1868 he outlines, on page 65, the policy of the public schools. As usual, his style is strictly dogmatic.

"Obedience to law should be an early lesson. The necessity for law should be impressed upon the minds of the young. Correct views of governments should be imparted. . . . Children thus educated will be intelligent, and go forth practically fitted to take their places in the various spheres of social life." "Our public schools . . . should make them intelligent and thoroughly acquainted with the relations which good citizenship will compel them to observe."

And, in 1869, on page 5, he again waxes eloquent:

"The children who, emerging from the lowly cabin, enter the public school, may find there the golden thread and henceforth follow it till by acquisition they honor the race. The beneficence of common schools is in their absolute and actual freedom."

All through Mr. Dunnell's reports we are impressed by the fact that, although the History of Education is, professedly, one of the most important branches taught to teachers, yet he plainly labors under the pleasant delusion that "absolute and actual freedom" is an entirely new feature peculiar to our modern educational system. Yet, space permitting, facts could here be multiplied, from the history of those golden Ages of Faith, calumniously styled the "Dark Ages," to show how gross and utterly mistaken is his remarkable ignorance of past history on this point! See Hallam, Maitland, Cobbett and innumerable other Protestant historians. Here are a few of his pet axioms:

"A republic recognizes every subject as a part of itself." "Intelligence promotes thrift. Ignorance is blind and timid. It tends to poverty and to crime." "The genius of our civil institutions demands our common schools."

To his fellow citizens he addresses these earnest pleadings:

"I do not hesitate to assert that our common schools should have the warm sym-

pathy and cordial support of every citizen; that no person, institution or corporation, civil or religious, should stand in the way of their full development or withhold support; that these religious organizations have no right to attempt a change in the essentially secular character of these schools." . . . "I cannot sympathize with those who would make these schools a means for the propagation of a faith or the support of a church, nor with those who by an appeal to the law and force of majorities or any custom, however hoary, would do violence to the rights of conscience."

Needless to say, he has here in mind the delicate conscience of the man who utterly objects, like himself, to any tinge of religion in education! He tells us frankly:

"How to secure the attendance of every person who should be in the schools is more radically important than the question whether the Bible be or be not used therein."

Alas! how have the mighty fallen, since Dr. Crary's disappearance from the field!

During Mr. Dunnell's administration petitions were presented to the School Board of the city of St. Paul, praying that some part of the public school moneys be appropriated for the support of schools therein, separate from those known as the public schools of the city. He tells us curtly:

"The prayer of the petitioners in each instance was denied. It is not easy to conceive how any different result could have been anticipated."

He then gives a historical sketch of the action of the general government in its educational land policy. The Congress of Confederation, in 1785, allotted certain lands "for the maintenance of public schools." The ordinance of 1787, for territory northwest of the Ohio, declares that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." It provides that certain lands "should be given perpetually for schools." In Oregon and Minnesota lands are reserved "for the use of schools." From all this he jumps to the convenient conclusion that all these grants evidently were meant for public schools *exclusively controlled and managed by the State, from which religion must be absolutely excluded*; although we have failed to find any such statements in his sketch of these various historic assemblies. The statement, in one ordinance, that "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged," may, with entire propriety, be assumed to infer quite the contrary to Mr. Dunnell's conclusions. He himself tells us that the policy of making grants for religious purposes was early abandoned, while that of "fostering" public schools has been continued. Because it was deemed unwise to contribute to the direct support of religious bodies, as at first proposed, he concludes that religious schools could not claim any State aid, *even for the secular education there given!* We fail to grasp the logic of his argument. He concludes that the schools are

" . . . in a very important sense, governmental schools." "Deadly hostile

to the public weal is the head, or heart, or hand that would lessen the strength of this support to our free institutions." "This is the temple which all must enter, like that which Marcellus erected to Virtue at Rome, through which lay the only path to the temple of Honor." "Our youth need education, and they should acquire it in the public school." "I insist that the government . . . has a right to make provision for their culture, and, indeed, has the right to compel its acquisition . . . for its own existence rests in the correct training of these embryo citizens. For aught it may know, the cloister will sow the seeds of disloyalty and death."

In 1867 Mr. Phelps, Principal of the State Normal School, very properly insists that "to teach truly is to form character, and not merely to impart knowledge." This important truth is constantly emphasized by our State officials. Superintendent Pribble, of Hennepin county, thinks:

"The success of the teacher in moral instructions depends more, perhaps, in the tone of his feelings, his examples and the motives presented to induce correct action on the part of pupils than upon dry formalities or precepts."

But, in the effort to impart this moral instruction under any religious guise, however thin, practical difficulties again begin to crop out! In Le Sueur county:

"The major part of the schools . . . use the books recommended by the department, but some use the Catholic school books. . . . A few teachers have read in their schools a portion of the English version of the New Testament as a morning exercise, and in some of the schools the Catholic catechism has been taught and prayers repeated and learned."

On the other hand, in Sibley county, the local Catholic priest denounced both the schools and the system. He preached an entire sermon on the school system, instead of confining himself to preaching the Gospel! The County Superintendent thus reports his own official view of the matter:

"I understand the policy of this government to be religious tolerance to all, to educate the people in morality . . . and all things useful to man. It belongs to our government to cherish Christianity in its highest sense . . . and to protect every Christian church; not to bestow its patronage upon any particular ecclesiastical body."

A yet sharper thorn in the sides of the State officials is found in the fact that the Catholics, not content with protesting against the prostitution of the educational system to unworthy ends and false teachings, persist in establishing, multiplying and maintaining their own distinct parish schools. Others do the same; but the Catholics are in the forefront in arousing the indignation of Mr. Dunnell. On page 133 Professor Wilson, Superintendent of Goodhue County, states that, in that county, there are "several quite flourishing private and denominational schools." Hamline University, the Episcopal schools in Faribault and Red Wing, and the Scandinavian Lutherans all appear in the list. The State Superintendent calls for statistics upon this subject. In 1867 he finds that:

"The 3,707 above given as not attending any public school mainly compose the Catholic schools at St. Paul," etc., "and the Episcopal parish schools at Faribault,"

etc. "About fifty different private schools have been in session in the state during the year. Many of them have been called into existence and sustained, in consequence of the unsatisfactory character of the public schools at the points where established."

He thus expresses his chagrin at these discoveries:

"Those select schools, which have for their origin no other cause than the exclusive characteristics of a religious denomination, lessen the efficiency of the public schools and foster a spirit not in harmony with our civil institutions, nor do they do justice to the really tolerant character which our public schools sustain."

Despite this plain language, he discovers, in 1868, that:

"The total number of private school students has been about 6,000. It is noticeable that in nearly every place where the public schools have been thoroughly graded, private schools have generally ceased to exist, except in those localities where higher institutions of learning have been established and where the Catholics are in sufficient numbers to sustain separate schools."

The Superintendent of Blue Earth County reports:

"Only one permanent private schools in our county—Sisters of Notre Dame. . . . It is active and thorough, and is deserving of much notice in reviewing the educational resources of our county."

But Mr. Dunnell emphatically declares, in this year's report:

"The exclusiveness of the parochial school makes it un-American. . . . Its discipline is vastly inferior. A wholly inferior scholarship is attained. The child's mind is crippled by the unceasing exactions of the Church of which it is a part. Religious faith, and not mental growth, is the object of solicitude, and is, indeed, the grand purpose of the school."

Yet he tells us, on page 59, that "Seabury Mission, the Shattuck Grammar School and St. Mary's Hall at Faribault, continue to enjoy a high reputation for excellence in discipline and instruction." Meanwhile, the Superintendent of Blue Earth County again remarks, of the Sisters of Notre Dame:

"This school is constant in its efforts and faithful to the best interests of its students. Thoroughly qualified teachers are employed, and it is, deservedly, the leading private school in this portion of the state."

On page 179 the Superintendent of Rice County reports:

" . . . we are much indebted for the improved character of teachers generally in the county, to the college at Northfield, under the auspices of the Congregational Church, and Shattuck Grammar School and St. Mary's Hall, . . . each in a flourishing condition and . . . under the direct supervision of thorough and competent instructors."

Mr. Dunnell made the "Minnesota Teacher" his official organ, and recommended it to the school officials and teachers. This journal gives an account of the meeting of the National Associations, at Trenton, N. J., which, it declares, "was the most important educational council in the history of the nation." It also publishes a communication signed "H.," dealing with this same convention. The writer says that the most important question which absorbed the attention of the Association was the religious question.

"The movement in New York to divide the public funds among the various denominations . . . made the question eminently practical. The principles on

which this claim is asserted by the Catholics are so adroitly stated that many enemies of the plan admit too many of the principles to safely escape the result."

The principles so "adroitly stated" by Catholics are:

" . . . that spiritual culture lies at the basis of all true education, and must ever be associated with it; . . . that in order to secure this result religious instruction must be imparted in our public schools; . . . that religious instruction is essentially dogmatic and cannot be successfully given without being associated with many religious views . . . peculiar to denominations."

He here "adroitly" appeals to our prejudices before proceeding:

"Now these three statements admitted, the rest all follow, and the result is one of the most fearfully un-American in its spirit and fatal in its purport which have ever arisen in our history."

He draws his conclusions as follows:

"It is beginning to be thought by the best educators that the only true ground is found in entirely excluding formal religious instruction from the public school. . . . While, however, formal religious instruction should be left out of the public school, it must be remembered that by far the most potent form of religious culture may still find its way into our public schools, namely, the living example and Christ-like spirit of the teacher himself. This becomes a living intuition to the child and will have an influence over him in all his future career."

In other words: Religion would be an excellent thing in our schools; but the Catholics' argument is so unanswerable that we cannot have it without admitting them to the same privilege; therefore, we must formally exclude religion from the schools; but we must get in, informally, as much of our own religion as we possibly can, without exciting the suspicions of our Catholic fellow citizens. Lest this statement be thought unwarranted, we quote the words of an eminent educator, as given in the "Minnesota Teacher:—"

"Religious Education. (The following is an extract from an address by Dr. McCosh, president of Princeton College.—Ed.)"

"I am not sure that it is the duty of the Church to organize a system of education in opposition to the national system. I believe that, even though you were to attempt this in a more thorough manner than you have ever yet done, you could not succeed, so deeply is the national system seated in the affections of the people. Your people, I believe, would not subscribe to such a rival system, and you would never with your teachers rival the well-trained teachers of the State schools. Your exertions should be made in a very different direction. You should seek to support and advance the State schools and labor every way in your power to give them a religious character by rearing pious teachers, male and female, and anxiously striving to get them appointed. . . . Then it is the special duty of the Church to watch that the State system be not undermined. I believe it is in eminent danger of being so at this present time. . . . If the measure passed by the State Legislature of New York become law, we shall soon have Popery taught every hour in the day in schools supported by the State. This is a measure to be resisted to the utmost. Our Church should set itself vigorously to arrest this system of denominationalizing the State schools."—"Minn. Teach.," Vol. III., p. 40.

Protestantism, always dependent on the State for its life and propagation, will control the State, if possible, in such manner as to ostracize all Catholic teaching, whilst making its own the State religion; if this be impossible, it will accept the State's religious or irreligious teachings, as a lesser evil than recognizing, on a footing of equality, the right of Catholics to a like freedom, in propagating their religious faith, amongst all those willing, voluntarily, to embrace it.

Before King Solomon, the false mother readily agreed to the division of the body of the living child between herself and the mother from whom she claimed it; but the true mother insisted on saving the life of the child, whom she so tenderly loved, at any cost. Truly, history repeats itself.

Mr. Dunnell has told us that many of the private schools were "called into existence and sustained, in consequence of the unsatisfactory character of the public schools at the points where established." In 1867, on page 163, the Superintendent of Waseca County says on this point:

"The tendency of the present times is to drive all young men of ability from the teacher's field. People want *cheap* teachers. Young women 'turn their hands' to the business of teaching until they can get married, and that generally happens before they have had experience enough to become good teachers, and that is the end of their 'professional' career."

This is, at least, a high tribute to the personal attractiveness of our Minnesota young women; since, however "cheap" they may be deemed by school officials, there is always some one to whom they prove to be very "dear!" Our Waseca friend points out:

" . . . the importance of making some effort to call into the field a class of educators who will devote their lives and energies to the all-important business of teaching the youth of Minnesota."

Why not the Sisters of Notre Dame? The Superintendent of Winona County says:

" . . . a serious and almost fatal defect is not unfrequently made by school officers in hiring cheap teachers." "The frequent change of teachers has a retarding and damaging effect." "It is important that . . . a large degree of high moral influence be possessed by the teacher . . . and exerted over the pupils of the school. . . . For if no moral restraint shall be brought to . . . influence the pupil, there is danger of recklessness and insubordination."—Pp. 164-165.

In 1869, on page 18, Mr. Dunnell himself remarks:

"Experienced and well-qualified teachers should be encouraged. They should not be asked to teach for less than the teamster receives for his work, but should be so well paid that they can cheerfully labor in the school-room."

On page 183, the Superintendent of Steele County uses these vigorous words:

"The usefulness of our district schools depends so largely upon the quality of the teachers employed that I think the standard of qualifications should be gradually raised, until the ignorant and inefficient teachers, hitherto so abundant in this state, shall be compelled to qualify themselves for their business or abandon

To remedy this evil, in addition to the normal schools, teachers' institutes are encouraged all over the State. Professor Wilson enumerates, amongst the benefits derived from these institutes:

" . . . an enlarged view of the dignity and responsibility of the teacher's vocation; . . . ambition to attain the highest standard which may be exhibited by any teacher; imitation of the best means of instruction and discipline, and an active coöperation in all that is calculated to promote general intelligence."

We may conclude that these advantages are prospective, rather

than in actual realization; for, at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the State Teachers' Association—another organization for increasing the efficiency of the State's teaching force—at the Thursday Evening Session:

"A discussion upon the subject, 'Does the English Language receive the requisite attention of our Public Schools,' was opened by Professor Gilson. . . . The discussion was continued by Messrs. Butts, Hiskey, Roe, Secombe and others. A very likely discussion was had, and the question seems to have been decided in the negative."—"Minn. Teach.," Vol. III., p. 7.

In the report for 1869, page 105, Professor Phelps remarks:

"To be able to write readily and legibly and to keep accurately a system of accounts are attainments which ought to be within easy and certain reach of all. And yet no subjects are more wretchedly taught, if taught at all, in the public schools. . . . Our children at school go carelessly through the ceremony of learning to write for months and years together, with no result in a majority of cases but the acquisition of an illegible scrawl." . . .

On page 185, Rev. A. D. R  e, Superintendent of Washington County, says:

"One of the noticeable deficiencies in the schools is the study of our own language. With the exception of Orthography, it is receiving very little attention. The pupils know little of the meaning of words, and many of the schools that should have well-advanced classes in grammar have only those beginning or none at all."

If the "inferior scholarship" ascribed to the parish schools by Mr. Dunnell is inferior to this, they must indeed have sunk in efficiency! But, at least, the discipline of the public schools is of a higher order? Let us see. On page 101 Professor Phelps says:

"It is a fatal mistake to expend, as we are doing, our main strength upon purely intellectual training. . . . This great error is rapidly working out its disastrous results in our American society." "Have we a right to boast very highly of the culture of our schools, while the cheek of modesty is made to blush at the exhibitions of obscenity which greet the eye in every street? The very crayons that work out the problems upon the blackboards of our splendid school buildings are employed in the shameless work of defacing our fences and public places with language and drawings that are a disgrace to our civilization. This disposition wantonly to deface and destroy private and public property is one of the worst signs of our times. And so, too, we may speak of that spirit of disobedience and insubordination so prevalent among the children and youth of our time. Carelessness, the lack of promptitude in meeting engagements, of courtesy towards associates, of system in the conduct of affairs and of a high-toned sense of honor in the intercourse of business—all these are palpable evidences of a superficial and slipshod method of home and school discipline and training."

His remedy is, to furnish unstinted means for the support of the normal schools. Professor Wilson finds, in his county, a large foreign-born element, who "are honest, industrious and make good citizens," some of whom, especially among the clergy,

" . . . look with distrust upon our common schools; calling them 'heathen schools,' because, forsooth, no system of religion is taught in them. In many of the districts of this county which are settled principally or wholly by Scandinavians the distrust or prejudice above referred to manifests itself by the non-attendance at school of the children of such parents."

He forgets, apparently, that some of these simple-minded people and clergy, who still adhere to old methods of education, under

which they had themselves become "honest, industrious and good citizens," may have known enough of English to read some of the testimony above quoted, as to the condition of our schools at this period. Even in the matter of proper ventilation, they would seem to fail, at least in some instances. The Rev. A. B. Patterson, Superintendent of Ramsey County, declares :

"It is quite a serious matter . . . to visit some of the schools in the winter season, . . . because it is impossible to endure the foul atmosphere for more than an hour."

On page 151 Professor Wilson says, of the agitation for the recognition of religious denominations in our school system :

"To my mind, such a step would be the greatest calamity that could possibly befall our community; . . . if our schools are to be placed where religious dogmas are to be taught, the world will become filled with bigots and its civilization will retrograde towards the dark ages; . . . but the great principles of morality should be the basis of all education. The morality based upon the truths of the Bible." "It ought to be confessed that moral instruction and moral training do not receive the attention in our schools which ought to be given them. . . . On the instant, then, our plans of education ought to be reformed. . . . The cultivation of intellect, while the morals are neglected, is a curse to the individual and the State. An educated man is a thousand times more dangerous than an ignorant one." "The great principles of morality are . . . the same with all denominations and sects." "Moral instruction should be given greater prominence than it has heretofore occupied—that kind of moral instruction which is conveyed not so much by illustrations as by the constant, daily *example* of the teacher," etc.

He quotes Mr. Hancock, Superintendent Cincinnati public schools :

" . . . What we most need is that our youth should be taught by the daily lessons of the school to gain complete mastery over themselves; that they should have their wills strengthened to resist temptations to illicit pleasures; that they should be taught the grandeur of unselfishness, with a sacred regard for truth, which is the basis of all nobility of character; . . . to have them daily educated into such a high sense of honor and integrity as will, in the midst of a venal age, make them scorn to do a mean or dishonest thing for a present advantage, and, finally, to have their characters so fortified at every point that the powers of evil shall not prevail against them."

Meanwhile, Mr. Dunnell had found an opportunity to go to Congress as a representative from Minnesota, and resigned his office as Superintendent. Professor H. B. Wilson, who has made so clear and strong a profession of faith in the State's Religious Creed—Morality without Religion—now succeeds to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, on August 1, 1870. In the report for that year he says :

"If I were asked what I believe to be the most disastrous element in our system, that which prevents in the greatest measure the complete success of our district schools, I should answer, next to the need of better qualified teachers, the frequent change of teachers."

He continues to enforce Mr. Dunnell's favorite doctrine :

"I have elsewhere said that our schools are purely secular in their character; that they are State Institutions, and are directly the outgrowth of the necessity of a republican government."

He quotes at great length the Connecticut School Report for 1870,

as embodying his "exact sentiments." We reproduce these passages:

"Our school system should be unsectarian." "Sectarian schools as a system for the masses have everywhere failed. . . . The two systems, common and sectarian schools, cannot co-exist." . . . "Our schools may be unsectarian and yet not irreligious. It is poor logic which contends that unless they are positively religious they must be infidel or atheistic. . . . Our teachers are largely religious persons. By example as well as precept they are seeking to implant the divine law of love in the hearts of their pupils. . . . True, learning may become a splendid implement of evil, and it has often been made to minister to man's corrupt desire. But what may not be perverted to evil?"

The "poor logic," of which this writer here complains, seems not to be confined to our own times. It comes echoing down the ages, in very familiar words:

"He that is not with Me, is against Me; and he that gathereth not with Me, scattereth." "Either make the tree good, and its fruit good: or make the tree evil, and its fruit evil: for by the fruit the tree is known. O generation of vipers, how can you speak good things, whereas you are evil? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man out of a good treasure bringeth forth good things: and an evil man out of an evil treasure bringeth forth evil things." (Matt. xii., 30, 33, 35.) "I know thy works: that thou art neither cold, nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot: but because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold, nor hot, I will begin to vomit thee out of my mouth; because thou sayst: I am rich, and made wealthy, and have need of nothing: and knowest not, that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." (Apoc. iii., 15-17.)

We find Leo XIII., bearing in mind this stern rebuke administered to the bishop of olden times, declaring, in his utterances on education, that religious and secular instruction must go hand in hand, *pari passu*, and cannot be separated or taught independently of each other. And, strangely enough, our Connecticut Report goes on to furnish arguments in the same direction, very clearly, thus:

"Nor is intellectual culture a mere neutral thing, having no influence upon morals. . . . The mind is a unit, and however we may analyze and sub-divide its powers, we cannot address and develop any one faculty independently. They are so interlaced that the right culture of any one in some measure quickens and develops others also. When, for example, the teacher seeks to train the eye to the close and exhaustive study of objects, he is at the same time, however unconsciously, educating the faculties of conception, memory, imagination and reason. . . . So between the mental and moral nature there is a certain connection . . . and reciprocation of influence which cannot be severed nor interrupted without doing violence to our whole nature." . . . "There is no necessary connection between knowledge and virtue. The intellect should not usurp the place of the conscience. It may enlighten, but it cannot vitalize that highest of all our powers—intellectual and moral." . . . "Were it possible to secure this unnatural separation, and could we have but one, unquestionably moral training is more important than intellectual. . . . Each mutually quickens and invigorates the other. For its fullest development and efficiency the intellect needs the aid of the conscience, and the highest achievements of the mind will not be effected when the soul is dark and debased. Moral culture has a tendency both to awaken and sustain mental activity, while moral degeneracy induces a dimness of intellectual vision, and sometimes a perfect palsy of the mental powers."—See "Minn. Report," 1870, p. 59.

Perhaps this writer's words will be listened to by those who would regard any Catholic utterance of like import as necessarily open to suspicion. He writes as one given to serious thinking, and drawing deductions from actual experience; and his words are far more

than sufficient to offset a thousand utterances of a mere theorizer like Mr. Dunnell, as to the influence of religious schools, in dwarfing the intellect and preventing the fullest freedom of intellectual development.

At the Tenth Annual Session of the State Teachers' Association, held in Mankato, in August, 1870, the question of "Moral training in common schools" was fully discussed. The address of Judge A. A. Harwood, of Owatonna, "drew out a warm and sharp discussion, in which the strong feelings of the disputants became apparent. The issues were Catholicism and politics." We do not wonder at the disgust manifested; as the speaker's address was filled with stale old so-called historical facts, calumniating the Catholic Church in pretty much every syllable uttered from start to finish. One or two Catholics present, having a little information, outside of the "history of education" taught in our State schools, called the speaker down quite mercilessly. Dr. McMasters poured oil on the troubled waters by "a few pleasant remarks."

"He remembered the time when it was a matter of great doubt whether it was the duty of the State at all to shoulder the responsibility of conducting the affairs of education. We now recognize the fact that all the children of the State are its property, and that it is responsible for their education." . . .—"Minn. Teach.," Vol. III., p. 488.

Mr. Dunnell reveled in the frequent repetition of the phrase "subjects of the State;" but even he did not reduce them to the plane of mere "property!" But we are advancing rapidly in these matters, as Dr. McMasters here intimates. Professor Wilson believes that the Legislature should merge all our different public educational agencies into one State system:

"It is the aim and policy of the State to make her public schools of so high a character that private schools for the purpose of primary and elementary instruction will become unnecessary." "These schools over which the State exercises a supervision are free from partisan or sectarian instruction, and being open to all, . . . it is to be regretted that any class of our people should refuse to educate their children therein. It is manifestly the duty of every citizen of our free government to labor for the time when so just and beneficial a plan for educating the youth shall be embraced by all."

He collects statistics of the private and select schools in the State; and ascertains that "the aggregate attendance of pupils in these several schools, including the three Normal Schools and the State University, was 4,030. . . . The larger proportion of the pupils attending these schools are reported as having attended no public school." He mentions quite a list of "the most prominent" of these institutions, including Catholic, Episcopal and Lutheran primary and higher schools, and tells us that "These several institutions are in a flourishing condition."

In 1870 President Folwell, of the State University, thinks that, as a system of secondary education, it might be very desirable to

adopt the New York plan of incorporating other colleges and higher institutions as a part of the State system, with some financial aid, based upon a thorough State examination in the branches required. The idea appeals strongly to his sense of fitness and propriety, and even justice and equity; and he points out positive advantages that would accrue to the State schools from the competition—for excellence in standing—between them and the denominational schools. He holds

"That the Church has no proper business with university education, which *is secular*. But I allow that there is noble work for her to do in the field of secondary instruction, at least, alongside of our public high schools. . . . When our public schools are as plentiful and cheap as in some of the petty kingdoms of Germany, it will be time enough for us to forbid private parties from interfering in education."

At the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the State Teachers' Association, held in Normal Hall, Winona, in August, the relation of Seminaries and private institutions to our educational system "was discussed by Rev. J. B. Allen, of Groveland Seminary; President W. W. Folwell, Bishop Whipple and others." Bishop Whipple says, in part:

"The Common school, the Normal school and the University are the endowments of the State. The deep necessities of the State created them. They are our common heritage. With my whole soul I protest against their perversion to give power into the hands of any sect or party." . . . "The things wherein we differ are our opinions, and the opinions of one class of men can never become the bond of union for all men." "There are truths that underlie all obligation."

He gently expresses the hope that he has said nothing to wound any heart, in laying down what he believes to be correct principles in education. Can we recognize, in this courteous gentleman of the world, a member of that College of the Apostles—one wearing the mantle of authority of those men—who, standing before the council in Jerusalem, were thus addressed:

"Commanding, we commanded you that you should not teach in this name: and behold you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine: and you have a mind to bring the blood of this man upon us. But Peter and the Apostles, answering, said: We ought to obey God rather than men." (Acts v., 28-29.)

Here, again, we have the distinguishing trait between Catholicity and Protestantism everywhere. The Founder of Christianity made a profound impression upon the Jews by this same distinguishing trait:

"And it came to pass: when Jesus had fully ended these words, the people were in admiration at His doctrine. For He was teaching them as one having power, and not as their scribes and Pharisees." (Matt. vii., 28-29.)

In 1872 the Principal of the St. Anthony Falls Graded Schools tells us that "about one-third who attend any school are provided for by the Catholics, who keep up schools of a private character." And, in 1873, Professor Wilson says:

"Certain classes of the community refuse to patronize the public schools because instruction in religion is prohibited in them. Religion with such individuals means the peculiar sectarian dogmas to which *they* can subscribe."

He then notes, on page 62, from the inaugural address of President Curran, before the Ohio State Teachers' Association :

"The alienation of the public funds of the State to the support or furtherance of any form of religion would be revolutionary, and should be met first by exhausting all the means for its prevention which our laws afford, and then by an arbitration, which has been the usual court of appeal in such cases."

And then President Curran exultantly cries out:

"The secularization of our public schools is all but accomplished. The acts of worship are omitted or are very meagre. The schools are generally conducted in such a way that no religion is taught in them. . . . The great element of moral culture in school is not an inculcation of a feeling of religious obligation, but rather the creating and fixing of habit of industry, a submission to justly constituted authority and a respect for the rights of others. I wish to be able as a school man to assure any man that his child shall receive no peculiar religious bias from the schools."

The testimony of such a man, as to the conditions existing in a community where this school system predominates, ought to command respect from advocates of similar views. We, therefore, reproduce the following words, from this same address:

"When we look abroad upon the life of our people we tremble for the safety of republican institutions. Theft, robbery and murder in the slums and alleys scarce keep pace with defaulting, embezzling and bribery in the higher walks of life. Lust demands its holocaust of victims every lustrum, and tardy justice lags by the wayside. Liberty has degenerated into license, and society writhes in throes in its endeavor to rid itself of the noxious elements. The daily press teems with exposure of vice, and the English language is taxed for invectives against crime. The ignorant have suddenly become rich, and think that their children must not submit to restraint. They forget that the foundation of all prosperity, the basis of law and order, the entrance way to happiness, is *obedience*."

Meanwhile, the parish schools continue to prosper. The Superintendent of the St. Cloud Graded Schools tells us that "The Catholic school is largely attended." From Goodhue County we learn that "there are about twenty parish or church schools, . . . with an aggregate attendance of about 1,300 pupils. . . . The German Lutherans have three parish schools." Wabasha County has its "Catholic school at Wabasha." The table of statistics, on page 252, shows the number of parish schools to be rapidly increasing.

In 1874 Professor Wilson mentions that Carlton College "is rapidly growing in importance and usefulness." At Shattuck School the "course of study is complete; its faculty able, and the instruction thorough." St. Mary's Hall "is admirably conducted." At St. John's College (Catholic) "the instruction is very thorough." St. Mary's School at St. Cloud, Cathedral Parochial School at St. Paul, and a number of others, are all classed "among the other flourishing private schools of the State." The Superintendent of Ramsey County has the names of twelve private or parochial schools, "all located in St. Paul." On page 202, Superintendent Roe bears testimony "that St. Croix Valley Academy has done very much to raise the standard of education in Washington County." In Winona County "4½ per cent. of the scholastic population attend parochial schools."

D. Burt, Superintendent of Winona County, succeeds Professor Wilson as State Superintendent, in 1875. He wants the school funds distributed proportionately to all *scholars* only; but expressly excludes scholars not in the public schools! He insists that "No just claim can be made by any church, or sect, or party, to a share of this income from school funds;" but he, of course, excepts the sect, or party, of Secularists, of which he is a member, and claims every cent of it for them alone! He says:

"It was meant that this income should be so applied that it will aid in meeting the expenses actually incurred in the education of scholars in our public schools. . . . It cannot be claimed for the educational benefit of persons who are pupils in private schools. It must be used for the education of scholars in our public schools. This reasoning is sound, but it proceeds on the assumption that scholars in our public schools, and not persons out of school or scholars in any other kind of schools, should 'draw the money.'"

It is sufficient reply to note his admission that this is an assumption, necessary to sustain his argument; and to add that it is a mere assumption, not upheld by the historical facts which he cites in its support. Indeed, he himself seems to realize this; for he continues:

"Why not, then, take away even the shadow of a claim on the part of private schools to our school fund by asserting the principle that as the money is *used* for scholars in the public schools, such, and such only, shall '*draw* the money?'"

This frankness is, at least, above all possible misunderstanding. We, the Secularists, have already appropriated this fund for our own use exclusively; now, it only remains to declare that restitution shall never be made, of any part of it, to our fellow citizens who dare to give any religious instruction to their children! We have already seen that, a little later, in 1877, they were actually successful in passing an amendment to the State Constitution, providing that none of this money "be appropriated or used for the support of schools wherein the distinctive doctrines, creeds, or tenets of any particular Christian or other religious sect are promulgated or taught." Their admissions of the efficiency and thoroughness of these schools, in discipline and instruction, are constantly renewed, year after year; but they also teach religion; therefore, they must be branded as outlaws from all rights under our educational system. Toleration! Liberalism! Equity! Americanism! ye are jewels indeed!—as catch-words to gull the simple voters!!

A merciful Providence seems to compel these men to convict themselves out of their own mouths. On page 49, in 1875, Mr. Burt, treating of the school system in Germany, expressly declares: "The element of private schools in the German system is not a disturbance; it cannot be called a blemish. Such schools are under a general public supervision and they contribute an important influence for the education of the people." In this country he could not approve such a system because our people must be "Americanized."

Next to "Religion," we know of no word so sadly abused and made to cover so much real rascality as this word "American," or "Americanism!"

Speaking of those who object to our schools on religious grounds, Mr. Burt, with a magnanimity truly worthy of his sect, graciously acknowledges that their legal right to establish parochial schools "cannot be questioned, as long as they pay the public school taxes assessed upon their property, and abstain from attempts to secure support for their schools from our State fund, given by our national government for a broader purpose." This latter statement is true in a sense far different from Mr. Burt's intention. The funds were given to "foster and encourage education." Mr. Burt and his partisans restrict their use exclusively to the schools controlled by the Secularists of the State, and expressly exclude from all share in it their Religionist fellow citizens. The government purpose was "broad;" Mr. Burt's is narrow and offensively intolerant! And, like his predecessors, he consoles himself with the reflection that even this toleration may not long be necessary. "It is not certain," he remarks, "that this class of schools will be permanent. The descendants of those now educated in them may be found in the public schools of the future."

Alas! for his fond hopes! On page 105, the Principal of the Graded Schools at Austin states that "but a little over one-half of those of school age have been in attendance. This may be partially accounted for by the existence of Catholic parish schools, which are quite well attended." In Blue Earth County "the Catholics of Mankato have just completed one of the largest school buildings in the State." In the city of St. Paul alone "it is fair to estimate the total enrollment" in private and parochial schools "at 2,000." Sibley County: "The Roman Catholic society have a school house, a two-story brick, . . . valued at about \$1,500, . . . with an enrollment of 65 pupils." Steele County has "had a few private schools in different parts of the county. . . . Two of them are German, and I am informed that one is Norwegian." In 1876, page 86, Mr. Burt complacently remarks:

"It is being generally conceded that state schools, supported by popular taxation and designed for all" (just so, Mr. Burt!) "can distinctively teach neither Judaism, Christianity nor atheism. They are not to be Lutheran, Calvinistic nor Armenian. They must not espouse orthodoxy, heterodoxy, nor any doxy. Our state schools must restrict themselves to the teaching of the virtues, personal and social, that are essential to the welfare of the state and sanctioned by conscience in general." "Sentiments like this can be inculcated in our public schools . . . without necessarily reading them from any book to give them authority."

And he adds:

"The public desire to preserve the harmony of the schools and to make them acceptable to as many persons as possible will lead to the waiving of anything dis-

tinctively religious to which persons entitled to object shall make any decided objection. . . . The tendency in this direction is so positive that the matter will regulate itself without any legislative interference."

Yet they clinched it, the next year, by their new constitutional amendment. Meanwhile, the Superintendent of the Graded Schools of Stillwater receives a stunning blow. He sadly announces :

"At the commencement of the present year the Romanists opened simultaneously six parochial schools. This has thus far decreased our total enrollment of one year ago ninety-seven names. The Lutherans (German) have also a small parochial school established here."

In 1878, in Goodhue County, "The only private schools . . . at present are parochial schools;" the Lutherans "are intending to open a Norwegian Seminary." In Olmstead County the

"statistical report shows a decrease since last year in the number of scholars enrolled. This is owing to the opening of the Catholic convent at Rochester November last. Over three hundred are enrolled in this school. At the Rochester High School, the convent and High Forest Seminary students can now prepare for the state university."

In Steele county "the Minnesota Academy and the Sisters' school afford excellent opportunities to our young people to obtain an education." The Principal of the Osseo Graded Schools regretfully admits, on page 167:

"The French citizens of Osseo have supported a school during the past year which has taken thirteen pupils from the public school, leaving still twenty-four French pupils. The French school is for boys only; its main object to give religious instruction."

Henceforth the State Superintendent reports biennially, instead of annually. We note, on page 42, amongst the text-books used in the University, in 1879:

" . . . lectures by Matilda J. Campbell on Practical Ethics, History of Ethics, Philosophy of Ethics, Evidences of Christianity, . . . History of Natural Theology and Philosophy of Natural Theology; History of Civilization, Guizot; Mediæval History, Greene; . . . General History, Swinton." . . .

To prevent being misled by these titles, we must bear in mind that President Folwell is acting upon the principle that University education is outside the domain of the Church, being *purely secular*. Ethics, Evidences of Christianity, Theology, Philosophy, and Mediæval History, taught from a purely secular standpoint, must, indeed, be invigorating and enlightening to the human intellect which is subjected to such a process! Perhaps, after all, we were too hard on Judge Harwood. If he was put through this course, we could not expect any better knowledge of the Middle Ages than he displayed in his unfortunate address, previously alluded to.

President Folwell now practically retracts all that he had previously written in favor of encouraging church schools, at least in secondary education. On page 59 of this year's report, he states that, in his judgment, the new law for the encouragement of higher education has already

"performed a useful service. It has directed the attention of a large body of the people to the fact that the State has or may have a complete system of public instruction, . . . reaching from the alphabet to the degree of master of arts. The people are thus organizing their own education, and are not to accept any part of it as a charity at the hands of contending sects and orders."

Our worthy president has proved an easy convert to exclusive control by the State (the Secularists), even in secondary education; where he was inclined to allow some little justice, to deserving institutions, not accepting State dictation in their theological and religious branches of study!

D. L. Kiehle, Principal of St. Cloud Normal School, draws attention to another of the supposed advantages of our public school system:

"Closely allied to the library is the reading-room. If our youth are to be progressive, they must be brought into sympathy with the life and thought of the age. If they are to continue and to improve as vigorous thinkers and students they must be trained to the intelligent use of the only possible substitute for travel and immediate contact with men, which is found in current literature, periodicals and newspapers. These are instruments for information with which every student should be familiar."

The Superintendent of Cottonwood County reports:

"The large settlement of Mennonites in this county take very little interest in American schools, preferring to educate their children in German parochial schools."

In 1880 Mr. Burt feels called upon to take up the cudgels, to defend the public schools against a growing dissatisfaction, altogether independent of mere religious considerations. He has remarked, shortly before, that thousands of children from these schools "are making life successful." On page 205 he repels the charge that the schools are responsible for juvenile ignorance of trades. He does not attempt to deny that such ignorance exists. He remarks: "For such parental folly our schools cannot be held responsible. They are not designed to take the place of the family or the church." Yet they wish to control the child's education—from 5 or 6 to 18 or 21 years of age—to fit him for all the duties of life!

Professor Kiehle succeeds Mr. Burt, and submits the report of 1881-1882. He gives high praise to those who have supplied private and Christian schools, to provide such instruction "as they believe the State unable or unprepared to give." But he thinks "it must be most reasonably expected that those who professedly represent Christian philanthropy will stand prominent in support and loyalty to the State in this its highest calling," now that it "has undertaken . . . to give every child an education, . . . to care for every unfortunate one."

The new law of 1881, providing for instruction in "social and moral science," or the new State Religion, which has been so often foreshadowed in the successive reports of our State Superintendents, had just gone into effect. It now became necessary to interpret this

new Religion, prepare proper text-books, define its dogmas and precepts for the guidance of the teachers, and provide in other ways for its practical enforcement in the schools. Mr. Kiehle's energies are zealously bent upon these new and responsible duties. The State Normal Board passed the following preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, Several school boards have already ordered that instruction be given, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the law, and a demand has already arisen for teachers who are fully competent to perform this important work in the best manner; therefore,

"Resolved, That the presidents of the normal schools be directed to make such provision as may be necessary to prepare their students to give instruction to the scholars of the State on the several subjects enumerated in the law, and . . . the board further directs that, in treating the subject of temperance, special prominence be given to the physiological effects of alcohol in the different liquors when used as a beverage; that the highest scientific authorities be consulted, and the dangers and evils resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors be carefully pointed out."

Mr. Kiehle mentions the following catechism of the new Religion:

"The following questions upon this point were prepared by Superintendent A. D. Roe, for the examination of teachers in Washington county."

Here are a few selections:

"All Grades—1882.

"1. What do you understand by Moral Science? Have you ever received at school any direct instruction on the subjects embraced within this topic?"

"2. Name six of the moral principles in which instruction in school seems most needed.

"5. Define Temperance. Give also its present popular signification. . . .

"6. What do you understand by Social Science? Can you draw any distinct line between Moral and Social Science?"

"7. Name a few of the virtues which seem to you more especially social ones. . . .

"9. Do you think a teacher can exert a good moral influence who indulges in pernicious habits, even though they are such as are not reckoned immoral?"

"10. Will you earnestly strive to teach by precept and example all moral and social principles in your school?"

Mr. Kiehle adds:

"It is the hope of the friends of popular education . . . that the product of our school system shall not only be scholarship, but a noble manhood established in morality and intelligence."

And now he, in his turn, discovers still another new danger threatening the children of the schools—from that familiarity with "current literature" and newspapers which he advocated at the Normal School—in fact, already working terrible havoc in their ranks. On page 32, report for 1881-1882, he remarks:

" . . . it is notoriously true of the children whom the State has taught to read, and for whom it has done so much more at great cost, that large numbers are reading literature which is rapidly undermining every principle of loyalty to good government, all respect for religion, every pure affection for home and family, every habit of industry and economy, and all incentives to virtue and an honorable life, threatening to fill the land with a race of intelligent tramps, demagogues and libertines." "The full remedy is found only in the combined efforts of the family and the State."

Strange how these men, after insisting that the State must control these children, run to the family or the Church, or both, when they

wish to elude the responsibility for the results of the State's exclusive control of the moral and mental development of the child!

We learn, on page 81, that amongst the books in the library of the Mankato Normal School are the "Works of Herbert Spencer, Max Mueller, Tyndall, and Huxley; . . . and many other educational, biographical, historical and scientific works of scarcely less repute." And the poor aspirants for positions as teachers, having filled their unprepared, half-developed, and unprotected intellects with all this stuff, go forth to mould our children to sound morality and virtue! In 1881, Section 3,682 of the Statutes of Minnesota, as compiled in 1894, first became law. It provides for the use of school houses

"for purposes of divine worship, Sabbath schools and such other purposes as . . . will not interfere with the use of the school house for school purposes."

Our lynx-eyed Secularists soon saw the danger underlying this seemingly innocent enactment; and the Attorney General renders an opinion that

"This statute . . . was never intended to be used as a cloak or subterfuge to enable the school trustees to use the school house and the teacher employed therein with public school moneys to conduct religious worship in connection with such school."—Cole, pp. 110, 118.

This year the Superintendent of Ramsey County tells us that "in St. Paul there is a large number of parochial schools—mostly Catholic and Lutheran—with an attendance of about fifteen hundred scholars."

In 1883-1884 Mr. Kiehle is much impressed with the fact that "the term of common school instruction extends through about eight years of the youth's life, years intermediate between the family and citizenship;" and, in 1885-1886, he tells us that these are the "years in which the time of the child is most valuable in being his only opportunity of preparation for active and responsible manhood." And yet, for his lack of knowledge of a trade, his inability to read or write, and his insubordination and disobedience, the parents or the Church are made responsible, whilst the schools are exonerated from blame! Truly, we are moved to remark, under the exclusive control of either the family or the Church, no worse botch of this whole business could possibly be made than we find is made by the State (Secularists), on its own showing.

Mr. Kiehle constantly urges the enforcement of the State's newly discovered system of Social and Moral Science. He declares:

"I am convinced that much is lost in the general neglect of teachers to present, in clear outline, the principles of personal, social and political morality. A good and practical work on the subject, for the help of our teachers, is much needed."

Just think of it! During the nineteen centuries intervening since

Christ's life upon earth, we find no "good and practical work" on morality that can be used in our public schools, until Mr. Kiehle points out this marvelous omission, and calls for the production of such a book! He adds the comforting assurance that

" . . . several text books have been prepared, which incorporate instruction in the effects of alcohol and tobacco upon the person and character with the subject of hygiene and physiology in general."

In 1887-1888, on page 146, we find this edifying example of the zeal of Superintendent E. A. Engstrom, of Goodhue County, for temperance work:

"For several years it has been the invariable custom to require all candidates for certificates to answer the following questions in writing:

"Do you smoke, or use tobacco in any form?"

"Do you ever drink intoxicating liquors?"

"Do you ever visit saloons?"

"I never knowingly issue a certificate to any person who cannot truthfully answer the last two in the negative."

Our Secularist friends are now becoming restive under the compulsory law. Somehow or other, some arch enemy has had private schools included in the provisions of the law, and the Secularists feel wrathful over this unfortunate occurrence. Superintendent J. B. Velikanje, of Brown County, says:

" . . . our compulsory law . . . should be amended in such a manner as to bring every child of the State between the ages of 6 and 16 years to attend the public school at least six months in the year. No proviso for private, sectarian or other schools should be allowed to be inserted, but a plain law passed emphasizing the words *each child of the State* between certain ages *must* attend a *public school* during a certain period of the year. . . . The daily attendance should also be regulated by law and no parent allowed to keep the child at home except in case of sickness."—Report 1889-1890, p. 115.

Superintendent C. L. Greenough, of Dakota County, declares:

"The public school should be patronized. The State has a right to insist that it should be. If there are those who will persist in not patronizing it, they should be coerced into patronizing it."—P. 118.

On page 133 Superintendent A. P. Cooper, of Lac qui Parle County, thus swells the chorus: "Children between the ages of 8 and 16 should be compelled to attend school and no provision but physical defect should be made."

Finally, on page 138, Superintendent R. MacKay, of Meeker County, states that, in order to make the compulsory law "effective, its enforcement must be placed in other hands than those of school boards."

Like all his predecessors, Mr. Kiehle finds his path strewn with thorns, in attempting to carry out the latest experiment of the Secularists in educational work. His sayings, on this subject, present a striking example of the mental confusion to which an Apostle of Intelligence is reduced, in his attempts to uphold the new State Religion. He says:

"The state has been somewhat embarrassed, in defining the duties of its teachers

in this important subject, because of the very intimate relation of morality to religion, instruction and training in the latter of which belong exclusively to the family and the Church."

He dwells upon the vital necessity of moulding the immigrants from other countries into a common American type, by means of our schools. For all this, "the public school is the only institution provided." He concludes that

" . . . the only wise policy for the State to pursue is to include in the public school curriculum whatever belongs to intelligence and morals and to leave to the family whatever belongs distinctively to religious instruction."

Mr. Burt had thought that the Religionists might be allowed to have their own separate schools as a sort of toleration, so long as they kept hands off the school funds; but he is already old-fashioned, in this rapid march of the Ethical Movement in the paths of Progress and Reform! Listen to this lucid (?) declaration from Mr. Kiehle:

"To the objection that morals cannot be taught apart from religion it may be said (1) that from the religious standpoint objection has been also made against the State teaching many other branches, as history, natural and mental science. . . . Without refuting these views in argument, the State has . . . made ample provision for instruction in these branches . . . with the result that the objections that appeared in theory have been very generally dissipated by the experiment. . . . Now, as it is more important that our youth should be instructed in the duties they owe to their fellow-men as neighbors and as citizens than that they should be taught philosophy or astronomy, it seems reasonable that the State should be able to discharge this duty without damage to other interests.

"(2). It may be further said . . . that the source, authority or basis of any law or truth necessary to the welfare of the State is not a question in which the State is interested, or one to be settled before the State can appropriate it to its own use. . . . Government in its theory and history is a subject taught by the State without deciding what is the origin of human government, or what is the basis of its authority. . . .

"This principle applies with equal reason to morals. Without considering the question of the basis of moral obligation, or who are its authoritative exponents, it may be assumed that, whatever the source, the world is in possession of a large body of morals, the reasonableness and authority of which are beyond question, and these truths; . . . the State may wisely incorporate in its system of instruction and practice."

There could scarcely be a more convincing proof of the terrible extent to which our school system has already debauched, degraded and confused the intellectual and moral faculties of the human soul, and destroyed its natural distinctions between right and wrong, than the bare fact that such plain denial, of even the necessity of a *claim* to legitimate authority for its teachings, by the State, could be gravely formulated by one of its Superintendents, and as gravely accepted by thousands of his readers, and impressed upon the minds of the children in the schools! What a pity it was, indeed, that our Blessed Lord had not sufficient foresight to see that Messrs. Durnell, Burt and Kiehle would, in future ages, devise such a perfect system for the complete regeneration and civilization of the human race! How much needless suffering He could have saved Himself, by remaining in His heavenly home, instead of devising the extraordinary means of the Incarnation and Redemption! We say this in all reverence and love, merely to bring out in bolder relief the

rank blasphemy of this system, based on *necessity* in preference to Divine Law; on Might in preference to Right! With the same dogmatic assurance Mr. Kiehle concludes:

"It appears from this that the State has made reasonable provision for moral instruction and that it now devolves upon those who are in charge of the schools to give effect to the law by such methods as commend themselves to their wise judgment. And so perfecting our schools they will command the confidence of good and loyal people."

With this proud consciousness of duty well performed, and confident expectation of the great moral reform that is to sweep over the State, through the instrumentality of the new Religion, Mr. Kiehle gives place to W. W. Pendergast, who presents the report for 1893-1894. This gentleman is entitled to our sincere pity. He soon discovers that he has been saddled with an uncomfortable load to carry. On page 36 he remarks:

"What the wisdom of the future will evolve as the clarified ideal of true education no one has the prescience to forecast." "The necessity of some adequate training to fit the young for after life"—he means in this world, not the next—"is admitted. What shall be the character of that training? Here comes the clash. Fierce assaults are being made upon our system first from one side and then from the other." He concludes that "'Manhood is the perfect product of the loom of life,' and moral training is its most important factor."

On page 113 the Superintendent of Kittson County takes a hand in dogmatizing:

"We hold two propositions as true: First, the child has a right that the state give it an education; second, that the state has the right that the child be educated for citizenship. The child when adult must obey and serve the state, and the state must make it understand its duty."

Mr. Pendergast submits the report for 1895-1896. In 1895 the Attorney General, by a clearly expressed legal opinion, thus finally disposes of the remnants of Dr. Crary's system of Protestantism:

"You inquire whether it is lawful to open a public school with a recital of the Lord's Prayer. The question involves a construction of section 16 of article 1 of the Constitution. . . . 'Nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship.'"

"In the absence of that provision, I should not hesitate in answering your question in the affirmative. . . . Wisconsin and Minnesota, so far as my examination extends, stand alone in respect to such a provision. In the first named state the supreme court . . . held that the reading of the Scriptures in a public school was in violation of the Constitution, in that it compelled one to support a place of public worship. (State vs. School District, 76 Wis. 177). No occasion has arisen for a construction by our own court of the said provision. It was held by one of my predecessors at an early day . . . that the reading of the Scriptures is a matter over which the Board of Education . . . has complete control. (Op. Attys. Gen., 83). But on a later occasion it was said that 'when the use of the Scriptures in a common school is objected to . . . on account of religious or conscientious scruples, their adoption as a text-book is improper and the pupil may decline to use them.' . . . (Op. Attys. Gen., 229.)"

"No distinction can in principle be drawn between the opening of a school with prayer or the reading of the Scriptures, so far as the question pertains to the violation of the provision above named. . . ."

"It is the purpose of the law of this State to permit no intrusion into our public schools of any religious teachings whatsoever. They are to be kept purely secular in character, and as places where the children of parents of every shade of religious belief may assemble for purposes of instruction in authorized subjects and incidental moral improvement. . . ."

"In view of the decision of the Wisconsin court, you are advised that the prac-

tice, however frequently tolerated or indulged in, is violative of the constitution."—H. W. Childs, Attorney General, December 10, 1895.

A little later we find a case decided in Minnesota as follows :

"In the case of *Rasnick, vs. District No. 60, Stearns County*, April 24, 1897, in the district court it was held that a public school house cannot be used either in or out of school hours for the purpose of giving any religious instruction or the conducting of religious exercises therein, . . . particularly . . . for the saying of any of the prayers or the teaching of the catechism, or . . . conducting . . . of the religious exercises mentioned therein."

This shuts out the last device for Catholic instruction in the schools. Both Catholics and Protestants are thus effectually outlawed from the public schools, unless they accept the terms of the Secularists, who are now in supreme control. It only remains to ascertain, if possible, the practical results of the New Religion, in developing the character of the pupils, and fitting them for "making life successful." Fortunately, Messrs. Pendergast's and Lewis' testimony is at our disposal. The former has now had four years of experience, of the workings of Mr. Kiehle's carefully evolved system of Social and Moral Science; a system brought forth with much travail, carefully nursed with unfaltering solicitude, upheld by drastic legal enactments and shielded by succeeding Attorneys General, from all attempts to weaken or impair its symmetrical beauty and perfection. As to scholarship, Mr. Pendergast's testimony is clear and emphatic. On page 44, report for 1895-1896, he says :

"From the primary school to the post-graduate department of the university English needs closer attention, with a view to securing a plain, serviceable use of our mother tongue. In the common and the higher branches, in the school room and on the school grounds, in written and oral examinations, we find the same lack of ability to use it accurately and readily. Our schools are probably not worse than those of other States, but the conditions in this respect are so bad as to suggest that we should endeavor to remedy our shortcomings with the least possible delay. The degree of its ability to understand and use English is, perhaps, the best index to the quality of a school's scholarship, strength and refinement."

Mr. Pendergast serves for another two years; and we then find the last report at our disposal, submitted by his successor, Superintendent J. H. Lewis, for 1899-1900. It contains, on page 37, the substance of a paper, read by Mr. Lewis, before the State Teachers' Convention in St. Paul, on December 28, 1900. In this paper—after stating that many of the teachers, usually found in the schools, are persons whose ambitions all tend to professional careers, and who are making their work of teaching simply a stepping stone to some other profession, and naturally instil the same hopes and preferences into the minds of their pupils—he continues :

"It is not strange, then, that defects are to be found, and have been found, in our educational systems and methods; that patrons living in cities feel disappointed in the results of the schooling their children have received; that it has not afforded them skill required in their business; that it has made them discontented and restless in the pursuits and vocations of their fathers. It is not strange, then, that the professions are overcrowded—that college and high school pupils engage reluctantly in manual and industrial pursuits. It is not strange that children in rural schools lack interest in all agricultural pursuits; that, in consequence of their training, the bright, aspiring youth have been leaving the farm and seeking to

live by their wits in the cities; that this process has continued until in the older settled states of the East and Middle West the intelligent, independent, cultured farmers have been displaced by a class of tenant farmers, many of them foreigners who have not yet assimilated American ideas, and that all these changes have transpired notwithstanding the fact that the invention of farm machinery and the multiplication and cheapening of comforts have greatly ameliorated the conditions of farm life. Do not the circumstances point unmistakably to the fact that public education in the rural districts has failed in adapting itself to existing conditions and to meet the demands made upon it?"

Thus we find, on the free admission of our last State Superintendent, that, far from advancing the interests of the community, our State school system has actually retarded and impeded it. The testimony, from start to finish, has all pointed to the facts, that the elementary English branches are not learned in our schools, that the scholars are not fitted for commercial or business careers, that they are positively unfitted for agricultural pursuits, that simple reading and writing are not learned by them so as to make a "plain, serviceable use" of the English language, and that no progress worth noting has yet been made in developing in them such a moral character and intellectual vigor as will make good citizens and noble men and women! And—bear it well in mind—these are the conclusions of our school officials, without one word from any Catholic source, or a single charge of our own.

Is it not the verification of the Apostle's saying, ages ago, that "without charity" (the love of God) "I am as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal?" How the grandiloquent phrases of Mr. Dunnell have resounded in our ears, and the words "Progress," "Civilization," "Conscience," "Popular Education," and a dozen others, have been dinned into them all these years! And this is the grand result!! Listen to the Sacred Words of our Blessed Lord, which He addresses to the stubborn and headstrong Jews:

"And He spoke also to them a similitude: Can the blind lead the blind? do not both fall into the ditch? The disciple is not above his master: but every one shall be perfect, if he be as his master. And why seest thou the mote in thy brother's eye, but the beam that is in thy own eye thou considerest not. . . . Hypocrite, cast first the beam out of thy own eye: and then shalt thou see clearly to take out the mote from thy brother's eye. For there is no good tree that bringeth forth evil fruit: nor an evil tree that bringeth forth good fruit. For every tree is known by its fruit. For men do not gather figs from thorns: nor from a bramble bush do they gather the grape. . . . And why call you me, Lord, Lord: and do not the things which I say? Every one that cometh to me, and heareth my words, and doth them: I will show you to whom he is like: he is like to a man building a house, who digged deep, and laid the foundation upon a rock; and when a flood came, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and it could not shake it: for it was founded on a rock. But he that heareth, and doth not: is like to a man, building his house upon the earth without a foundation: against which the stream beat vehemently, and immediately it fell: and the ruin of that house was great." (Luke vi., 39-49.)

III.

THE CATHOLICS.

We had not intended to do more than apply Father Poland's words to our Minnesota School System, and see how his predictions, based

upon principles clearly stated, would tally with the actual results of experience here. But to close without at least indicating what remedy we would advocate, might lay us open to the charge of criticizing others—which is comparatively easy—without having anything better to suggest. We will, therefore, say that, in our humble opinion, the Hon. Zach. Montgomery, in his pamphlet, “Poison Drops in the U. S. Senate,” published some years ago—and endorsed by scores of prominent educators and public men, Religionist and Non-Religionist—points out clearly the practical remedy for existing evils in our system. It is, in substance, simply to treat the entire community on a basis of absolute equality.

The school funds should be used to “foster and encourage education” amongst all the children of the citizens of each state. The religious question should be eliminated entirely. We have no more right to ask whether a child is learning the Catholic catechism or the Masonic ritual, before we will apportion him a percentage of the school fund, than we have to ask our carpenter or bricklayer what his religion is before we will employ him to build our house, or the voter before we will permit him to cast his ballot. All men, regardless of their religious or irreligious predilections, are entitled to equal rights under our form of government; but, under the specious pretext of getting rid of dissensions in religious matters, the Secularists have “adroitly” thrown dust in our eyes, whilst relegating us to the rear with the brand of dishonor and ostracism imprinted upon us, because we think our children should receive a religious education.

In other words: our Secularists are narrow, illiberal, intolerant, un-American, and intensely bigoted. Unhappily, as we have already seen, our Protestant fellow citizens, in the great majority of cases, are but little better. They would like to have Protestantism in the schools; but, rather than allow Catholics to have Catholicism, they throw in their lot with the Secularists; and their forces are united to keep out the common enemy, as they choose to consider their Catholic fellow citizens.

The Catholics alone dare to boldly challenge their allied opponents to a “fair field and no favor.” They ask that the school funds be distributed, on the basis of actual results obtained in the secular studies now equally required by all in their respective schools. They neither seek nor desire to compel Protestants or Secularists to come into their Catholic schools for their education. Both may retain their schools as at present; but let the distribution be amongst *all* scholars between the required legal ages, according to actual progress shown, upon examinations by state officials or examiners, in the secular branches required by law. If these children are attending Jewish, or Catholic, or Masonic, or Protestant schools, that is

not the business of the State officials. "For if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it, lest perhaps you be found even to fight against God." (Acts v., 38-39.) It is not for these officials to meddle in religious matters, either to command or to prohibit the study of religion. That is the sacred and inviolable prerogative of the child's parents, or of the child himself. Now, in actual practice, these officials prohibit it, and punish those who study their religion as directed by their parents, or as their own conscience enjoins, by excluding them from all State aid in the acquisition of secular learning.

This proposition of the Catholics will never be granted, despite its absolute fairness and justice, if the leaders of the Secularists can keep the whip hand over their deluded disciples. Only the other day they undertook to put a bill through the Missouri Legislature, placing all private schools under the control of the district school boards of the State; but, by the vigilant promptness of the Catholics and Lutherans, the iniquitous proposal was defeated. In our Catholic dependencies they are promptly cutting off the Catholics from their legitimate share in the school funds, on the same shallow pretences as here in Minnesota.

But fair-minded citizens, who see clearly that our school system, as now conducted, is a miserable failure, and a positive evil, may yet bring about its readjustment on the lines suggested here, if they unite their forces patriotically, and declare that it is time for narrow, sectarian bigotry and prejudice to be laid aside, and for all to act together, as citizens, for the common good, without outlawing any section of the community on account of their religious predilections.

May God hasten the day when this happy state of affairs shall be brought about, and we shall be freed from the bitter humiliation of seeing crime and immorality rampant in our fair land, whilst State officials usurp parental rights, and the Secularists coolly appropriate that fund, to which all are equally entitled, as the citizens of one and the same Commonwealth, united under one and the same Flag, and enjoying the blessings of one and the same Constitution!

LORENZO J. MARKOE.

White Bear, Minn.

Scientific Chronicle.

THE PURIFICATION OF SEWAGE.

Comparatively few cities are so situated that the sewage can be disposed of by the method of dilution, which consists in carrying it out into the ocean or into large rivers where the flow of water is upwards of a hundred times as large as the amount of sewage. The great danger then of contaminating the water supply makes methods other than the dilution method imperative.

Out of the other six methods that may be employed two are of the past and four are at present in use in different localities either singly or in certain combinations. The two discarded methods are farming and chemical precipitation. The former consists in the application of the sewage to cultivated land for the purpose of fertilization. The latter method separates the polluting part of the sewage from the water by precipitating it by the use of chemicals. Generally speaking, the city sewage averages only about seven pounds of solid matter to every thousand gallons. To remove this waste and return the water pure is the problem that must be met. The chemical method would be good had it to deal with this waste matter only, but in every liquid ounce of sewage there are approximately 150,000,000 bacteria or microscopic organisms. These must also be removed in any perfect treatment of the sewage.

The four modern methods are based on the principle that the micro-organisms or bacteria play a very important part in purifying the water by destroying the noxious substances contained in the sewage. For this purpose proper conditions are required, and it is the object of these methods to offer the suitable conditions for the purifying action of the bacteria. These methods are known by the following names: intermittent filtration, contact bed treatment, septic tank treatment and continuous filtration.

Intermittent filtration consists in passing the sewage through sand. The sewage is allowed to flow on the sand for about six hours out of every twenty-four, and the sand is underdrained so that the water runs off clear and can be emptied into streams without any fear of pollution. This method is favorable to the retention, growth and action of the bacteria. The preservation of the bacteria is brought about by the fact that the sand offers suitable air spaces for these organisms. By this process about 75,000 gallons of sewage can be filtered per day on one acre of sand.

The septic tank method is nothing else but the detaining of the

sewage in an open or closed cesspool for from twelve to twenty-four hours. The flow of the material through the tank is so regulated that it spends that time in the cesspool. During the time in the tank putrefaction takes place by the enormous growth of the bacteria. The bacteria remove or change the polluting substances, much of which escapes as gas from the tank, giving it the appearance of a boiling mass in hot weather. By this means, combined with the preceding two classes of bacteria, those that need oxygen, or the ærobic, and those that do not, or the anærobic, operate in the process of purification, and if combined an amount five times as great as by the former method alone can be treated in the same time.

The contact bed treatment consists in running the sewage rapidly into a water-tight tank filled with cinders, coke or broken stone, leaving it there for a few hours and then running it off rapidly. The purification consists in the action of the ærobic bacteria, and if a piece of the filling material be examined it will be found to be covered with a slimy growth composed chiefly of bacteria. The one objection to this method is a mechanical one, namely, that the vacant spaces are soon so choked up that the capacity of the bed is thus reduced.

Continuous filtration is merely an attempt to avoid the long periods of rest required in the intermittent system. This is done by supplying air to the bed at the same time that the sewage is admitted. It is claimed that this permits of such a rapid growth of the bacteria that a long rest in the bed is not required and that as a consequence much larger quantities can be treated in the same time. This method is still in the experimental stage and the weight of opinion among authorities on the subject of the purification of sewage is in favor of the septic tank treatment as the preliminary step to be followed by the intermittent filtration method.

LIQUID FUEL.

The development of the petroleum industries of the world naturally calls attention to the use of petroleum as a fuel in many of the cases in which coal has heretofore been used. The enormous output of petroleum in the United States and in Southeastern Russia is well known, and now there are rapid strides making the development of this industry in the Dutch East Indies.

That large quantities are already consumed as a direct source of light instead of gas, which is a coal product generally, and that other large quantities are employed for heating in oil stoves is well known. We are not, however, in general, so familiar with the fact

that it is now supplanting coal as a source of heat for motive power on a large scale. The use of oil as the source of heat in locomotives for railway travel has already passed the experimental stage in Russia.

There are two types of engines employed on the Russian railroads depending on two conditions. The oil may be used only as an auxiliary fuel, coal being principally used, or the engine may be designed for the consumption of oil only.

Examples of the latter type of engine are found in the heavy freight engines that are employed on the Moscow-Kazan and the Trans-Siberian Railways, also in the passenger engines on the South-eastern Railway of Russia. These engines have no grate, only a cylindrical furnace furnished with oil burners. The lower portion of the furnace is filled with fire brick so arranged as to form flues, through which the air passes before reaching the burning oil. The average consumption of naphtha for these engines is given as a little over six gallons per mile. So successful have been the results obtained with these engines that there is now no hesitation in building engines in which only petroleum or petroleum residues are burned.

When oil is only an auxiliary fuel the engine has a grate for the burning of the coal and an additional attachment whereby oil may be fed to the fire. The object of using oil in this way is to get up steam more rapidly when it has gone down or when high grades must be ascended. The liquid fuel is delivered through annular jets placed above the fire door, the oil being pulverized as it enters by means of steam jets. The suction of the steam jet draws in through the centre of the burner the air necessary for the combustion. This air is previously heated by passing through heaters in the smoke box. On the Eastern Railway of France they have introduced oil as an auxiliary fuel to be used on the heavy grades between Paris and Belfort.

The oils usually employed are light enough to be easily atomized by the action of the steam jets, but if heavier fuels be used, such as coal tar, it must be rendered more fluid by placing steam coils in the supply tank. The heat from these steam coils increases the fluidity of the coal tar and it is then easily pulverized by the steam jet.

In connection with this growing use of oil as a fuel, the experiments of Mr. Charles E. Lucke at Columbia University are of interest. In the employment of oil as fuel the method of use was to break up the oil by means of the jet of steam and actually spray into the furnace a mixture of oil, steam and air. Mr. Lucke does away with the mechanical spraying of the oil. He delivers it directly into a mass of broken rock which has been previously raised to a red

heat by means of gas burners. The heat of the rocks converts the oil into a vapor and as such the oil burns. The heat of the burning oil is sufficient to keep up the temperature of the rock and thus continue the process of the vaporization of the oil.

In the experiment made it was found that with every kind of oil tried that the results were the same. Three fires burning side by side and consuming respectively kerosene, cylinder oil and linseed oil, showed no perceptible difference in their mode of action. The residue oils, so called, leave no residue when burned in this way.

APPLICATIONS OF LIQUID CARBONIC ACID.

The great advance made in the liquifaction of gases has led to an increased use of these gases in different lines of industry. Of none of the gases is this more true than of carbonic acid. This is due to the fact that it was one of the first and is one of the easiest to liquify, and hence one of the cheapest to obtain in sufficient quantities for application in the arts.

The preparation of the gas in sufficient quantities and in a sufficient degree of purity demands attention. First there are in certain localities a natural supply of the gas, but up to the present a very limited use has been made of this gas as a natural product in volcanic regions. Secondly, in the process of brewing, the transformation of glucose into alcohol liberates not only small quantities of glycerine and succinic acid, but also a quantity of carbonic acid about equal in amount to the alcohol formed. The gas thus formed is very pure, but the process of formation is so slow and the difficulty of collecting the gas is so great that little use has been made of this source of supply. Thirdly, there is the old and for a long time the principal method of obtaining the gas. It consists in the action of sulphuric acid in limestone. The gas thus generated always contains salts of lead and entrained sulphuric acid. These impurities cannot be removed from the carbonic acid by the ordinary methods of purification.

For the above reasons these methods are abandoned when the liquid carbonic acid is required for use in the arts. The chief source of the gas in practice is usually connected with some other branch of industry. Furnace gases, for example, which contain a large percentage of carbonic oxide may be burned completely to carbonic acid gas mixed with the other gases with which the carbonic oxide was associated. If this mixture is passed through a scrubber and then through sodium or potassium carbonate, and if the other gases with which it is associated are not absorbed by the alkaline car-

bonate the carbonic acid will be separated and remain absorbed in the carbonate. Exposing this solution of the gas in the carbonate to the action of heat usually supplied by steam coils the gas is given off. The gas thus given off is pure, requiring only filtration through charcoal and drying by sulphuric acid or calcium chloride. The gas is then liquified by lowering its temperature and subjecting it to pressure.

One of the uses to which this liquid gas is put is as an agent for refrigerating purposes. It is efficient for this purpose during the time that it is returning again to the form of a gas, because to bring this change about heat is required and neighboring bodies furnishing this heat will be cooled. Suitable machines for obtaining this effect on a large scale exist and they are of much smaller dimensions than similar machines in which ammonia is used as the refrigerating medium. The liquid carbonic acid is also used for the carbonating of water, the enlivening of malt liquors and in the now familiar sparklets. It also finds application in tanneries to remove the lime that has been used to take the hair off skins, for purposes of sterilization, for extinguishing fires, for contracting hoops on guns by cooling, and for the compression of steel ingots on account of the great pressure produced when it is brought to high temperatures. In every chemical laboratory it is extremely useful in enlarging the field of investigation at the lower end of the scale of temperature.

Suggestions have been made to utilize liquid carbonic acid as a motive power, and although several motors have been constructed, still they have not proved satisfactory. It may, however, find a field as such in æronautics or in submarine torpedo work.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION AT PITTSBURG.

This year the American Association for the Advancement of Science held its meeting at Pittsburg on the last day of June and the first three days of July. While the meeting was not as largely attended as were many previous meetings, still the 435 members present were undoubtedly active scientific workers, for there were 350 addresses and papers presented before the different sections. There were at the same time gatherings of affiliated societies which brought the number of scientific men present up to about 600.

One of the important features of this meeting was the adoption of several amendments to the constitution. The effect of these amendments will be to strengthen the organization. Hereafter the Council will yearly elect three members at large, which will add to its efficiency. The different sectional committees will become sort of

sub-councils, with the term of office of the secretaries of these committees extended to five years. The business of the Council is facilitated and the time of its sessions reduced by the delegation of duties to an executive committee made up of the secretaries of the Association and the secretaries of the several sections, for the session on the Saturday preceding the week of meeting. All these changes are in the line of advancement and for the better achievement of the end of the Association, which is advancement in science.

The membership of the Association is now about 3,450, which marks a considerable increase during the past year. The financial condition of the Association is also very satisfactory. The permanent funds of the Association now amount to about \$12,500, derived chiefly from savings from income. This year the permanent secretary handed over \$2,000 from current income to the permanent fund.

The investment of this fund permits the Association to make appropriations for research. Although these are small in comparison with those of the British and French Associations, still they are increasing yearly, and with the careful management of the funds which characterizes the Association, it will soon be a powerful factor to aid science by the financial help it will give investigators. At the Pittsburg meeting the only grants that could be made were five of \$75 each to committees on blind vertebrates, on the relation of plants to climate and on the velocity of light. To committees on anthropometry and on the atomic weight of thorium a grant of \$50 each was made.

The meetings of the Association have been held in the summer months, but a trial of a winter gathering is to be made at the next meeting, which will be held in Washington, D. C., during vacation week, from December 29, 1902, to January 3, 1903. It is expected that the change in time will be favorable and that one of the largest gatherings of the members ever witnessed will be seen in Washington during vacation week.

THE GULF STREAM.

For years the popular theory advanced to explain the mild climate of Western Europe was to picture the warm Gulf Stream bearing its genial influence to the shores of Europe. This theory was proposed fifty years ago by Lieutenant Maury. This theory still has its admirers, but is entirely disregarded by oceanographers and meteorologists at the present day.

Faith was first shaken in the Gulf Stream theory when it was conclusively proved that the Gulf Stream ceases as a distinct current

southeast of Newfoundland and entirely disappears before reaching the middle of the Atlantic.

The advance in meteorological science offered the true explanation of the mild climate of Western Europe when it was found that the Gulf Stream did not reach there. In substance the explanation is as follows. In temperate zones the drift of the atmospheric currents is from west to east. Hence all those shores and countries in temperate zones that lie to the east of oceans receive this atmospheric drift of current after it has passed over the water. These air currents in their journey over the water take up moisture. In the process of the evaporation of the water heat becomes latent, and this latent heat is given out again when, over the land the moisture condenses into clouds and rain. Thus the circulation of the air over the northeastern Atlantic by distributing the moisture and warmth of the ocean over Western Europe preserves its mild climate. The reverse is the case for those shores that receive their air currents after they have traveled over the land.

Professor Cleveland Abbe, in the *Monthly Weather Review*, and Harvey M. Watts, in *Scribner's Magazine* for July, have both contributed very good articles exposing the fallacy of the Gulf Stream theory.

A NEW THEORY OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

The development of wireless telegraphy remains at the present the most popular field of investigation in electrical science. Hence any new explanation that is offered of the working of wireless telegraphy must be noted. While the theory put forward by Mr. Rankin Kennedy cannot be said to be new, still put forward in the face of the almost universally accepted belief that the working of wireless telegraphy is due to the transmission of electric energy by means of Hertzian waves, it has all the appearance of an entirely new theory.

He rejects the Herzian wave theory on the ground that he cannot see how these waves can bend around the curved surface of the earth through many degrees of arc. Hence he has recourse to an electrostatic disturbance transmitted on the surface of a charged body to explain the phenomena. He regards the earth as an electrically charged sphere with the charge residing on the surface and at zero potential. Through the connection of an insulated capacity and a spark-gap electrostatic disturbances will radiate out in ever widening circles traveling around the spherical conductor. They will, of course diminish in intensity as they recede from the centre of disturbance, but directly opposite the point of disturbance on the other

hemisphere these electric surges meeting in the same phase or crest to crest like two water waves should augment each other. Such an effect could be detected, for an instrument actuated at the antipodal point when it remains undisturbed either side of it shows a resultant effect at that point. A vessel equipped with receiving instruments sent to Auckland Island could test the truth of this theory.

NOTES.

Platinum.—Platinum is the rarest of our metals, and because it resists the corrosive action of the acids it is necessary for the manufacture of many pieces of chemical apparatus. The report of new finds of this metal which may supply it in commercial quantities is of interest. Platinum has been found in two localities in Washington, near Princeton and at the Olympia mine on Kennedy Mountain. Tests of the ore from the latter place show the metal to be present in paying quantities. A thorough investigation of the claim is making to determine the amount of platinum available. Platinum has also been found in the Klondike, nuggets of the metal being frequently found mixed with the coarse gold. The Canadian government has sent an expert to examine these finds on the Yukon. Up to the present the chief source of the supply of platinum was the Ural Mountains, and the yearly yield has been small when compared with the demand. The average annual production is about six tons, and it sells at from \$150 to \$170 per pound.

Briquettes.—The manufacture of briquettes has become a very important industry in Germany. They are made from brown coal, peat and the dust and waste of coal mines, and they form the principle fuel for domestic purposes in Berlin and other large German cities. They are also used extensively for locomotive and other steam firing in different industries. The advantages claimed for the briquette are that it is clean and easy to handle, that it lights easily and quickly, burning with a clear flame, that they make practically no smoke and are cheap. We learn from consular reports that the output of briquettes is controlled by a syndicate and that it amounted to 1,566,385 tons last year. The purchasers are classified as follows: The German railways, 749,208 tons; factories, 497,136 tons; German merchant steamers and the navy and export, 149,080 tons, and retailers, 124,380 tons. The average selling price per ton when bought in quantities, during the present year, is \$3.16. One of the results obtained by the use of these briquettes on a large scale for different purposes in a city is the absence of smoke, which is such a nuisance in many of our American cities where bituminous coal is

burned. The introduction of this industry in the United States would result in the utilization of enormous quantities of material that is at present going to waste. The immense quantities of coal screenings at our mines could be turned into a good and cheap fuel. To make briquettes of this material a binder is required, and the extent to which this material is utilized in Germany may be gathered from the fact that the syndicate used 116,946 tons of mineral pitch, which on account of its plasticity and inflammability serves as a good matrix. Economy could also be practised in this country by converting the bituminous coal into coke and gas, both of which serve for heating purposes. Thus the coal would be used up fully and the enormous waste of useful material which escapes through our chimneys be prevented.

To Redeem the Sand Hills of Nebraska.—There are fifteen millions of acres of unproductive land in the sand hill country of Nebraska. Geologists believe that the centre of the State, where the sand hills are, was once an inland sea, and that the sandstone deposits of this sea have crumbled under the action of the prevailing northwest winds. The sand is piled up at right angles to the direction of the wind, that is, from southwest to northeast. The hope of redeeming this arid waste is based on the fact that no matter how dry the season or how long the hot winds have been blowing, the sand at a depth of only a few inches below the surface is always moist, and there is a very general belief that a great underground flow of water drains the whole region. A tree that could send its root far enough down into the sand would then always secure sufficient moisture, no matter how dry the season. The bull pine is such a tree, for it has a long tap root which it sends straight down into the ground and which would reach a sufficiently moist soil beneath the dry sandy surface. The President has recently approved of the plan of converting this desert into a forest by declaring 211,000 acres of the public lands of Nebraska forest reserves. Two reserves are created, one the Dismal River Reserve, containing 86,000 acres, and the other the Niobrara Reserve, with 125,000 acres. The work is under the Bureau of Forestry, and the division of tree planting has its experts at work in selecting suitable localities for tree planting. The plan is to select small plantations in the most favorable localities and plant out about four or five acres in each of these places, and then by gradually extending these plantations have them merge into one large forest. This experiment is watched with great interest, for its success means the reclaiming of vast tracts of land in the Middle West. It also marks a new departure for the Bureau of Forestry, for it declares its scope to be, not only the protection of existing forests, but also the creation of forests by artificial methods.

The Rusting of Steel and Its Prevention.—By the rusting of steel

is meant its oxidation or its chemical combination with oxygen bringing it to the condition of a hydrated oxide. This change does not take place in dry air at the ordinary temperatures nor in moist air that is free from carbonic acid. For the rusting of steel we require the combined action of moisture and carbonic acid. When rusting once begins the deterioration progresses rapidly. The recurring series of chemical actions assigned is briefly the following: Ferrous carbonate is first formed, and this is oxidized to ferric oxide, the rust, with liberation of carbon dioxide. This latter acts on a new portion of the metal and the corrosion goes on. The rusting of steel becomes a serious problem in steel structures and must be guarded against. The practice among engineers has been to protect the steel with a covering of concrete. This method is regarded as very efficient. In lime water or in soda solution the metal remains bright. The lime is the preserving agent. Portland cement contains about 63 per cent. of lime and in hardening it absorbs carbonic acid and becomes coated with a film of carbonate. Enclosing then as it does the steel in this protective coat it prevents deterioration. Where it has been possible to examine steel girders that have thus been covered, it has been found that after the lapse of even fifteen years there was no sign of rusting. Such is the conviction among engineers as to the value of cement in protecting iron from rust that a wash coat of cement is given to the exposed surfaces of girders. As an illustration of this faith in cement it may be noted that the engineers of the Boston Subway after investigation and careful testing adopted Portland cement paint for the protection of the steel beams of the structure. In the same way in which Portland cement neutralizes carbonic acid, so it protects iron from the attacks of other dilute acids, such as the sulphurous and sulphuric acids that result from the combustion of coal.

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Notices.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By the *Rev. Horace K. Mann*, headmaster of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I., Part I., A. D. 590 to A. D. 657. Part II., A. D. 657 to A. D. 795. Price per part, \$3.00. Received from Herder.

The almost complete absence of works on Church history written by Catholic authors in the English language has been a long-standing subject of complaint; and the call for such works has been emphasized rather than diminished by the recent activity of Protestant writers who have entered the field with a breadth of vision far exceeding that of their predecessors, but still with disagreeable remnants of the old prejudices. The most that can be expected from a Protestant writer is that he present the story of the Papacy to his readers, if without travesty of the facts, at least with a lack of sympathy that has a chilling effect. To the Protestant the Pope is ever the "ambitious prelate" who, without warrant or justification, is intent on building up a despotic rule semi-religious and semi-political. The mightiest struggles of the Roman Pontiffs for the preservation of the sacred deposit of the faith are, in the eyes of modern indifferentism, mere squabbles over theological puerilities. If that dear old martyr, Pope Martin I., is "insulted, loaded with chains, imprisoned and banished to the remote Crimea," by the execrable tyrant, Constans II., this is because he was "hot-headed."* Of what import is it to Protestant writers whether there be One Will in Christ or twenty? That the noble Pontiffs who resisted the Iconoclastic Emperors should fare badly in Protestant hands was only to be expected, for Protestantism and Iconoclasm are synonyms. Worst of all fare the great Popes of the later decades of the eighth century who committed the unpardonable sin of founding the Temporal Power of the Papacy. Some commiseration may be shown to the victims of Byzantine despotism, but scant justice is doled out to the Stephens and Hadrians who placed the Holy See in a position of complete independence. It would be a criminal dereliction of duty on the part of Catholic scholars to force our people to glean their information regarding the grand heroes of our faith from the unfriendly pages of a Gregorovius or a Hodgkin. Great as are the merits of these and other non-Catholic writers of the school of Ranke, it is undeniable that throughout their writings there runs the unvarying undercurrent of ill-will and aversion to the Papacy and the other institutions of the Catholic Church. Unless, therefore, an antidote be speedily forthcoming in the shape of a work, equally

*Oman's "Dark Ages," p. 276.

scientific, and at the same time loyally Catholic, it cannot but happen that our educated laity will unconsciously imbibe a spirit of cold and hostile criticism of everything sacred.

The volumes of Dr. Pastor's History that have already been translated teach us how impartially a Catholic historian can treat his subject, at the same time preserving a sincere and enthusiastic love for the Church of Christ. It remains for other writers to do for the earlier ages of the Church that which Pastor has done with so masterly a hand for the Church of Renaissance Days. We should be pleased if these champions of Catholic truth, in addition to the prime requisite of absolute accuracy and an exhaustive acquaintance with the original sources and the literature of their subject, would at least equal the standard non-Catholic authors in all the other qualifications of the accomplished historian. But we must not expect absolute perfection at the very beginning. A great deal has been done when a start has been made; and we ought not to be too exacting. It is in this spirit that we accord a hearty greeting to the work of Rev. Horace K. Mann, the first volume of which we have read with deep interest. It is the intention of the author to narrate the history of the Popes from the beginning of the Middle Ages until the period at which Pastor opens his narrative.

Though it would be inaccurate to say that in the person of Rev. Mr. Mann a great historian has appeared amongst us, nevertheless his work is one of considerable merit, and one which, we trust, will be widely read. He is a painstaking chronicler, who has made a careful study of his authorities, is scrupulously honest, and strings his facts together without ever calling in the aid of imagination. The narrative, therefore, is entirely lacking in color. His style is slipshod and at times ungrammatical, by no means worthy of the headmaster of a grammar school. We fail, moreover, to comprehend why his second volume should receive the somewhat Teutonic appellation of Vol. I., Part II. Why not plain Vol. II.? Is Hadrian I. more closely allied to the preceding Gregories than to the subsequent Leos? Withal, the reverend author has furnished us with a very serviceable work, one, no doubt, which will improve with the progress of the writing. We wish it success.

A REVOLUTION IN THE SCIENCE OF COSMOLOGY. The Keystone to the Arch of Science. By *George Campbell*. 12mo., pp. 210, illustrated. Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Co.

We are told that the author of this book, a professor of and teacher of the natural sciences for many years, early became convinced that the theory of Cosmology as embodied in the text-books of science was not true, and needed revision. To correct this error,

and place the science on a higher plane of progress, occupied by other and less important branches of science, is the object of this primary work.

We are informed that the contents of this volume include the latest data bearing upon the question discussed herein, and the facts have been collated by the author wherever obtainable, from all parts of the world.

The great telescopes recently placed in position by the various progressive nations have completely revolutionized the science of Cosmology, and within the telescopic field we are now enabled to watch, and even photograph, the developing universe of matter, through the various stages of planetary growth, from the primary bases of cosmos to the fully developed world, like the earth and other globes of the system.

The author proposes to prove :

First. That atoms of space were, and are, the forms of original matter, from which were developed the material creation under a system of natural laws.

Second. The earth was not developed from a condition of intense heat ; neither was the matter of the primitive earth fused, but is now gradually undergoing the fusion process as a result of natural law.

Third. The matter of primary earth was cold and frigid, possessing a temperature minus more than 460 degrees ; and this intense cold, coupled with electricity, condensed the matter of interstellar space, and caused combinations of atoms to form and eventually worlds.

Fourth. When the matter of the earth was sufficiently condensed, under natural laws, to form a globe, the water being lighter than the solid matter rose to the surface ; and the earth at that time was covered with water except a small continent at either pole—which continents were formed by the parting of the waters as the result of the revolution of the earth upon its axis.

Fifth. The polar continents being the first land to appear above the surface of the water, it follows that these continents are the cradle of primary animal and plant life upon the earth, as the other continents were not developed until a later period and under another system of natural laws.

Sixth. The law that developed what is now the Eastern and Western continents changed the temperature of the polar continents from a semi-tropical to one of great frigidity, and in which all forms of plant and animal life perished—went out amid the roar of a tempest, in the darkness of the night, in the terror of cosmic convulsions incident to planetary growth and world development, and the remains of these semi-tropical animals now constitute many of the

island groups of the Arctic seas; and even on the northern coast of Siberia polar elephants were cast ashore in such numbers that their tusks are now an article of merchandise, and are gathered and sold in great quantities by the natives as old ivory.

Seventh. This book is a revolution in science, and is so complete that it has been called the true theory of creation, including the birth, development and decay of planetary life under a system of natural laws, verified and illustrated by charts made from photographs of nebulae of worlds and systems of worlds, showing the various stages of a developing universe, from the originary matter of cosmos—the atoms of interstellar space.

This is a very interesting list of propositions, and the author treats them in a most attractive manner. It is not our purpose to discuss the scientific value of the book, but the writer is so clear in his statements that he leaves no room for misunderstanding.

THE TREASURE OF THE CHURCH; or, the Sacraments of Daily Life. By *Very Rev. J. B. Bagshawe, D. D.*, Canon Penitentiary of Southwark, author of "The Threshold of the Catholic Church," etc. 12mo., pp. xi.—242. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Canon Bagshawe's former works are so well known and appreciated that the Catholic should be willing to take anything from his pen on faith. His "Threshold of the Catholic Church" and "Credentials of the Catholic Church" have been leading wandering sheep to the true fold for many years. He was particularly fitted for work of this kind. The Bishop of Southwark says of him: "The late Canon Bagshawe was a priest for over fifty years, some forty of which were spent in the pastoral care of the mission of St. Elizabeth, at Richmond. Few men have attached greater importance to the spoken Word of God, and it was with reluctance that he ever allowed to pass unused any opportunity that came to him of preaching and explaining the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Thus every Sunday during his long ministry it was his habit to preach three, or even four times. His words were well prepared, and their arrangement carefully thought out, and he thus acquired a power of clear explanation, which was to serve him well when the moment came for him to address a wider audience. He felt that he might be of service to many souls by writing books explanatory of Christian Doctrine, which would help those who were still outside the unity of the Church, and give a better understanding of their religion to those who were already Catholics."

The volume before us has a pathetic interest because it engaged his attention during the last months of his life, and he passed to his reward before he could actually give it to the press.

In "The Treasure of the Church" he explains at length, but in a clear and simple manner, the two sacraments which are in constant use among the faithful—the Sacrament of the Most Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Penance.

In this, the last effort of his zeal and experience, Catholics will find a ready means of acquainting themselves with the place and position which, according to the teaching of the Church, these two great sacraments should hold in their lives. They will learn to understand more of the Divine Liturgy which surrounds the presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, and how better to enter into the spirit of that worship. They will see, too, how to profit by the dwelling of our Lord within them in Holy Communion, and how to avail themselves to the full of the cleansing power and the strengthening grace of the Sacrament of Penance. No one can read this book without finding in it a fresher knowledge of his Faith, and a consequent stimulus to live more entirely according to its teaching.

Those who are not Catholics may use this work very profitably if they wish to know something of the order, and method, and reasonableness of the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Want of such knowledge is one of the greatest hindrances to their acceptance of her claims, and we may be sure that the enlightenment which a treatise of this nature conveys, will remove many an obstacle from the path of those who are hesitating in their course.

SERMONS ON THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS, THE OUR FATHER, THE HAIL MARY, etc. By *Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A. M.* 8vo., pp. 339. New York: Pustet & Co.

SERMONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND FEASTS OF THE YEAR. By the Venerable Curé of Ars, *Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney*. 8vo., pp. 370. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS EXPLAINED IN SERMONS. A course of Seven Lenten Sermons, including a Sermon for Good Friday and Eleven Sermons on the Sacred Heart. By *Rev. J. Fuhrrott*. 8vo., pp. 83. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

FIRST RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTIONS FOR LITTLE ONES. The Catholic Faith Simply Explained to the Youngest Pupils, with Particular View to their Practical Moral Training. With an appendix, Instructions on First Communion, by *Rev. Albert Schaffler*. 8vo., pp. xxxiv., 208. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

SHORT SERMONS FOR LOW MASSES, FOR ALL THE SUNDAYS AND SOME FEAST DAYS OF THE YEAR. By *L. Heffner*, Priest of the Dominican Order. 8vo., pp. 152. New York: Joseph L. Wagner.

We are having an inundation of sermon books. They are not unalloyed blessings. They may do some good, but they also do much harm. All sermon books apologize for their appearance by saying that they are friends of the family and the preacher. They expect to furnish spiritual reading for the Christian household, and to lighten the burden of the overworked priest. We do not think that they do one or the other. The best spiritual reading for the family

is found in the New Testament, the Catechism, the Imitation of Christ, the Lives of the Saints, and some simple manual of explanation of the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church, like Catholic Belief and the Beauties of the Catholic Church. The best way for Catholics to get sermons is through the ears, and not through the eyes. That is Christ's way and the way of the apostles.

As for the overworked priest who has not time to prepare his own sermons, we have often heard of him, but have never met him. Experience teaches us that the busiest priest preaches oftenest and best. If he is busy about his Father's business, he is constantly gathering the best material for sermons, and he has no right to be busy about anything else. The priest who makes his daily meditation, says his daily Mass, reads his Breviary regularly, and devotes even a short time each day to spiritual books, does not need any one to write his sermons for him. But every priest is supposed to do this.

We must confess that we always feel hurt when we see the announcement in a sermon book that it is published for the benefit of those who have not the ability to prepare their own sermons. There are no such priests—should be none such. Any young man who has ability enough to make the course in any of our modern seminaries, has ability enough to prepare his own sermons.

One volume in the group of sermon books before us takes away from them all the excuses that are usually given for their publication. No priest could have been more poorly equipped, humanly speaking, for sermon composition and delivery than the Venerable Curé of Ars. And surely no priest in modern times led a more busy life than he. And yet we find before us the sermons of the Curé of Ars. We hope that no one will try to preach them until he has first tried to imitate the holy life of their venerable author.

We trust that no one will understand these remarks as applied especially to the group of sermon books before us. They are not to be taken in that way. The sermons in this collection are about up to the average of published sermons, but we can think of no good reason for their publication. We hope that they will not tempt the clergy to laziness. There is no more sublime mission than that of preaching the Gospel in the name of Christ. No man should be willing to let another usurp that office. Let us have only the sermons of masters to serve as models, and then let us write our own sermons, and preach them in God's name.

THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS: Dogmatically, Liturgically and Ascetically Explained. By *Rev. Dr. Nicholas Gühr*. Translated from the Sixth German Edition. St. Louis, 1902. Herder. Price \$4.00 net.

We extend the heartiest of welcomes to Dr. Gühr's great treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass in his English dress, and trust that the

beginning thus made of rendering the solid labors of contemporary German Catholic theologians accessible to English readers will be zealously followed up. Every one of the volumes composing Herder's "Theologische Bibliothek" ought to be translated into our language. Regarding Dr. Gihl's work, we can only echo the unanimous chorus of applause with which it was greeted upon its first appearance and which has been shown to have been well merited by the rapidity with which its eight successive editions were exhausted. An opportunity is now given to our clergy and educated laity of demonstrating that they are as eager to peruse profound theological works as the Catholics of Germany. The subject of the Holy Sacrifice is one of intense interest to every true Catholic heart, and that the Catholics of America are second to none in their loyalty to the Divine Victim is witnessed by the flourishing growth of the Eucharistic League amongst us. Dr. Gihl's work ought to be adopted by the League as their official hand-book, and we hope that we shall be called upon to record the appearance of many a new edition. We regret that the modesty of the translator has concealed his identity from us, as we should be pleased to congratulate him by name on the excellence of his rendition, which in no passage that we have read betrays a foreign original. Is it too much to hope that a copy of the work will be found on the table of every priest in the country?

GESCHICHTE DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITTERATUR. Von *Otto Bardenheuer*, Doktor der Theologie und der Philosophie, Professor der Theologie an der Universität München. Erster Band. Vom Ausgange des apostolischen Zeitalters bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder, 1902. 592 pages. Price, \$3.50 net.

We have no hesitation in pronouncing the great work, the first volume of which lies before us, the most timely and most valuable Catholic publication of our time. The field of early Christian literature is by eminence the battle-ground of the contending forces of Catholicism and Rationalism; and it is to the advantage of the Catholic cause that this should be the case. We have nothing to fear, and everything to hope for, from the revival of interest in patristic studies which characterizes the present age. *Antiquam quærite matrem*, has always been the motto of Catholics. The good results of recent investigations among the primitive Christian writers are already visible in the increased conservatism of men of the school of Harnack, who are reasoning themselves back into long-forsaken paths. But, meanwhile, it is imperatively needed that orthodox writers and thinkers should be careful to prevent the ground from being preëmpted by those who are not the heirs of Catholic tradition and whose conclusions, in consequence, are apt to be arbitrary and unsatisfactory. Now we are acquainted with

no one to whom the task of confronting the Rationalist school could more safely be entrusted than the veteran Professor Bardenhewer of Munich, whose earlier work on Patrology is long and favorably known. He has set to work with a deliberateness which fills us with confidence. He promises to accomplish the task in six volumes; and if the succeeding tomes are as full and satisfactory as the first, we shall have no other reason to complain than that he has chosen the German language rather than the Latin as the vehicle of his thoughts; for there is but slight prospect of so extensive a work being translated into English. Summaries and compendiums seem to be quite sufficient for the needs of our Catholic reading public.

INSTRUCTIONS ON PREACHING, CATECHISING AND CLERICAL LIFE. By Saints and Fathers of the Church. Translated by the Rev. Patrick Boyle, C. M. 12mo., pp. x. x 221. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"The instructions contained in this volume have been translated into English in the hope that they may be useful to ecclesiastical students. They contain the thoughts on preaching and on the virtues of the clerical state of men whose sanctity, learning and practical experience entitle them to speak with authority." At the beginning of the volume the decrees of the Council of Trent on preaching are given, together with some extracts from the statutes of Irish synods to show how that duty was fulfilled in times of difficulty. Then follow the Instructions, and the book is closed with a list of authors who have treated of sacred eloquence, and of some works of reference. In the "Table of Contents" we find: "A Short Treatise on Preaching by St. Francis Borgia," "A Letter of St. Francis of Sales on Preaching," "The Method of Preaching Recommended by St. Vincent de Paul," "A Letter of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars on Preaching, A. D. 1894," "A Treatise of St. Augustine: De Catechizandis Rudibus," "A Treatise of St. Jerome on the Virtues of the Clerical State."

This is a splendid array of talent, and if the young preacher will put away his sermon books, and study this little volume, he will soon forget sermon books altogether. They are certainly an evil of modern times, and books like the one before us are good antidotes. We have material in abundance, and here are the masters to teach us how to use it.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Von Dr. Johannes Belser, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Tübingen. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$4.20 net.

We feel grateful to the sensible Bishop who overcame Professor Belser's scruples about publishing a new *Introduction to the New*

Testament by urging that: "Ein gutes Buch hat immer noch Platz." It is no disparagement of the excellent labors of previous writers when one who has made a thorough study of his subject goes over the ground once more. This is particularly true in the department of Biblical Science, which is being so zealously cultivated at the present time by specialists of every shade of religious belief. The large volume of 852 pages with which the Tübingen professor has enriched the Catholic literature of the subject will no doubt hold the field for many a day. Its erudition is stupendous. The style is clear and attractive. The arrangement is scientific and original. The writings of each of the sacred penmen are studied together, enabling the reader to take a more comprehensive view of the personality and message of each. A copious index of names and things greatly facilitates the perusal of the work. As usual with Mr. Herder's publications, the typographical part of the work is as near perfection as one could desire. Any one who has mastered this book is fully equipped with Biblical knowledge and need not shrink from encountering the ablest advocates of Rationalism.

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE. By the Rev. Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., Ph. D., Lecturer in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. Folio gilt, pp. 64. Illustrated. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co.

The twelve papers which form this volume were first published in the *Living Church*. The author assures us that it was not his intention to write a history of an art so complex as architecture, and therefore the book is in no sense exhaustive. His object, he says, has been much more modest, and he has aimed at what is more easy of accomplishment. He has merely taken a series of buildings that may be regarded as typical of the stages through which Christian architecture has passed and used them to illustrate the development of a great form of art. With subordinate lines of development, with the marvelous decoration that has arisen in connection with the great styles, he has had very little to do, referring to them only as they have been intimately connected with the constructional principles of the building itself.

He then describes the principles on which he has worked, and they are few and simple. There may be some difference of opinion about the principles, as there may be about the types which he has chosen to illustrate the development of the art, but all will agree that the author has written very entertainingly and illustrated his text aptly and artistically. The book presents a handsome appearance and is worthy of the attention of all who are interested in ecclesiastical architecture.

CASUS CONSCIENTIÆ ad usum Confessariorum compositi et soluti ab *Augustino Lehmkuhl, S. J.* Vol. II., De Sacramentis. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$2.40 net.

Father Lehmkuhl, whose valuable Moral Theology has all but superseded every previous handbook in that department of theological science, is now issuing a work which may be looked upon as a corollary to his greater work, and which, no doubt, will enjoy an equal renown. He deems it advisable to forestall the stock objection against *casuistry*, but every sensible man must agree that the application of theological principles to concrete cases is as useful and important as are the practical problems in arithmetic or geometry which test the student's mastery of principles. In the exercise of the sacred ministry it is precisely the concrete case which we always encounter, and it is an immense advantage, equivalent almost to personal intercourse, to observe how a great master deals with the case in hand. This is all the more beneficial when we watch the process in the hands of a truly scientific teacher like Lehmkuhl, who never takes a step without explaining carefully all the principles by which he is guided. He begins with volume second, since the subject of the sacraments is most fruitful of perplexities; but we are promised the first volume in the course of the year. No words of ours are needed to commend the work of a Lehmkuhl to our readers.

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCE ET LATINE. Ed. Fr. Brandscheid. Pars Prior: "Evangelia;" price, \$1.00 net. Pars Altera: "Apostolicum," price, \$1.10 net.

This is a pocket edition of Fr. Brandscheid's excellent Greek and Latin Testament. The lowness of price brings it into the reach of all ecclesiastical students. The type is remarkably clear and attractive; and it makes us envy the lot of the young men who can study their Testament with a book like this, so different from the repellent Greek type of our boyhood.

Each volume is sold separately; and other editions are promised in which the Greek and the Latin texts will be given alone. To the volume containing the Gospels a brief dissertation is prefixed "De Principiis Textus Graeci Adornandi." There is surely no reason why every priest and seminarian should not now possess a Greek Testament.

DIE WIRKUNGEN DES BUSSSAKRAMENTES nach der Lehre des hl. Thomas von Aquin. Von *Michael Buchberger*. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, 55 cents.

A critical dissertation, crowned by the Royal University of Munich, in which the learned writer clearly proves that the Angelic Doctor consistently taught throughout his entire career the doctrine afterwards sanctioned by the Council of Trent concerning the efficacy of the Sacrament of Penance. This author will undoubtedly be heard from in the future.

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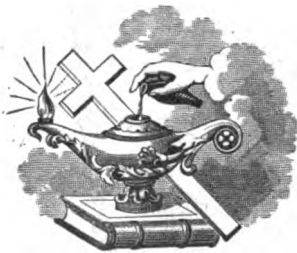
Vol. XXVII.

OCTOBER, 1902.

No. 108

THE
AMERICAN
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REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.



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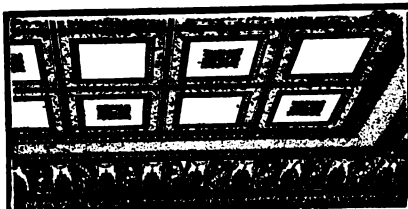
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